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THE

WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

CONTAINING,

I. The Life of JOSEPHUS, as written by himſelf.
II. The Antiquities of the Jewiſh People; with a Defence of thoſe Antiquities, in Anſwer to APION.
III. The Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of the MACCABEES; and the Wars of the JEWS, with the neighbouring Nations, till the final Deſtruction of JERUSALEM by the ROMAN POWER.
IV. Account of PHILO's Ambaſſy from the JEWS of ALEXANDRIA to the Emperor CAIUS CALIGULA.

The Whole newly Tranſlated from the ORIGINAL GREEK,

By EBENEZER THOMPSON, D.D. and WILLIAM CHARLES PRICE, LL.D.

Εν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἀρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

THE ſacred Scriptures excepted, there are no writings extant of equal authority with thoſe of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS; nor any which exhibit ſuch inconteſtible evidence in favour of the Truths of Chriſtianity. An inſtance, perhaps, cannot be produced, wherein the moſt obſtinate Diſbelievers have not been ſtruck with, at leaſt, a *temporary* conviction, on peruſal of our ancient and learned hiſtorian; and when people begin to DOUBT on the important article of religion, they will deliberately examine into the foundation of their principles, and carefully ſeperate truth from falſehood: whence it may be inferred, that the work in queſtion has cauſed more converts to the doctrines of the OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT than the united labours of every other profane writer.

Finding the works of JOSEPHUS to be out of print, and lamenting that a production ſo extenſively uſeful, and, at the ſame time, ſo agreeably inſtructive, ſhould, in a great meaſure, be loſt to the public, it became a point of duty as well as of inclination with us, to reſtore to them ſo invaluable a treaſure: and rejecting every lucrative motive, we determined to execute our purpoſe on a plan by which thoſe whoſe circumſtances might be contracted, but whoſe minds might be inlarged, would be enabled to avail themſelves of a ſingular advantage without a conſequent inconvenience.

The Public are indebted to Sir Roger L'Eſtrange for an excellent tranſlation of JOSEPHUS. In the proſecution of the work that Gentleman was occaſionally aſſiſted by his reverend friend, Doctor Hudſon, chief keeper of the Bodleian Library; and the two Diſcourſes prefixed to the Antiquities were written by the learned Doctor Willis: to each of theſe Gentlemen Sir Roger has done juſtice by very polite acknowledgements in his preface.

We have followed the example of Sir Roger, in conſulting the firſt literary characters of the age; who, we are happy to aſſure our Readers, have enriched the publication with ſuch improvements as were ſuggeſted by frequent and critical peruſals of our Manuſcript-copy, and attentive compariſons with the original text. Books of antiquity and of modern date, in the various languages, have been referred to, but having fortunately acquired conſiderable information, tending to elucidate ſeveral intricate paſſages of ancient hiſtory, we regret not the laborious reſearch, but congratulate ourſelves on the poſſeſſion of materials which have given our work ſo great a ſuperiority to every former Edition.

It now remains for the Editors to acknowledge a high ſenſe of gratitude towards their learned correſpondents in general, and to intimate that, in an addreſs, to be prefixed to the laſt Number, the material additions and improvements will be particularized, with the names of the ſeveral Gentlemen by whom they were communicated; and to ſay, that no longer than they deſerve, do they either hope for, or expect patronage or encouragement from the public.

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THE

LIFE

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TO have been honourably deſcended is the pride and boaſt of the people of various nations :—with us a lineal deſcent in the line of the Prieſt-hood is held to be ſupremely illuſtrious : on which account I may aſſume the credit of an extraction ſuperior to the generality of my brethren ; ſince, for a ſucceſſion of ages, my paternal anceſtors have been prieſts of the higheſt of the twenty-four ranks. On the mother's ſide I am deſcended of the regal race ; as ſhe was of the *Aſmonæan* line, in which, for a conſiderable time, the royal government was united with the prieſt-hood.

My great grandfather was named Simon, otherwiſe Pſellus, who flouriſhed during the pontificate of Hyrcanus, the ſon of the high-prieſt, called Simon. Pſellus was father of nine ſons, of whom Matthias, who took the ſirname of Aphlias, eſpouſed a daughter of Jonathan the high-prieſt, who bore him a ſon, called Matthias, whoſe ſirname was Curtus. This Curtus was father of a ſon, who was born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexander, and called Joſeph, who was the father of Matthias, born in the tenth year of Archilaus ; and this Matthias was my father ; my birth taking place in the firſt year of the reign of Caius Cæſar. My ſons are three : Hyrcanus, Juſtus and Agrippa, reſpectively born in the fourth, ſeventh, and ninth years of the emperor Veſpaſian. This is a genuine and conciſe account of my family, as it ſtands upon indubitable and incontrovertible record.

All ranks of people in Jeruſalem, held my father Matthias in the higheſt veneration, and that far more on account of his virtues than of his honourable

deſcent. I had a brother, alſo named Matthias, with whom I was educated from my infancy. With a tolerable judgement, and a moſt retentive memory, I made ſuch a rapid progreſs in my ſtudies, that when I had attained my fourteenth year, I ſometimes received the diſtinguiſhed honour of being conſulted, even on difficult points of law, by the high-prieſt and elders. Being deſirous of acquainting myſelf with the fundamental principles of the Phariſees, the Sadducees and the Eſſenes, in my ſixteenth year I entered upon this taſk, with an intent to unite myſelf with that ſociety whoſe doctrines I ſhould moſt approve upon examination.

With great aſſiduity tho' not without frequent diſguſts, I paſſed through a kind of noviciate in each of theſe ſects ſucceſſively: nor did I ſtop here; but, having learnt that a certain perſon, named Banus, had withdrawn himſelf from all commerce with the world, to reſide in deſarts and ſolitude; I determined to become his pupil alſo. This man wore no other cloathing than the bark of trees; he lived ſolely on the ſpontaneous productions of the fields and woods, and, in order to abate the violence of his inordinate appetites, conſtantly bathed himſelf in cold water. Having ſubjected myſelf to theſe and ſuch-like auſterities for nearly three years, and my curioſity being ſatisfied, I quitted our hermit and returned to the city, and, being now in my nineteenth year, began to apply myſelf to the ſtudy of the civil law; for which purpoſe I entered into the ſociety of the Phariſees, whoſe doctrines bear ſome reſemblance to thoſe of theancient Stoics.

In my ſix-and-twentieth year, I made a journey to Rome, on the following intereſting occaſion. Several prieſts, many of them men of exemplary characters, and my intimate friends, had been ſent by Felix, who was at that time governor of Judæa, upon a very frivolous pretext, to juſtify themſelves before Cæſar. Such was the noble conduct of theſe men upon this occaſion, that I reſolved to afford them every aſſiſtance in my power. Accordingly I embarked for Rome, and our veſſel, in which were nearly ſix hundred perſons, was loſt in a violent ſtorm in the Adriatic Gulph. Out of the whole ſhip's company, eighty perſons only were ſaved, who, after ſwimming the whole night, were taken up early the next morning by a veſſel from Cyrene. I now contracted an intimacy at Dicæarchia (the Puteoli of the Italians) with one Alityrus, a comedian, and a Jew by birth: this man ſtood high in the favour of Nero. The empreſs Poppœa, to whom I was introduced by Alityrus, inſtantly, at my requeſt, obtained the releaſement of the prieſts; after which I departed for my own country, loaded with preſents.

Finding the populace upon my return, in a violent ferment, and much inclined to revolt, I uſed every endeavour to bring them to a due ſenſe of their folly. I repreſented to them the great ſuperiority of their opponents, both in reſpect to their military and every other qualification, and ſtrongly urged to them the phrenzy of riſking the fate of all they held dear on ſuch unequal terms. In this manner, I endeavoured to divert them from an enterprize, which appeared to me to be big with the moſt fatal conſequences. My arguments, however, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, ſerved only to render

der me ſuſpected by them of ſecretly favouring the views of the enemy, and thereby my ſafety became very precarious.

As the inſurgents had already poſſeſſed themſelves of Fort Antonia, I was neceſſitated to fly for refuge to the inner-temple. Manahem, and ſome other of the chiefs of the party being now taken off, I united myſelf with the High-prieſt, and the leading men among the Phariſees, all of whom were totally undetermined what meaſures to purſue in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of affairs, the whole city being in arms. Perceiving that all oppoſition would be vain, we pretended partly to adopt the ſentiments of the faction, and contented ourſelves with recommending it to them to act with caution, and to delay the execution of their deſigns till the enemy ſhould have drawn off a little; urging that Geſſius, whoſe force was conſiderable, would certainly arrive in time to quell the inſurrection. He returned, at length, but with a remnant only of his army; having been defeated in an engagement, in which the major part of his troops were cut to pieces; and this incident, in fact, laid the foundation of the ruin of our nation: the revolters being ſo much elated with this ſucceſs, they conceived the ridiculous notion, that they ſhould, with equal eaſe, be able to repel the whole force of the Romans. Juſt at this juncture, numbers of the Jews were maſſacred in the moſt horrible manner: the particulars of which tranſaction are as follow:

In many of the great towns on the confines of Judæa, the Syrians and the Jews had for ſome time paſt reſided together, in the moſt friendly manner: but, at this time, the former, watching their opportunity, roſe upon the latter, and put them all to death, without diſtinction either of ſex or age; and this without the ſhadow of a pretence; as neither an intention to revolt, nor ſo much as any diſaffection to the Roman government had been imputed to the unhappy victims. Amongſt all the actors in this bloody ſcene, the Scythopolitans diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt, by their contempt of every ordinance both human and divine.

Theſe people were not ſatisfied with compelling the Jews, reſident among them, to take up arms againſt thoſe of their own tribe, who had lain ſiege to the city (a thing expreſsly prohibited by our law) but, having by their aſſiſtance repulſed the aſſailants, in direct violation of every tie of gratitude, juſtice, and common faith, they indiſcriminately put them to the ſword, to the number of ſeveral thouſands.

The leading men among the Jews finding themſelves, after the defeat of Geſſius, in a very feeble and inſecure ſtate, and expoſed to the attacks of a powerful and reſtleſs faction, now judged it highly requiſite to adopt ſome plan for their preſervation from the dangers which ſurrounded them. With this view, they thought proper to depute me, together with two other prieſts, Joazar and Judas, (both men of reſpectable character) to Galilee; the inhabitants of which place were, at that juncture, divided in their ſentiments, part of them ſiding with the Romans, and the reſt oppoſing them. The object of our commiſſion was to prevail, on the malecontents to lay down their arms, at leaſt for the preſent, and to depoſit them in the hands of their governors; abſtaining from all acts of violence till they ſhould have acquired further intelligence of the real deſigns of the Romans.

Upon my arrival in Galilee, I found the Galileans and the Sepphorites engaged in a ſtrong conteſt, and at the eve of an open rupture. The Galileans were about to invade the country of the Sepphorites, on account of the attachment of the latter to the Romans, and of their adherence to Senius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria. Both parties, however, were at length appeaſed, by the permiſſion which I obtained for them, to viſit, as often as they pleaſed, the hoſtages which they had put into the hands of Geſſius, and which were detained at Dora, a city of Phœnicia.

An inſurrection had taken place in Tiberias alſo, on the following occaſion. The citizens were divided into three parties; the firſt of which, headed by Julius Capella, in conjunction with Herod, the ſon of Miarus, Herod, the ſon of Gamalus, and Compſus, the ſon of Compſus, was compoſed of men of acknowledged worth and diſtinction: Criſpus, the brother of Compſus, who had ſeveral years before been appointed governor of the town by Agrippa the Great, did not, however, enter into the party, reſiding at that time upon his own eſtate, on the other ſide of Jordan: this party was to a man, cloſely attached to the intereſts of the emperor and the Roman people; and the only perſon of rank who ſided with the oppoſite faction was Piſtus, who was thereto induced by a paternal attachment to his ſon Juſtus. The very dregs of the people formed the ſecond faction; and the third was headed by Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, aforementioned.

This man, though he did not openly declare for a war, yet certainly favoured that meaſure in his heart, in the deſign of advancing his own fortune, by the troubles which he expected it would give birth to. With this view, he endeavoured to ſound the inclinations of the people, by an oration, in which he obliquely hinted, only, at the matter in queſtion; repreſenting to them that, "Their city, in the time of Herod the Tetrarch, the founder of it, had "always been conſidered as belonging to Galilee, and as being the capital of "the province. From the time of Agrippa the father, to that of Felix, "when Nero conferred the government of the city on the younger Agrippa, "this claim of precedency was never once diſputed. In ſhort, the Sepphorites never arrogated to themſelves any ſuperiority over the people of the "neighbouring cities, till ſubſequently, to the period in which they readily "yielded up their necks to the Roman yoke, and in which, in conſequence "of the above revolution, the records and treaſury were removed."

In this manner did Juſtus tamper with and incenſe the minds of the people againſt the emperor, till finding them at length diſpoſed to coincide in his views, he boldly told them that, as the Sepphorites appeared to be ſo inſeperably connected with the Romans that their union ſeemed indiſſoluble, it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the preſervation of their privileges, they ſhould immediately take up arms againſt the Sepphorites, who had rendered themſelves ſo obnoxious to the reſt of their neighbours, that they need not doubt of being powerfully ſupported in their attack upon them.

In this inſinuating manner did he confound the judgement of men of ſenſe far ſuperior to his own, and thereby effect the deſign he had in view. He was, alſo, ſo well verſed in the Greek language, as, by palliating ſome matters, and miſrepreſenting others, to give ſuch a picture of the ſtate of affairs

at

at that period, as was beſt calculated to promote his purpoſes. Of the wicked arts and malice of this man and his brother, by which they reduced their country to the very brink of ruin, I ſhall here give a more particular detail. Some of the citizens having been won by perſuaſion, and others compelled by Juſtus to take arms, he put himſelf at their head, and marched againſt the Hippenians and Gadarenes, dwelling about Tiberias and Scythopolis, whoſe habitations he utterly deſtroyed.

Having ſaid thus much of the ſtate of affairs at Tiberias, I ſhall now recount what paſſed during the ſame period at Giſchala. The propenſity which many of the citizens manifeſted to throw off the Roman yoke, was ſtrongly combated by John, the ſon of Levi, who exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to reſtrain them within the bounds of allegiance and duty: but all his endeavours proved ineffectual; as the people of the country round, the Gadarenes, the Gabaraganæans, and the Tyrians, having united their forces, made themſelves maſters of the place, and, after burning and utterly deſtroying it, again retreated towards their reſpective cities. But John, who was highly incenſed at this outrage, collecting his troops together, purſued and overtook them, and, in a pitched battle, totally defeated them; after which he rebuilt Giſchala, encompaſſing it, for the greater ſecurity, with a wall of conſiderable ſtrength.

During this whole period, the inhabitants of Gamala continued firm in their attachment to the Romans, of which they gave a ſtriking proof, on the following occaſion. King Agrippa's lieutenant, named Philip, the ſon of Jacimus, having miraculouſly effected his eſcape from Jeruſalem, at the very time that the royal palace was cloſely inveſted by the enemy, was a ſecond time in imminent peril of his life, from Manahem and the aſſaſſins his companions, but was again providentially preſerved by ſome of his Babylonian relations, who chanced to be then at Jeruſalem.

On the fifth day after this his ſecond eſcape, he diſguiſed himſelf in a cap compoſed of hair, and in a ſhort time arrived at one of the villages, in the neighbourhood of the caſtle of Gamala, to which place many of his ſubjects inſtantly repaired to him. He was here ſeized with a ſudden fever; which incident, by a wonderful interpoſition of providence, proved the means of preſerving his life. When he was firſt attacked by this diſorder, he diſpatched a perſon, in whom he could confide, with letters to Agrippa and Berenice, who were then on a journey, to meet Geſſius at Berytus. Theſe letters the meſſenger was ordered to deliver into the hands of Varus, to whom the king and the queen had committed the care of the palace, during their abſence. The news of Philip's eſcape from Jeruſalem, gave Varus great uneaſineſs, leſt the incident ſhould be productive of his diſmiſſion from the ſervice of the king and queen. Varus, therefore, repreſented the meſſenger to the people as an impoſtor, and put him to death on that pretext, aſſerting with the utmoſt effrontery, that, to his certain knowledge, Philip was ſtill at Jeruſalem, and engaged in the defence of that city againſt the Romans. A conſiderable time being elapſed from the period of the meſſenger's departure, and no kind of intelligence having arrived from him, Philip deputed another perſon, with freſh letters; and this man too Varus put to death, on the ſame pretext as he had

before uſed. This conduct of Varus was occaſioned by an idle notion, which had been ſuggeſted to him by the Syrians of Cæſarea, that the Romans would, doubtleſs, ſacrifice Agrippa to their reſentment of the Jewiſh revolt, and that, in ſuch caſe, himſelf, being of the race of Sohemus, the Tetrarch of Libanus, muſt inevitably ſucceed to the regal dignity. Thus prepoſſeſſed, Varus put in practice every artifice, to conceal from the king the knowledge of what paſſed; for which purpoſe he intercepted all letters addreſſed to his majeſty, and ſhut up every paſs, by which any intelligence could poſſibly have been communicated to him. With the view of ingratiating himſelf with the Syrians of Cæſarea, he put to death great numbers of the Jews, and alſo offered to engage with the Trachonites of Batanea, in a war againſt the Jewiſh inhabitants of Ecbatane, who are ſtyled Babylonians. He accordingly diſpatched twelve of the principal Jews in Cæſarea to Ecbatane, to acquaint the inhabitants, in his name, that he had heard, they meditated a revolt; that he was much diſinclined to credit the report, but that he required them, as a teſtimony of their innocence, immediately to lay down their arms, and alſo to depute to him ſeventy of the chiefs of their party, to juſtify the conduct of the reſt. Upon the receipt of this meſſage, the inhabitants of Ecbatane made the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny into the cauſe of this rumour, which they found to be utterly deſtitute of foundation: in obedience, however, to the requiſition of Varus, they ſent to him ſeventy of the principal men of the place, who were all maſſacred by him, ſave one ſingle perſon, on the road to Cæſarea; after which he marched his troops againſt Ecbatane. But, by a ſecond wonderful interpoſition of providence, the perſon who had been thus miraculouſly preſerved from deſtruction, reached the city before him, and made the inhabitants acquainted with the horrible treachery which had been perpetrated upon their aſſociates. The people inſtantly ran to arms, and, quitting the city, retired, with their wives and children, into the caſtle of Gamala, leaving behind them their effects and cattle, to a very conſiderable value. No ſooner was this event communicated to Philip, than he inſtantly repaired to the caſtle of Gamala, where he was received with open arms by the inſurgents, who unanimouſly made him a tender of their lives and fortunes, urgently ſoliciting him to put himſelf at their head, and to lead them againſt Varus and his Cæſarean abettors; for a report was now ſpread, that the king had been aſſaſſinated. Philip, however, endeavoured to allay the ferment of their minds, by urging to them the favours they had received from the king, the formidable power of the Romans, and the imminent dangers they would expoſe themſelves to by a revolt; and his endeavours at length proved ſucceſsful. The king, being, at length, made acquainted with the miſconduct of Varus, and with a deſign which he had formed, to put to death all the Jews in Cæſarea, together with their wives and children, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, removed him from his government, which he conferred on Æqus Modius; as I have before mentioned: Gamala and the neighbouring country being retained in their allegiance to the Romans, by the prudent meaſures taken by Philip.

Having acquired the moſt authentic intelligence of all the above tranſactions, upon my arrival in Galilee, I diſpatched a letter to the council at Jeruſalem,

ruſalem, requeſting to be honoured with their commands: in anſwer to which, they ſent me orders to remain where I was, and to make the beſt proviſion poſſible for the defence of the place, retaining my colleagues with me, if they ſhould be inclined to ſtay. A large ſum of money having been collected on account of tithes, my aſſociates had taken the reſolution of returning home, but, at my requeſt, readily conſented to continue with me a ſhort time longer, till I could arrange matters more happily. We, accordingly, went together from Sepphoris to Bethmaus, a place about four furlongs diſtant from Tiberias, from whence I ſent a meſſage to the ſenate and ſome of the principal perſons of that city, requiring their attendance. They came in obedience to my ſummons, accompanied by Juſtus; and I acquainted them, that the council at Jeruſalem had commiſſioned myſelf and my aſſociates to confer with them on the ſubject of demoliſhing the palace which Herod the Tetrarch had erected in their city, and had ornamented with many curious images and figures of animals, which was expreſsly prohibited by our laws; and I earneſtly deſired that the buſineſs might be carried into execution without delay. In this requeſt I was ſtrongly oppoſed by Capella and his party; but I, with much difficulty, at length, carried my point. While this conteſt was depending, Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphia, putting himſelf at the head of a body of men, compoſed of the very dregs of the people, and being joined by a party of the ſeditious Galileans, ſet the royal palace on fire, in hopes, from the rich and brilliant appearance of every thing they ſaw, that they ſhould obtain a princely booty by the plunder of it: and, in fact, they carried off many valuable effects, notwithſtanding all that could be done to prevent them. Having ſettled all matters with Capella and the Tiberians, we departed from Bethmaus for the Upper-Galilee, juſt at the time that the faction of Jeſus had put all the Greeks, reſiding in Tiberias, to the ſword, and all thoſe, indiſcriminately, who had taken part againſt them previous to the war. When I received intelligence of this outrage, I was highly incenſed, and repaired immediately to Tiberias, at which place were many valuable effects belonging to the king, (amongſt others, ſeveral rich candleſticks of Corinthian workmanſhip, coſtly tables, and a large quantity of ſilver in the maſs) ſome of which I hoped to be able to preſerve from pillage. I had determined to depoſit whatever goods I might be able to ſecure, in the hands of proper perſons, for the king's uſe. Sending, therefore, for ten of the principal ſenators, and Capella, the ſon of Antyllus, I delivered all the rich veſſels, and other valuables which I had ſaved, into their care, with a ſtrict injunction to give them up to no one but myſelf. From Tiberias I went, with my colleagues, to Giſchala, for the purpoſe of informing myſelf of the proceedings of John, whom I found evidently endeavouring to eſtabliſh himſelf at the head of a party. In different parts of the Upper-Galilee were divers magazines of corn, belonging to the emperor, and John was mightily deſirous of obtaining the ſale of them, pretending that he meant to expend the profits which might accrue in erecting fortifications. I eaſily penetrated into his deſign, and therefore told him, that I would never yield my conſent; as I was obligated, by my commiſſion from the council at Jeruſalem, to ſee that thoſe ſtores ſhould be applied, either to the emperor's uſe, or to the benefit of the province. He

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then applied himſelf to my colleagues, perceiving that there was no probability of his ſucceeding with me; and they, partly through inadvertency, and partly through avarice, ſuffered themſelves to be won over to a compliance with his ſolicitations; and thus, they being two to one, my oppoſition was rendered fruitleſs. The ſucceſs which John met with on this occaſion, emboldened him to ſet another ſcheme on foot, for the promotion of his intereſt. Pure virgin oil was, at that time, particularly ſcarce at Cæſarea Philippi; the inhabitants of which place, being reſtricted from the uſe of the Greek oil, and from purchaſing the other out of their own city, had, he ſaid, made great complaints to him on the ſubject, praying relief. His interference in this buſineſs did not proceed ſo much from religious, as from intereſted motives; being ſenſible that this oil was forty times dearer at Giſchala than it was at Cæſarea: accordingly, under the pretence of a permiſſion from me, he tranſported all the oil from one of thoſe places to the other.

I did, indeed, from an apprehenſion that the people would otherwiſe ſtone me, tacitly acquieſce in the above meaſure, but I no otherwiſe conſented to it. The profit that John derived from this device was very conſiderable.

From Giſchala I ſent my colleagues back to Jeruſalem, and now employed my whole time in providing for the defence of the province. Perceiving that every attempt to reduce the free-booters by force muſt prove vain, I adviſed the people to try the effect of negociating with them; and we, thereupon, entered into a treaty with ſome of their chiefs, offering to take the whole body into our ſervice; as we were well convinced, that the expence attending this meaſure would be far inferior to the loſs we ſhould be liable to ſuſtain from their continual depredations. Articles being, at length, agreed upon between us, after receiving their oaths for the due obſervance of the engagement, I diſmiſſed them. The conditions to which they bound themſelves, were, that they would abſtain from all outrages, againſt either Romans or natives; and that they would never enter our territories, but upon a requiſition from us, or in the caſe that we ſhould at any time be in arrears to them. My chief object, however, was to retain the Galileans in due ſubjection, and, with this view, I ſelected ſeventy of the principal perſons of the province, to accompany me. Of theſe I formed a kind of council, and, in moſt caſes, regulated my conduct by their advice, ſtill retaining a ſupreme deference for the dictates of honour and juſtice: thus, under the guiſe of friends, theſe men were, in reality, my hoſtages.

I had now attained my thirtieth year; a period of life in which a man in a public ſtation cannot, even with the utmoſt precaution poſſible, ſhelter himſelf from the attacks of envy and detraction. Thus much, however, I muſt be permitted to ſay for myſelf, that I had never been charged with any breach of duty, or corrupt practices, towards either of the ſeveral parties. So far was I from wiſhing to acquire wealth, that I even declined my proffered tithes, to which, from my function of a prieſt, I was indubitably entitled. I acknowledge that, after defeating the Syrians, I ſent part of the booty obtained on that occaſion, to my relations at Jeruſalem; and, having twice vanquiſhed the Sepphorites, the Tiberians four times, and reduced the Gadarenes to throw themſelves on my mercy; having, moreover, ſeized the perſon of John,

who had been guilty of many treacherous practices againſt my ſafety; I never entertained a thought of reſenting the injuries I had ſuffered from any of the above parties, but readily conſigned the remembrance of them to utter oblivion: and the Almighty, who perceived the rectitude of my heart, was pleaſed, as will be ſeen in its proper place, graciouſly to deliver me from the machinations of my perfidious foes, not only upon the occaſion in queſtion, but alſo at various ſubſequent times.

Although the Galileans were daily ſuffering all the miſeries of war, yet, ſuch was the affection they bore to me, they appeared to be much more moved with the dangers and hardſhips that I underwent, than with their own. The popularity that I had thus acquired, excited the rankeſt envy in the breaſt of John, who, under the pretext of a ſudden indiſpoſition, wrote to me for permiſſion to go to the hot baths of Tiberias, which I granted him with the utmoſt readineſs, not ſuſpecting his motives in making the requeſt, and even furniſhed him with letters of recommendation to ſome of my friends there, to accommodate him and his train with whatever they might ſtand in need of. I had at this time taken up my reſidence in a village of Galilee, called Jana. Upon John's arrival at Tiberias, he immediately ſat about inveigling the inhabitants into a revolt. Many of them were well diſpoſed to enter into his views, being heartily deſirous of a change in the government; and among theſe, Juſtus and his father, Piſtus, eagerly united themſelves with John againſt me. But, providentially, Silas, whom I had appointed my deputy in the government of Tiberias, having diſcovered the deſigns of the conſpirators, ſent me a minute account thereof; urging me to repair thither with all ſpeed, as the leaſt delay might occaſion the loſs of the place.

Inſtantly upon the receipt of this intelligence, I aſſembled a body of two hundred men, and thus attended, poſted away to Tiberias, travelling, for the greater expedition, the whole night, and diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint my friends with my being upon the road. At an early hour in the morning, I was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted me into the city. John, alſo, came with the reſt, when the great confuſion viſible in his face, plainly manifeſted a conſciouſneſs of his guilt: but after a ſlight and haſty reverence to me, he ſuddenly withdrew. Upon my entrance into the city, I directly repaired to the public place of exerciſes, where I diſmiſſed all my attendants, ſave one ſervant and ten ſoldiers. Having choſen a ſpot fit for my purpoſe, I began to harangue the people, on the ſubject of the duties of good faith and allegiance; the reputation which muſt accrue to them from a generous perſeverance in their fidelity, and the dangerous conſequences, as well as the abſolute baſeneſs of perfidy; urging to them, that thoſe who were guilty of treachery muſt always expect a retaliation upon themſelves; and that one ſuch act would eternally ruin their credit with the world. I had ſcarcely got thus far in my oration, when I heard a voice in the croud, loudly, and with great earneſtneſs, adviſing me to deſiſt, and to provide for my ſafety by a ſpeedy retreat. The caſe was, that John, perceiving me to be thus almoſt without attendants, had ſelected a certain number of ſoldiers out of the thouſand of which he had the command, and had given them orders to attack me by ſurprize. They had approached

within a very ſmall diſtance of the place where I ſtood, when I inſtantly leaped down, and, with the aſſiſtance of one of my guards, named Jacob, and one Herod, a Tiberian, made good my retreat to the lake, and embarked on board a veſſel which, providentially, chanced to be there, and which landed me at Taricheæ; and thus I eſcaped the villainous deſigns of my foes.

This perfidy of the Tiberians incenſed the people of Taricheæ to that degree, that they aſſembled in a body, and earneſtly preſſed me to lead them againſt the perpetrators of ſo horrid a villainy. They alſo invited the Galileans to join them in their intended attack upon Tiberias, and to ſubmit themſelves implicitly to my conduct and direction. This invitation was readily accepted by the Galileans, who recommended it to me, to march immediately againſt Tiberias, and, having made myſelf maſter of it, utterly to deſtroy the city, and to ſell the inhabitants, of whatever ſex or age, publickly for ſlaves: nor was this the opinion of the Galileans alone, but even of ſuch of the Tiberians, alſo, as had quitted the city to join me. But I poſitively refuſed to comply with their ſolicitations, dreading to be the author of a civil war, and being deſirous of ſettling all differences in an amicable manner. I, therefore, repreſented to the people, the imprudence of cutting each others throats, for the entertainment of the Romans, who would be pleaſed ſpectators of ſuch a ſcene. By the arguments I urged on this occaſion, I at length, though not without much difficulty, induced the Galileans to adopt more moderate ſentiments.

John, now, finding all his evil deſigns againſt me defeated, thought it high time to alter his conduct, leſt his ſafety ſhould be otherwiſe endangered. He, accordingly, retired from Tiberias to Giſchala, accompanied by ſuch of his men as remained with him; from whence he wrote me a letter of excuſe, calling God to witneſs, with many oaths and proteſtations, that the late vile attempt to deſtroy me, had been entirely concerted without his knowledge. But the perfidy of this wretch was ſo notorious, that the Galileans could not be prevailed on to give the leaſt credit to his declaration; but, having aſſembled a conſiderable force, preſſed me to lead them againſt Giſchala, the place of John's birth, and to ſacrifice him and utterly to deſtroy the city. I made them my acknowledgments for their good-will, and tendered them my beſt ſervices in return; but begged of them to ſuffer me to try whether I could not terminate the quarrel, to their ſatisfaction, without bloodſhed. The Galileans acquieſced in the juſtice of my arguments, and permitted me, ſoon afterwards, to lead them to Sepphoris. Upon my approach, the Sepphorites, who ſtill perſiſted in their allegiance to the Romans, began to entertain ſome fears that my intentions were hoſtile; and they contrived how they might, for their own ſecurity, draw off my attention from them to ſome other object. With this view, they engaged Jeſus, who commanded the out-laws, by the promiſe of a large ſum of money, to attack us with a body of eight hundred men: Jeſus and his troops were at that time ſtationed on the borders of Ptolemais. The method by which he propoſed to effect his purpoſe, was, to come upon us unexpectedly, and thus bring matters to an iſſue at once. He, accordingly, ſent a meſſage to me, requeſting my permiſſion to wait on me. This requeſt I readily granted, not ſuſpecting his motives; and he began his journey, accompanied by a

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ſelect band of his aſſociates. He had arrived within a very ſhort diſtance of the town, when one of his followers left him, and communicated to me every particular of the plot formed againſt me. Diſſembling all knowledge of the matter, I repaired to the market-place, attended by a ſtrong guard of Galileans, with ſome few of the Tiberians. My next care was to ſecure the paſſes, and to give orders to the porters at the gates, to admit none but Jeſus and a few of his followers, keeping the reſt out; and, in caſe they ſhould attempt to obtain an entrance by violence, to repel force with force. All my orders were punctually obeyed, and Jeſus and a ſmall number of his aſſociates only were permitted to enter the city, the gates being ſhut upon the reſt. The inſtant he came into my preſence, I commanded him to throw down his arms; and, perceiving himſelf ſurrounded by ſoldiers, he readily yielded obedience. Thoſe of his followers who had remained without the gates, having learnt what had befallen their leader, fled in all haſte. Taking Jeſus aſide, I told him that, notwithſtanding I now had him in my power, and was well informed of all his mal-practices and connections, I was ſtill inclined to pardon him for what had paſſed, on condition that he ſhould engage to abſtain from all ſuch-like conduct in future. This he faithfully promiſed, and was, in conſequence, diſmiſſed, together with his attendants. With reſpect to the Sepphorites, I contented myſelf with enjoining them to a more peaceable demeanour, at the hazard of my ſevereſt diſpleaſure.

Juſt at this period, two noblemen belonging to the court of the king of Trachonitis, fled to me, for refuge; bringing with them horſes, money, and arms. The Jews were very averſe to my receiving them, unleſs they would ſubmit to be circumciſed: but I firmly rejected the propoſition; repreſenting to the people that every man was entitled to the privilege of worſhipping God according to the rules of his own conſcience; and that it would betray an inhoſpitable diſpoſition thus to conduct themſelves towards men, whom misfortunes had compelled to reſort to them for protection.

In the mean time, Æqus Modius, had been diſpatched by king Agrippa, with a large body of troops, to inveſt the caſtle of Magdala. Finding himſelf in no condition to lay ſiege to it, he judged it ſufficient to ſecure the paſſes, and thus to form the blockade of Gamala. Intelligence having been communicated to Æbutius, the Decadarch, of my arrival at Simonias, a village ſituated on the borders of Galilee, and at the diſtance of about ſixty furlongs from the place where he then was, he aſſembled a body of an hundred horſe, about two hundred foot, and ſome auxiliary troops from Gaba, with which, making a forced march during the night, he reached the village early in the morning; whereupon, I gathered together ſome of the beſt troops I had with me, and prepared for my defence. Æbutius, depending on his ſuperior force in horſe, would fain have induced me to have engaged him in the open field; but, as my ſtrength lay chiefly in infantry, I dared not quit my ſtation; and my antagoniſt, after many fruitleſs efforts to drive me from it, retired towards Gaba, with the loſs of three men only in the ſkirmiſh. I cloſely purſued him, with a body of two thouſand men; and having reached Beſara, on the frontiers of Ptolemais, and about twenty furlongs diſtant from Gaba, where Æbutius then was, I firſt ſecured all the neighbouring paſſes, and

and then I carried off prodigious quantities of wheat and other grain, which had belonged to queen Berenice, and had been plundered by the enemy from the adjacent villages. The grain I ſent to Galilee, on a number of camels and aſſes, which I had brought with me for that intent. When I had finiſhed this buſineſs, I offered battle to Æbutius; but, he declining it, I directed my march againſt Scythopolis, which was then garriſoned by a body of horſe, under the command of Neapolitanus, who had committed great depredations in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Having delivered the Tiberians from this troubleſome foe, I now confined all my views to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and good order in Galilee.

John, the ſon of Levi, was, as I have before obſerved, ſtill at Giſchala, where, jealous of my ſucceſſes againſt my enemies, and of the affection which the people under my government manifeſted for me; he endeavoured to ſeduce the Tiberians and the Sepphorites from my intereſts; flattering himſelf, alſo, that he might be able to prevail on the Gabarenes to quit my party, they being the moſt conſiderable people in Galilee. For this purpoſe, he took every opportunity to decry my adminiſtration, and to extol the advantages which they would enjoy under his government, imagining that, in proportion as he blemiſhed my reputation, he ſhould brighten his own. The Sepphorites, in fact, favoured neither him nor me, being cloſely attached to the Romans. He could not prevail on the Tiberians to take arms, but they, nevertheleſs, engaged to maintain a correſpondence with him. The Gabarenes were the only people who conſented to join him; and this union was effected, by the intervention of one of their leading men, named Simon, who was a particular friend, and aſſociate of John's; and even theſe people made a ſecret of their connection with him, through an apprehenſion of the reſentment of the Galileans, of whoſe affection for me they were well convinced; but they readily engaged in every perfidious attempt againſt my perſon; and, in the following inſtance, I narrowly eſcaped falling a victim to their evil deſigns.

The wife of Ptolemy, the king's intendant, travelling with a numerous body of attendants over the great plain, from a place under his ſovereign's juriſdiction, into one of the Roman provinces, her train was attacked by a party of deſperate young Dabarittenians, who defeated the eſcort which attended her, and made prize of all the valuable effects ſhe had taken with her. The plunder taken on this occaſion was brought to Taricheæ, whilſt I continued there, and conſiſted of a large quantity of rich cloaths and coſtly furniture, a great number of ſilver veſſels, and five hundred pieces of gold. As theſe articles were the property of Ptolemy, who was of my own tribe (and it being prohibited by our law to rob even an enemy) I told the parties, that it was abſolutely requiſite they ſhould be laid by, till an opportunity might offer for diſpoſing of them, and that the produce ſhould be applied to the reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem. The robbers were ſo much incenſed to be thus diſappointed of their booty, that they, in revenge, circulated a report throughout Tiberias, that it was my intention to betray the province into the hands of the Romans. My promiſe, they ſaid, of applying the profits of the ſale to the reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem, was a mere pretext, and

that I meant to reſtore the above effects to their former maſter; nor, indeed, were they wrong in their conjecture; for, immediately after the departure of the robbers, I gave ſecret orders to two of the principal citizens, Daſſion, and Jannæus, the ſon of Levi, both highly favoured by the king, to make reſtitution of the prize, and, at the peril of their lives, to mention the matter to any man living. The charge againſt me, of having conſpired to deliver up the province to the Romans, was now ſpread throughout Galilee, and the people were ſtrongly incited to revenge. The Taricheans, amongſt others, gave ſuch credit to the ſlander, that they ſeduced ſeveral of my guards, and other ſoldiers, to quit me while I was aſleep, and to repair with them to the Circus, to confer with the citizens on the intended change to be made in the government. A large concourſe of people had aſſembled in this place, unanimouſly calling for juſtice on the traitor: but the chief fomenter of the ſedition was Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphia, one of the moſt turbulent and unprincipled wretches breathing, who chanced, at that time, to be the chief magiſtrate of Tiberias. He preſented himſelf before the people, with the two Tables of Moſes in his hand, and addreſſed them in theſe words: "If," ſays he; "you have no conſideration for your own welfare and ſafety, at "leaſt ſhew a proper reverence for theſe ſacred laws, which your governor, "Joſeph, has not ſcrupled to violate, and has, thereby, rendered himſelf "deſerving of the ſevereſt and moſt exemplary puniſhment." This ſpeech was received by the people with repeated ſhouts of applauſe; and, taking with them a number of ſoldiers, they haſted towards the houſe in which I reſided, with a fixt reſolution to put me to inſtant death. Unconſcious of all that was paſſing, I lay on my bed, wearied out with fatigue, and in a ſound ſleep. Simon, however, one of my guards, and the only perſon who had not deſerted me, ſeeing the people ruſhing into the houſe, ſuddenly awaked me, and repreſenting, in a few words, the imminent danger to which I was expoſed, adviſed me, rather to periſh by my own hand, than to ſubmit to the inſults and cruelties of an enraged and inſolent enemy. Upon receiving this intelligence, I diſguiſed myſelf in a ſuit of black cloaths, and, armed with my ſword, commending myſelf to the protection of Providence, I paſſed undiſcovered, through the midſt of the throng, and repaired, by a private way, to the Circus, where I threw myſelf proſtrate on the ground, and, by my tears and lamentations, excited the pity of the majority even of the inſurgents themſelves. Perceiving that I had, in ſome meaſure, wrought upon the temper of the people, I exerted all my endeavours to divide them in their ſentiments reſpecting me and my conduct, before the return of the ſoldiers, who had been diſpatched to deſtroy me. I begged their permiſſion to lay before them the true ſtate of the caſe, admitting, at the ſame time, that there was, indeed, ſome ſlight foundation for the charge brought againſt me. I requeſted, that they would, however, give me a patient hearing, after which, I ſhould readily ſubmit to their deciſion, whatever it might chance to be. The people were well inclined to liſten to me, and ordered me to proceed; but the ſoldiers, who had juſt now returned to the Circus, were for putting me to immediate death: but, on more mature deliberation, they ſuffered themſelves

to be prevailed on to ſuſpend the execution of their deſign ; and to this they were induced partly by the clamours of the common people, and partly by the hope, that, by a confeſſion of my treachery, and that I had actually reſolved to reſerve that money for the king's uſe, I ſhould afford them a better pretext for accompliſhing their ſaguinary purpoſe. Silence being, therefore, proclaimed, I addreſſed them in a ſhort ſpeech, to the following purport :

That, provided I might be permitted to give them a true detail of my conduct in the matter objected againſt me, I ſhould acquieſce in whatever ſentence they might think proper to pronounce ; that I had ever conſidered their city as an aſylum for ſtrangers ; that, induced by the conveniences of the place, and the amiable manners of the inhabitants, numbers of foreigners had quitted their own country, and repaired thither, with the view of continuing there to the end of their lives ; that the crime now alledged, was, an intention, through zeal for the public benefit, to apply a conſiderable ſum of money towards the repair of the city-walls ; and that this was the ſole foundation of the inveterate perſecution which had been raiſed againſt me. The Taricheans, and the foreign inhabitants of the city, highly applauded my ſpeech, and bad me proceed without fear ; but the Galileans and Tiberians, on the other hand, manifeſted much turbulence of diſpoſition ; in-ſo-much that the diſſention between the two parties aroſe, at length, to a very great height ; the one ſide continually menacing me, and the other giving me the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their favour and protection. But the conteſt was finally dropt, upon my promiſing the Tiberians to repair the walls of their city, and to do the like for all the other towns of the province, whoſe ſituation would admit of it ; and every one, truſting to my word for the performance of this covenant, retired peaceably to his own home.

After this providential and unexpected deliverance, I returned to my lodgings, attended by a party of my friends, and about twenty ſoldiers. Soon after I had retired, the robbers and other ringleaders of the late ſedition, fearful leſt they ſhould be called to account, for their conduct on the occaſion, aſſembled in a body, to the number of about ſix hundred, and beſet the houſe in which I reſided, with an intention of ſetting fire to it. When the news of their approach, and of their deſign, was communicated to me, deeming flight diſgraceful, I determined to barricade the doors of my reſidence, and to abide the event. Upon their arrival, I acquainted them, from a window, that, if money was their object, they had only to depute a ſmall number of their companions to me, and their demands ſhould be inſtantly complied with. A party was, accordingly ſent ; and, when they entered the houſe, obſerving that one of them diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the reſt by his inſolence and audacity, I ordered him to be ſeized, whipped, and to have one of his hands ſtruck off ; after which, with the hand hanging round his neck, to be turned into the ſtreet, that his aſſociates might be informed of what had happened to him. All this was, accordingly executed, and the inſurgents, imagining, from the boldneſs of my conduct in this inſtance, that I had a ſtrong guard in the houſe, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, thro' fear of expoſing themſelves to a ſimilar puniſhment ; and by this ſtratagem I eſcaped an imminent danger. Being thus defeated in one ſcheme, they quick-

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ly put another in agitation; eagerly ſeeking all opportunities of exciting a ſpirit of diſaffection amongſt the people. They now pretended to diſapprove of the protection which I had afforded to the two foreign noblemen, aforementioned, whom they affected to conſider as ſpies and poiſoners, and as being unworthy of an aſylum in a country, to the cuſtoms of which they had pertinaciouſly refuſed to conform. By theſe inſinuations, they had in part revived that ſeditious ſpirit in the multitude, which I had ſo lately appeaſed: but I obſerved to the people, that it would be both ungenerous and imprudent to tyranize over perſons who had put themſelves under our protection, as we knew not how ſoon we might be reduced to a like ſituation ourſelves; and that, with reſpect to the idea of their being poiſoners, nothing could be more abſurd, as the Romans would certainly never be at the expence of keeping ſuch numbers of troops in pay, when their purpoſe might be equally anſwered by a ſpell, or a bolus. By this mode of reaſoning, I partly pacified them for a time; but their reſentment quickly broke out afreſh, and to that heighth did it arrive that, accompanied by a band of deſperate ruffians, they directed their courſe to Tarichæ, with the full intent of putting theſe unfortunate ſtrangers to death.

The inſtant I became acquainted with the ſtep they had taken, I haſtily aſſembled as many troops as the ſhortneſs of the time would permit, and took the ſame rout, with the view of preventing the execution of their deſign, being ſenſible, that a connivance at an action of ſuch ſavage barbarity would render me univerſally odious. In ſhort, I reached the reſidence of the ſtrangers juſt in time to barricade the doors, and to take neceſſary ſteps for the ſecurity of the houſe, before the arrival of the aſſailants; and, conveying my two noble gueſts, through a back-door, to the lake which was behind the houſe, I croſſed over with them to the frontiers of the Hippenians, where I left them; having firſt paid them the value of their horſes, which their haſte would not permit them to carry off; and, at parting, I recommended to them to ſubmit to their hard fate with becoming fortitude. It was with the utmoſt regret that I ſaw myſelf thus compelled to abandon theſe men, who had thrown themſelves upon my protection, to the mercy of their enemies; yet I judged it preferable thus to commit them to the care of providence, than to ſuffer them to remain expoſed to a certain deſtruction, from the perfidy of my own people. They at length, however, ſurmounted all their difficulties, and were again received into favour by King Agrippa.

Intelligence having been communicated to me that the people of Tiberias had ſecretly diſpatched a letter to King Agrippa, with a tender of their ſervices, provided he would engage to furniſh them with a ſufficient number of troops to protect them, I inſtantly repaired to that city. The inhabitants, upon my arrival, reminded me of my promiſe to rebuild their walls, having learnt, as it afterwards appeared, that I had already fulfilled my engagement in that point with the Taricheans. To ſatisfy them, I gave orders for materials and workmen to be provided, and that the buſineſs ſhould be entered upon immediately. Having continued there three days, I departed for Tarichæ, which is diſtant about thirty furlongs. Immediately after my departure, a body of Roman troops, being on their march, paſſed within ſight

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of Tiberias; and the inhabitants, miſtaking them for the forces of King Agrippa, gave a ſudden looſe to the moſt extravagant encomiums on the king, and to the ſevereſt cenſures on me. A meſſenger was ſoon afterwards diſpatched to me, in great haſte, with information that the people were ripe for a revolt. This intelligence threw me into the utmoſt conſternation; for, the ſabbath now approaching, I had ſent away the ſoldiers from Taricheæ, in order to the more quiet celebration of that feſtival. Moreover, ſuch was my confidence in the zeal and affection of the inhabitants, that I ſeldom retained any guard about me during my reſidence in that place, and had only ſeven ſoldiers, and a ſmall number of my friends with me at the time in queſtion.

Thus circumſtanced, I was perplexed in the higheſt degree what courſe to take. It being now evening, to have re-aſſembled my troops would have anſwered no purpoſe, as they could not have acted on the next day, and, with reſpect to the inhabitants of Taricheæ, their number, including foreigners and natives, could I have purchaſed their aſſiſtance, which I probably might have done by the promiſe of granting them leave to pillage the city, would have been too inconſiderable to have anſwered my purpoſe. However, it was neceſſary that I ſhould be ſpeedy in my determination, leſt the mal-contents ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the city, and ſhut me out; I therefore adopted the following ſtratagem: I committed the care of the gates to ſome of my moſt intimate and truſty friends, with a ſtrict injunction to ſuffer no perſon whatever to paſs through. They had it, further, in charge from me, to cauſe each of the principal citizens to go on board his reſpective boat, taking with him only one perſon to row it, and to follow me, while I, in another boat, attended by a ſmall party of my friends, and ſeven ſoldiers, ſteered my courſe towards Tiberias; the inhabitants of which city had, in the interim, diſcovered their miſtake relative to the troops they had ſeen. The Tiberians, however, perceiving the lake thus covered with ſo numerous a fleet of boats, which, they concluded, were filled with an army deſtined to the attack of their city, actuated by their apprehenſions, inſtantly laid down their arms, and, accompanied by their wives and children, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner welcomed me on my arrival, wiſhed me ſucceſs in my undertaking, never ſuſpecting that their deſigns were diſcovered, and invited me into the city.

Previous to my landing, I had given orders that all the boats ſhould be anchored at ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore, as to prevent the Tiberians from diſcovering the weakneſs of my apparently formidable fleet. I had now reached the quay, and, after ſeverely reproaching them with their late treacherous conduct, I declared myſelf willing to pardon what had paſſed, on condition, that they ſhould ſend on board of my boat ten of their chief citizens, as hoſtages; with which demand they inſtantly complied, and, by this ſtratagem, I, by degrees, got the whole ſenate and moſt of the principal inhabitants into my hands. The reſt, now taking into conſideration the critical ſtate of their affairs, with one voice imputed the whole blame of the late diſturbances to a bold and turbulent fellow, named Clitus, and requeſted that I would order him to be puniſhed according to his deſerts. This fellow being

ing of my own tribe, I could not conſcientiouſly put him to death; yet, as I perceived the neceſſity of inflicting on him ſome exemplary puniſhment; I commanded one of my guards, named Levi, to cut off one of his hands. This man, dreading the reſentment of the people, dared not execute my orders; and I, on the other ſide, was equally apprehenſive leſt they ſhould notice his heſitation. Without further deliberation, therefore, I addreſſed myſelf to Clitus, and, ſeverely reproaching him with his ingratitude and treachery, condemned him to the loſs of both his hands, and, as far as in him lay, to be his own executioner; further enjoining him to make all diſpatch, leſt I ſhould change his ſentence to one ſtill more ſevere. The fellow was very urgent with me to remit him one half of the puniſhment; to which requeſt, with much ſeeming difficulty, I, at length, yielded; and he inſtantly ſtruck off his left hand with his right, and thus the tumult was at once appeaſed.

I now returned to Taricheæ, leaving the Tiberians impreſſed with the higheſt opinion of my wiſdom, in thus ſubduing, without bloodſhed, ſo formidable an inſurrection. At an entertainment, which I gave to my Tiberian hoſtages, among whom were Juſtus and his father Piſtus, I chanced to obſerve, in the freedom of table diſcourſe, that I conſidered the Romans as the greateſt people on the face of the earth; nevertheleſs, that, circumſtanced as I was, with reſpect to the preſent faction, I thought it moſt prudent to conceal my ſentiments; recommending it to them to follow the example, till affairs ſhould take a turn for the better; and, in the interim, to demean themſelves peaceably under my government, which I promiſed ſhould be as mild as they could deſire. I alſo reminded Juſtus of the conduct of the Galileans towards his brother, whoſe hands they cut off, on a falſe accuſation of forgery, previous to the time of my entrance upon the government; and alſo that the people of Gamala, in conſequence of a diſpute which had ariſen between them and the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, had put Chares, his kinſman, to death: contraſting theſe barbarities with my behaviour to his brother-in-law, Jeſus. Theſe are the chief particulars of our converſation at ſupper; and early the next morning, I gave Juſtus and his companions permiſſion to depart.

A ſhort time previous to this period, Philip, the ſon of Jacimus, quitted Gamala, upon the following occaſion. Having received intelligence of the revolt of Varus, and of the appointment of Equus Modius to his vacant government, he wrote letters to Modius, who was his intimate friend, acquainting him with the ſtate of his affairs, accompanying them with a packet for the king and queen, who were at that time at Berytus, which Modius inſtantly diſpatched, according to the inſtructions ſent him. No ſooner did the king perceive, by the contents of this packet, that the report of Philip's deſertion to the Romans was groundleſs, than his majeſty immediately diſpatched a party of horſe to conduct him to court; and he received him upon his arrival with the moſt honourable teſtimonies of affection and approbation. He was ſoon afterwards ſent, at the head of ſeveral troops of horſe, to the ſort of Gamala, with orders to bring away his family; to re-eſtabliſh the Babylo-

nians in Batanea, and to uſe his utmoſt efforts to reſtrain the people within due ſubjection.

Nearly at this period, a mountebank, named Joſeph, put himſelf at the head of a party of turbulent young people, who were countenanced in their ſeditious conduct by ſome few of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of the place. This man endeavoured to ſeduce the people from their allegiance, and to prevail on them to take arms, in defence, as he pretended, of their violated rights and privileges. This party ſoon became ſo powerful, that no one dared to oppoſe them; they having already, in a ſudden tumult, put to death Chares and his kinſman Jeſus, together with the ſiſter of Juſtus of Tiberias, of whom mention has been made before. They next applied to me for troops to garriſon the town, and workmen to ſurround it with walls, to which requeſt I immediately acceded.

At this juncture, alſo, the Gaularnites inhabiting the whole extent of country as far as the village Solyma, deſerted the party of king Agrippa, and united themſelves with the Romans. I incloſed with walls Sogannes and Seleucia, two places of great natural ſtrength, and fortified ſeveral towns in the Upper Galilee, as Jamnia, Amerytha, and Charabe, ſituated in the mountainous part of the country. I likewiſe fortified the towns of Tarichęæ, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Berſobe, Selame, Jotapata, Capharath, Comoſogana, Næpapha, and the Mount Itabyr; all ſituated in Galilee. It was in theſe places that I formed my magazines of arms and corn.

The ſucceſs with which all my undertakings were attended, created ſo much envy in the breaſt of John, the ſon of Levi, that he determined, at all events, to effect my ruin; and, accordingly, after the walling in of Giſchala, he diſpatched his brother Simon, with an eſcort of an hundred men, to Jeruſalem, with a letter to Simon, the ſon of Gamaliel, requeſting him to uſe his influence with the council, to procure my diſmiſſion from the poſt I held, and the appointment of John as my ſucceſſor. This Simon was one of the principal men of the city, a Phariſee, and, conſequently a rigid obſerver of the Moſaical law; a perſon of exemplary prudence, and particularly qualified to execute a difficult negociation: he, moreover, had long been the intimate friend of John, and my avowed enemy. Yielding to the importunities of John, he tampered with the high-prieſt Ananus, Jeſus, the ſon of Gamala, and others of the party; repreſenting to them, that their intereſt was concerned to reduce my power, and, without delay, to deprive me of the government of Galilee, leſt, upon diſcovery of their deſigns, I ſhould fall ſuddenly upon them with a numerous army, and thereby render all their ſchemes abortive. Ananus objected, on the other hand, that the number of the high-prieſts and heads of the people, who were prepoſſeſſed in favour of my adminiſtration, was ſuch, that it would be difficult to procure a majority againſt me; beſides, that it would be conſidered as an act of injuſtice to condemn a man unheard.

Simon, therefore, deſiſted from all further ſolicitations, and gave them to underſtand, that he would adopt ſome other methods for removing me from the government. He accordingly propoſed to the brother of John, to diſtribute.

Luyken inv.t

Grignion sc.

Annanias the high Priest sends Deputies into Galilee to deprive Josephus of his Command in that Province. Titus gets ten of them cruelly put to death.

diſtribute money and preſents among the friends of Ananus, as the moſt likely method of effecting the deſign they had in view. This ſcheme ſucceeded, and Ananus and his party, without further heſitation, entered upon the execution of the plan for depriving me of my poſt. For this purpoſe, they, in the moſt ſecret manner, commiſſioned four perſons, two of them of noble deſcent, and the others of private rank, but all equally eminent for their abilities, to repair to Galilee on this buſineſs. The perſons thus deputed, were Joazar and Simon, both of ſacerdotal families, and the former a Phariſee; and Jonathan and Ananias, both of the Phariſaical ſect: of theſe, Simon was the youngeſt. Theſe men were inſtructed to attend at the next aſſembly of the Galileans, and to expoſtulate with the members on the prepoſſeſſion they manifeſted in my favour; and to urge, if they ſhould attempt to vindicate ſuch predilection, on the plea, either of my knowledge of the law, of my being a native of Jeruſalem, or of their reſpect for the prieſt-hood, of which I was a member; that each of them had equal pretentions to the government of the province. Thus tutored, and furniſhed moreover, with forty thouſand pieces of ſilver from the public treaſury, the deputies began their journey.

Juſt at this period, a perſon named Jeſus, a Galilean, arrived at Jeruſalem, at the head of a band of ſix hundred ſoldiers. This man entered into an engagement with the deputies, on the promiſe of three months pay, in advance, to accompany them with his troops, and to ſubmit to all their orders. They alſo retained in their ſervice three hundred mercenaries, whom they had collected in the city, and a party of an hundred men, commanded by the brother of John. They were enjoined, in caſe I ſhould voluntarily ſurrender myſelf, to ſend me in chains to Jeruſalem; but to give me no quarter if I ſhould make the leaſt reſiſtance; and were fully indemnified from all conſequences, by the powers granted to them, in their commiſſion. Letters were diſpatched to John, alſo, requiring his aſſiſtance in the deſigns carrying on againſt me; and the Sepphorites, the Gabarenes, and the Tiberians, were likewiſe engaged to lend their aid on the occaſion.

Jeſus, the ſon of Gamala, however, who wiſhed me well, and was privy to all the aforementioned tranſactions, ſent intelligence, it ſeems, from time to time, of what paſſed, to my father, who conſtantly communicated the ſame to me. I was greatly affected by the ingratitude, treachery, and malice of the faction at Jeruſalem; nor was I undiſturbed at the uneaſineſs expreſſed by my father, who eagerly preſſed me to repair to him, expreſſing an earneſt deſire to ſee me once again, before his death. I aſſembled my friends, and acquainted them with my determination to reſign my command and return home, in the courſe of three days. They all expreſſed great ſorrow on the occaſion, and earneſtly ſolicited me to drop my deſign, urging, that my departure would be attended with certain deſtruction to them: but, as my life was now at ſtake, I ſtill perſevered in the reſolution I had formed. The news of my intention was quickly ſpread throughout the whole province, by the diligence of the Galileans, who entertained the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions, that they muſt be inevitably over-run by the out-laws, and other banditti, as ſoon as I ſhould have abandoned them. A large number of people, accompanied

panied by their wives and children, aſſembled, in conſequence, in the great plain of Aſoch, in which city, I at that time, reſided, with the view of prevailing upon me to continue with them; leſs, perhaps, from any motives of affection for me, than from a dread of the danger which threatened themſelves; for they imagined that they had nothing to fear, while I remained amongſt them.

That night, I had a very remarkable dream. Being in great perturbation of mind, ariſing from the intelligence I had received from my father, I fancied that I ſaw the figure of a man approach my bed-ſide, and addreſs me in theſe words: *Take courage, thou worthy man; for all theſe troubles will quickly have an end, and will, moreover, be productive not only of your preſent, but future advantage and ſatisfaction. Be reſolute, therefore, and remember that I forewarned you, that you would be engaged in a war againſt the Romans.* Awaking from this dream, I roſe, with an intention of walking for the benefit of the air, and I no ſooner appeared at the door, which leads towards the plain, than a multitude of the Galileans, of all ages, and either ſex, proſtrated themſelves before me, and, with tears beſought me not to abandon them, in this extremity, to the mercy of their enemies. Perceiving that, notwithſtanding their importunities, I continued inflexible, they, in the moſt ſolemn manner, adjured me to yield to their requeſt, venting, at the ſame time, the bittereſt execrations on the turbulent temper of the people of Jeruſalem.

This ſcene affected me to a very high degree; and, reflecting upon the wretched and forlorn ſituation of theſe inoffenſive people, I determined to expoſe myſelf to every danger, for their ſervice; and, therefore, conſented to retain the command of the province. I, accordingly, deſired that they would ſelect five thouſand men, furniſhing them with arms and ammunition for a march, and that the reſt would return, without delay, to their own habitations. To theſe five thouſand I joined a body of my own troops, conſiſting of three thouſand infantry and eighty horſe, and marched at their head to Chabolo, a village on the borders of Ptolemais, with the apparent view of attacking Placidus, who had been ſent into thoſe parts by Ceſtius Gallus, with a troop of horſe and two companies of foot, to deſtroy all the neighbouring villages belonging to the Galileans. Placidus lay intrenched at a ſmall diſtance from the walls of Ptolemais; and about ſixty furlongs from that place, nearer to Chabolo, I drew up my forces. Both armies ranged in order of battle, and ſeveral times took the field: but, notwithſtanding my utmoſt efforts, I could not induce my antagoniſt to reſt the iſſue of our cauſe on a general engagement.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when John and his aſſociates, the deputies from Jeruſalem, who, as I have before obſerved, had been ſent by Simon, Ananus, the high-prieſt, and their party, arrived in thoſe parts; and, as they found it would be impoſſible to effect their deſigns againſt me by open force, they had recourſe to treachery, and, accordingly, after due deliberation, ſent me the following letter.

Jonathan *and his* Deputy-Colleagues *from the* Council *at* Jeruſalem, *to* Joſeph, *Greeting.*

" It having been repreſented to our principals, that John of Giſchala has, " at ſundry times, been guilty of certain evil practices againſt the ſafety of " your perſon, they have commiſſioned us, in their names, to cenſure him " in the moſt ſevere manner, for his conduct on the occaſion, and to enjoin " him to a due deference to your commands in future. And, in order that " matters may be better regulated for the time to come, we requeſt that you " will repair hither with all convenient ſpeed. As the village is but ſmall, " we deſire that you will bring but few perſons in your train, leſt there ſhould " not be ſufficient room to accommodate them."

By this requiſition I was involved in great perplexity : as, if, on the one hand, I ſhould go thither but ſlightly attended, my perſonal ſafety would be much endangered ; and, on the other, I conſidered that, by marching at the head of my troops, I might ſubject myſelf to a charge of treaſon and rebellion. The meſſenger who brought the above letter, was a trooper, a bold young fellow, who had formerly been employed in the ſervice of the king. I chanced to be at ſupper, with ſome friends, and ſeveral Galileans of quality, when the meſſenger arrived. I ordered him to be introduced ; and, upon his entrance, without the leaſt ſhew of reſpect to the company, he put the packet into my hand, telling me, with an air of inſolence, that it came from the deputies from Jeruſalem, and required an immediate anſwer, as his orders were to return without delay. All preſent expreſſed, by their looks, great ſurprize at the abrupt behaviour of the man. I invited him, however, to partake of our collation, but he declined the offer. During this whole time I kept the letter in my hand unopened, pretending to be engaged in private converſation with ſome of the company, or in attending others, who were retiring. It was in one of theſe intervals that I took the opportunity of breaking open the letter, and, having juſt glanced my eye upon the contents, folded it up again, and returned to my companions, without mentioning the circumſtance. There now remained with me only four of my particular friends, and a boy to ſerve us with wine. I preſented the meſſenger with twenty drachmas, for which he was ſo profuſe in his acknowledgements, that I plainly perceived avarice to be a predominant foible in him, and determined to convert the diſcovery to my advantage. I, therefore, again preſſed him to ſit down to table with us, promiſing to give him a drachma for every cup of wine he ſhould drink. With this propoſal he readily complied, and became, in a ſhort time, ſo violently intoxicated, that, without even the trouble of ſounding him on the ſubject, I obtained all the particulars of the deſign in agitation againſt me ; whereby I found that the deputies intended to put me to death, in caſe they ſhould ſucceed in their ſcheme of getting me into their hands. Having made this important diſcovery, I returned the following anſwer to the letter I had received.

Joſeph *to* Jonathan *and his* Fellow-Deputies, *Greeting.*

" It gives me great pleaſure to hear of your health, and that you are ar-
" rived in Galilee, the more particularly, as I am preparing to return to Je-
" ruſalem; a deſign which I have long meditated; and I ſhall now have a
" fitting opportunity to reſign into your hands the government of the pro-
" vince. I ſhould be happy to wait on you at Xallo, or at any more diſtant
" place, were it only for the ſatisfaction which the interview would afford
" me. But, unfortunately, the exigency of public affairs requires me to
" continue in the poſt which I have for ſome time paſt occupied in the neigh-
" bourhood of Chabolo, in order to watch the motions of Placidus, who
" menaces the province of Galilee with an attack; and, for theſe reaſons,
" I think it more adviſeable that you ſhould, inſtantly upon the receipt of
" this letter, repair to me hither: and ſo I bid you farewell."

I re-diſpatched the meſſenger with this anſwer, and ordered thirty Galileans of the firſt rank to accompany him; ſtrictly enjoining them to make their compliments only to the deputies, without entering into any further intercourſe with them; and I ſent likewiſe one of my own guards, in whom I repoſed great confidence, to watch narrowly that they ſtrictly complied with the injunction. The deputies, perceiving, on the arrival of the above perſons, that their plot had failed, addreſſed a ſecond letter to me, conceived in the following terms.

Jonathan *and his* Colleagues *to* Joſeph, *Greeting.*

" You are hereby required to appear before us, at Gabara, within three
" days from the date hereof, to juſtify the accuſation which you have exhibited
" againſt John of Giſchala; and you are further enjoined to repair to the
" place above ſpecified, without any military attendance."

Having ſent away this letter, they directly repaired to Japha, one of the moſt conſiderable villages, in point of magnitude, populouſneſs, and ſtrength, in Galilee. Immediately upon their arrival, the inhabitants roſe in the moſt tumultuous manner, and, with one voice, told the deputies to be gone; declaring that they were perfectly ſatisfied with my adminiſtration, and would yield obedience to no other governor. This behaviour of the inhabitants induced the deputies to retire in haſte to Sepphoris; the beſt built city in the whole province, and ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of the Romans. They were received here, tis true, with rather more reſpect than at the latter place, being conducted into the city by a party of the inhabitants; but not a word paſſed, on either ſide, relative to me. From thence they went to Aſoch, where they experienced a ſimilar treatment to what they had met with at Japha. This contemptuous conduct of the people enraged them ſo much, that they commanded the ſoldiers to repreſs their inſolence with blows. Continuing their journey to Gabara, they were there joined by John, at the head

of

of a corps of three thouſand men. As I had now received full information of the deſigns of my enemies, I ſelected a party of three thouſand men from the army under my command, and marched with them to Jotapata, diſtant about forty ſtadia, from our camp; in order to preſerve a communication with the main body, which I left under the care of a friend in whom I could confide. From this place I once more addreſſed the deputies in the following letter.

Joſeph *to* Jonathan *and his* Fellow-Deputies, *Greeting.*

" If it appears to you to be ſo abſolutely requiſite that I ſhould attend you, " I am ready to give you a meeting at any one you ſhall name of the four hun- " dred cities and villages of Galilee, excepting only Gabara and Giſchala; " the firſt being the birth-place of John, and the latter, the reſidence of his " family and friends."

Upon the receipt of this letter, they deſiſted from all further importunities, and, calling a council of their friends, at which John himſelf was preſent, entered into debate what other meaſures ſhould be adopted for the accompliſhment of their purpoſe. John recommended the ſending circular letters throughout the whole diſtrict of Galilee, not doubting but that, in each city and village of the province, one or more perſons might be found ſufficiently inclined to do me any ill office, and who might, without much difficulty, be prevailed on to join in an accuſation againſt me of having betrayed the intereſts of the public. Could this deſign have been effected, the people of Jeruſalem would, doubtleſs, have conſidered me as an enemy to the Galileans, and I ſhould, in conſequence, have been utterly deprived of their future confidence. This propoſition being adopted, intelligence thereof was communicated to me, late the ſame night, by a deſerter named Sacchæus.

Being now well aware of the imminent danger which threatened me, I, without further delay, diſpatched Jacob and Jeremy, both men of approved courage, and my particular friends, the firſt with two, and the other with ſix hundred men, to ſecure the paſſes, and to way-lay all the roads between Galilee and Gabara, and Jeruſalem and Galilee; ordering them to ſeize all ſuſpected perſons, particularly all couriers, and to ſend to me whatever letters might be found upon them. I likewiſe ſent ſummonſes throughout the whole province of Galilee, enjoining all perſons to repair to me the next morning at Gabara, properly armed, and bringing with them proviſions for three days. I divided the troops I had with me into four ſeparate bodies, giving the command of them to my moſt experienced officers, with orders not to admit a ſingle ſtranger into their reſpective corps.

Upon my arrival at Gabara, in the forenoon of the next day, I found the whole plain covered with the Galilean troops, together with a numerous body of peaſants. I had ſcarcely began to addreſs myſelf to them, when they interrupted me with the loudeſt ſhouts and acclamations, unanimouſly ſtyling me their benefactor and deliverer. I made my moſt grateful acknowledgements for this flattering teſtimony of their favour, but conjured them to act with moderation, and to do no man the leaſt injury whatever, either in his perſon

perſon, or property; urging that, as they had a ſufficiency of proviſion, they could have no inducement to oppoſe my earneſt deſire of effecting a reconciliation without bloodſhed.

It fortunately happened that the perſons to whom I had committed the care of ſecuring the paſſes, intercepted, on the very firſt day, ſome diſpatches from Jonathan, to the faction at Jeruſalem. They detained the meſſengers, as I had ordered them, and ſent their packets to me; which, on peruſal, I found replete with the groſſeſt calumnies and ſcurrilities againſt myſelf. This incident I kept profoundly ſecret, and continued my journey, as if nothing had happened of any conſequence. The inſtant that the deputies heard of my being on my march towards them, they took ſhelter, together with John, in the houſe of Jeſus; a ſpacious and ſtrong building, conſtructed much upon the plan of a citadel. A band of ſoldiers were concealed in the houſe; one of the gates only was ſuffered to be kept open, and orders were given that, upon my arrival, (for they ſuppoſed I meant to pay them a viſit,) I ſhould be admitted alone, and thus they imagined, that by excluding my attendants, they ſhould inevitably make themſelves maſters of my perſon. Providentially, however, I eſcaped their machinations; for, having received a ſlight intimation of the deſign, and entertaining, moreover, ſome ſuſpicion of the matter myſelf; on my arrival, I repaired, immediately, under pretence of fatigue, to the apartment provided for me, at a houſe in the city, directly oppoſite to that of Jeſus.

The deputies not doubting that I had laid myſelf down to reſt, embraced the opportunity, and went to the plain, for the purpoſe of prejudicing the people againſt me and my adminiſtration. But the reception they met with was totally different from what they expected; for the Galileans, inſtantly upon their approach, began to upbraid them in the moſt bitter terms. They made great complaint of the conduct of the council at Jeruſalem towards them, and peremptorily refuſed to receive any governor but myſelf. Finding the people thus diſpoſed, I went to the ſpot where Jonathan and his colleagues had ſtationed themſelves, with the view of compelling them to produce their proofs of my miſconduct before the public aſſembly. Immediately upon my appearance, the people ſurrounded me with looks ſtrongly expreſſive of joy, which ſo cloſely correſponded with their words and actions, that the deputies became violently apprehenſive for their ſafety, and would fain have withdrawn. At my requeſt, however, they ſtaid; nor, indeed, were they allowed the liberty of choice, but remained, like ſo many ſtatues, rivetted in amazement to the ſpot on which they ſtood. Having obtained ſilence, and poſted ſome of my beſt troops at the avenues, to prevent a ſurprize, and being ſurrounded by the reſt of my guards, I addreſſed myſelf to the deputies in a ſpeech to the following purport.

I began with reminding them of the letter they had ſent me, producing it at the ſame time, in which they pretended to be impowered by the council at Jeruſalem to hear and determine upon certain matters in diſpute between John and myſelf. I then propoſed it to themſelves, whether, admitting that they were duly authorized to enquire into my conduct, they would not aquit me upon the teſtimony of two or three perſons of eſtabliſhed reputations.

"But," said I, confining my address to Jonathan, "what if I should refer "myself to the evidence of every person here assembled, for the justification "both of my private and public conduct?" Then, turning to the people, I conjured them, to deliver their sentiments of my administration, without the least reserve. They instantly, with one voice, made an open declaration of the blessings which they had enjoyed under my government; affirming, with repeated asseverations, that I had been as cautious to prevent any injury or insult being offered to their wives and daughters, as to preserve them in the undisturbed possession of their rights and property; concluding, that they had no other wish, than that those blessings might be confirmed to them by my continuance in the command of the province. I next read, in the hearing of numbers of the Galileans, the two intercepted letters of Jonathan, mentioned above. They were replete with falsehoods and scurrility, and represented me in the light rather of a tyrant, than of a governor.

Being desirous of concealing from my foes the manner in which those letters came into my hands, lest they should send their future dispatches by some other rout, I feigned that they had been voluntarily brought to me by their own couriers. The multitude were so highly incensed against Jonathan and his associates, on account of these letters, that they would, doubtless, have sacrificed them, but for my interference. After enjoining the deputies to repentance and amendment, I gave them their liberty; and, at parting, desired them, upon their arrival at Jerusalem, to make the people acquainted with the exact state of all that had passed; with which request, however, I was fully persuaded, beforehand, they would not comply, notwithstanding their promises, of which they were very liberal. In spite of the great influence which I had obtained over the people, their resentment against Jonathan and his colleagues had risen to so high a pitch, that they formed the resolution of sacrificing them in their quarters. They were very urgent with me to grant my sanction to this design; but, reflecting on the dangerous consequences of an insurrection, I exerted myself to the utmost, to divert them from their intention.

Perceiving, at length, that all my efforts to restrain them would be vain, I put myself at their head, and ordered them to follow me to Sogane, a village of Arabia, which is about forty stadia distant from Gabara; and thus I avoided the imputation of being the author of a civil war. At a small distance from the place, I commanded my troops to halt, and, after a short speech, in which I recommended it to them to act with moderation, I selected one hundred persons, the most eminent in point of rank and abilities, for the purpose of sending them to Jerusalem, to prefer a complaint to the council, against the ring-leaders in the late tumults. They were further instructed, in case they should find the inhabitants of Jerusalem well disposed towards me, to endeavour to procure a renewal of my commission, together with the recall of John. Thus instructed, they began their journey on the third day, attended by an escort of five hundred soldiers. At the same time, I dispatched letters to my friends at Samaria, requesting a free passage through that district for my deputies, the city being, at that period, under the Roman government, and as, by this rout, they might arrive at Jerusalem in three days.

I accompanied them as far as the frontiers of Galilee, and took ſuch precautions to conceal their departure, that it remained a ſecret for a conſiderable time: after this I continued a few days at Japha.

When Jonathan and his colleagues found all their ſchemes thus diſappointed, they ſent John back to Giſchala, and repaired to Tiberias, of which city they hoped to poſſeſs themſelves, through the influence of Jeſus, who was the chief magiſtrate there, and who had pledged himſelf to engage the citizens in their intereſt. But Silas, who commanded there, in my abſence, ſent me intelligence, from time to time, of all that paſſed, and preſſed me to return thither with all poſſible diſpatch. In conſequence of my adopting this advice, I fell into a ſnare, which had nearly proved my deſtruction.

The deputies from Jeruſalem, who had raiſed a powerful party againſt me in Tiberias, were greatly confounded upon my arrival at that city. They however, paid me the compliment of a viſit; repeatedly felicitating me on the high reputation I had acquired in the execution of my office, and claiming to themſelves ſome ſmall ſhare therein, both as I was their fellow-citizen, and had been, in a manner, their pupil. They profeſſed much friendſhip for me, and engaged, if I would return, and leave the management of the buſineſs to them, to deliver John into my hands in the courſe of a very ſhort time; confirming their promiſes with ſuch ſolemn oaths and imprecations, as induced my fulleſt confidence. This being the eve of the ſabbath, they from thence took occaſion to recommend me to retire with my troops to ſome neighbouring place, leſt any tumult ſhould ariſe among the people on that day. In order to quiet their feigned apprehenſions, I, ſuſpecting nothing of their deſigns, repaired to Tarichеæ; taking the precaution, however, to place my ſpies about the city and upon the road, to give me the earlieſt notice of any material incident that might happen during my abſence. The people aſſembled on the next day in the Oratory, the chief place of worſhip in that city, and which was capable of containing a vaſt number of perſons: with the reſt came Jonathan, accompanied by his colleagues. In a ſhort time after his entrance, he roſe, and, addreſſing himſelf to the people, expreſſed his concern, that the city was not provided with better governors; and there he ſtopped; being, at firſt, cautious of ſhewing too plainly that he meant to incite the citizens to a ſedition. But Jeſus, the chief magiſtrate, ſpoke with leſs reſerve, and told the aſſembly, in plain terms, that it would be far more to their advantage to be governed by four perſons, than by one; eſpecially if ſuch governors were of noble birth, and approved abilities as thoſe men were, pointing to Jonathan and his aſſociates, who ſtood cloſe by him. Juſtus, likewiſe, declared himſelf of the ſame opinion, and he induced many others to adopt the like ſentiments. But the populace were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the contrary perſuaſion, that a dangerous tumult muſt inevitably have enſued, had not the deputies, it being now the hour of twelve, which is the dinner-hour among the Jews on the ſabbath-day, adjourned the meeting to the next morning.

The moſt early intelligence of theſe proceedings having been conveyed to me, I departed at ſun-riſe, the next day, for Tiberias, where I found the people aſſembled in the Oratory, though they were totally ignorant of the cauſe of

their meeting. My unexpected appearance ſo greatly confounded the deputies, that they were utterly at a loſs, for ſome time, how to proceed; at length, however, they determined to raiſe a report, that a body of Roman cavalry had been ſeen at the diſtance of about thirty ſtadia from the city, near Homonæa. This rumour was ſpread with ſuch induſtry and confidence, even by the authors of it themſelves, that it quickly cauſed a ferment among the people, who loudly exclaimed againſt the ſcandal of permitting their country to be thus ravaged and deſtroyed, while they remained inactive ſpectators of the devaſtation. I plainly perceived that the deputies intended, by this ſtratagem, to compel me to quit the city, and to go in purſuit of this ideal enemy, that they might ſecure the poſſeſſion of it to themſelves, by alienating the affections of the citizens from me. Nevertheleſs, that I might not appear deficient in my attention to the welfare of the Tiberians, I determined immediately to begin my march in ſearch of thoſe troops, though convinced that I ſhould thereby further the deſigns which my foes were concerting againſt me. But finding, upon my arrival at the place where this body of cavalry was ſuppoſed to have been ſeen, that none ſuch had appeared, or been heard of, I poſted back, in all haſte, to Tiberias, where the ſenate and people were engaged in ſecret council, and the deputies, in the midſt of a tedious harangue, filled with the moſt bitter invectives againſt me, whom they repreſented as a man totally addicted to his pleaſures, and utterly regardleſs of the public welfare.

At the ſame time they produced four letters, which they feigned to have received from four of the moſt diſtant parts of Galilee, containing a repreſentation of the imminent danger to which they were expoſed, and requeſting immediate aſſiſtance. This ſtory was readily believed by the credulous Tiberians, and they unanimouſly inſiſted that ſuccour ſhould be ſent to their allies with the utmoſt expedition. I, therefore, having by this time penetrated into the deſign, expreſſed my willingneſs to bear an adequate part in the execution of whatever meaſures might be deemed requiſite for the public ſervice; obſerving that, as the advices which had been received, mentioned four ſeveral incurſions, the army ought to be divided into as many different bodies, in order to repel them; and that, it being the duty of every good citizen to ſerve his country in perſon as well as with his advice, the deputies were under an obligation each to take upon himſelf the command of one of the diviſions. This propoſition was univerſally approved, and the deputies, highly enraged to find all their treachery thus countermined and defeated, were compelled to take their reſpective parts in this adventure. Ananias, one of the four pretended deputies, and a man of a malignant diſpoſition, adviſed the appointment of a ſolemn faſt, to be obſerved on the next day, with an injunction to the people to meet at a particular hour, and without arms; proclaiming his confidence in the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, independent of human aid. His intention in this propoſal was, evidently, to diſarm me and my troops; yet was I neceſſitated to concur therein, that I might not be ſuſpected of a contempt of the religious motives by which he appeared to be actuated.

Jonathan and his colleagues, upon the riſing of the aſſembly, diſpatched a meſſenger to John, deſiring him to come to them without fail at an early hour the

the next morning, with whatever force he might be able to raiſe; being convinced that, if they could ſecure my perſon, they might afterwards act as they pleaſed. On the next day, I privately armed myſelf with a corſlet and ſword, concealed under my cloaths, and chuſing two of the braveſt and moſt truſty of my guards, I ordered them to take a ſhort ſword each, and to follow me to the Oratory. This precaution I took, that I might be enabled to repel any inſult which might be offered me. When we came to the Oratory, I was directly admitted, with my friends; but Jeſus, who kept the door, would not permit any of my attendants to follow. Juſt at the inſtant that the aſſembly were about to proceed to their devotions, Jeſus ſtarted up, and queſtioned me, Where, and in whoſe hands, the valuable furniture, and the ſilver in the maſs, which were ſaved from the flames when the royal palace was conſumed, had been depoſited? This he did merely with the view of delaying the time, till the arrival of John with his troops. I anſwered him, however, that all thoſe articles had been committed to the care of Capella, and ten of the chief citizens of Tiberias; to whom I referred him for a confirmation of the truth of what I advanced. Capella and the reſt, thereupon, acknowledged the receipt of the effects in queſtion. I was then required to give an account in what manner I had diſpoſed of the twenty pieces of gold, which I received for a like value in ſilver? I replied, that I had diſtributed that money to defray the expences of the envoys whom I had ſent to Jeruſalem. Jonathan and his aſſociates obſerved, that I had acted very wrong, in paying my own agents from the public treaſure. This evident captiouſneſs of my foes enraged the populace to that degree, that all things ſeemed to tend towards an inſurrection: perceiving which, I judged it would be for my advantage to foment the diſturbance. I, therefore, told Jonathan, that he need give himſelf no further concern about the money in queſtion, as I would take due care that it ſhould be refunded.

In proportion as my conduct appeared clear from imputation, the reſentment of the multitude grew more violent. This happened ſo contrary to the expectation of the faction, that Jeſus ordered the place to be cleared of all thoſe who were not ſenators, under the pretext that the buſineſs on which they had met, could not be tranſacted in the midſt of ſuch clamour and confuſion; the people, on the other hand, loudly declaring their reſolution not to leave me alone with them. In the midſt of the conteſt, a meſſenger entered, and whiſpered Jonathan, that John was cloſe at hand with his troops. This intelligence ſo far emboldened Jonathan, that, giving a looſe to his virulence againſt me, he addreſſed himſelf to the people aſſembled, in theſe words: *Do not imagine, ye men of Tiberias, that I wiſh to have Joſeph puniſhed for his miſconduct in the affair of the money, but for his impoſitions on the ignorant multitude, and an undue exertion of arbitrary power.* He had no ſooner finiſhed his ſpeech, than ſeveral ruffians, who had been hired for the purpoſe, attacked me, and would certainly have put me to death, had not my friends drawn their ſwords and interpoſed in my defence; the populace, threatening to ſtone Jonathan, whom they conſidered as the projector of the deſign againſt me; and thus, by the efforts of both parties, I was preſerved from the attempts of my foes. I had ſcarcely quitted the aſſembly, when I

met

met John at the head of his troops. This unexpected rencounter confounded me greatly, but, with ſome difficulty, I avoided them, and, taking a bye-road, reached the lake, where I took boat, and arrived ſafely at Tarichęæ.

Upon my arrival, I ſummoned a meeting of the principal men of the province, and particularized to them the palpable breaches of humanity and faith of Jonathan, recapitulating the circumſtances of his treachery and inhumanity towards the Tiberians. The Galileans were ſo highly exaſperated by my harangue, that it became neceſſary to take ſome meaſures for appeaſing their fury, and preventing an immediate declaration of war againſt Jonathan, John, and their adherents, whom they declared themſelves reſolutely determined to purſue with unremitting fury, on condition only of my giving a vote of conſent. I repreſented to them the probable ill conſequences of an impetuoſity of conduct on the preſent occaſion, and declared myſelf of opinion, that it would be moſt eligible to wait for intelligence of what had been tranſacted by the deputies at Jeruſalem, as their concurrence was neceſſary previous to our adopting any meaſures of conſequence. Theſe, with ſome other arguments I made uſe of, happily occaſioned the rage of the Galileans to ſubſide: and John, being once more diſconcerted in his treachery, returned to Giſchala.

Some days ſubſequent to the above events, diſpatches were received from Jeruſalem, intimating that Ananus and Simon, the ſon of Gamaliel, had fallen under the diſpleaſure of the government there, in conſequence of having made attempts, by means of their agents, to deprive me of the government of Galilee, and for preſuming to act, without the ſanction of public authority, in a buſineſs of ſo much importance; and that their conduct had proved ſo highly diſguſting to the people, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could be prevented from deſtroying their habitations. Other letters were alſo brought, from which it appeared, that the chief inhabitants of Jeruſalem, acting with the conſent and authority of the public, had commanded the immediate departure of John and his aſſociates, and, by unanimous conſent, confirming me in the honourable ſtation I poſſeſſed.

I now haſted to Arbela, where I had ſummoned an aſſembly of the Galileans: and when they had convened, my deputies repreſented what had paſſed at Jeruſalem, ſetting forth the reſentment which prevailed among the people againſt Jonathan; that a commiſſion had been tranſmitted to me, whereby a formal ratification was given for the continuance of my government of the province; and that an order had been iſſued, enjoining Jonathan and his followers to decline all further pretences. This order to John and his aſſociates was diſpatched to them by a meſſenger, who was directed to make the moſt particular obſervation of their features when they received it. They were thrown into the greateſt conſternation, on the peruſal of the order, and immediately ſummoned a council, John himſelf, and the chief men of Tiberias and Gabara being nominated to compoſe the ſame, in order to determine upon meaſures.

The Tiberians were unwilling to truſt the power out of their own hands, and to abandon a people who had claimed their protection, at a time, when

they wickedly aſſerted, I had threatened them with an invaſion. John coincided in the opinion of the Tiberians, and propoſed that two deputies ſhould be ſent to Jeruſalem, to exhibit an accuſation of mal-practices in the execution of my office, pretending that the reputation of my accuſers, and the unſteady diſpoſition of the people they had to negotiate with, would inevitably operate to my diſadvantage in the minds of the populace. This matter was aſſented to, and a guard of an hundred ſoldiers was appointed to conduct Jonathan and Ananus to Jeruſalem, the reſt of the troops remaining at Tiberias. A conſiderable body of John's troops being at Giſchala, they were ordered to repair to Tiberias, where the people made preparation for taking up arms, and began a general repair of their walls.

Jonathan and his followers having proceeded as far as Dabaritta, (an extenſive plain on the borders of Galilee) about mid-night were met by a detachment of my out-guards, who, in compliance with my command, attacked, and made priſoners of them. Levi, who commanded the party, gave me information of this circumſtance, which for ſome days I omitted to take notice of: I ſent meſſengers, however, to perſuade the people of Tiberias to lay down their arms: but from an idea that Jonathan had by this time arrived at Jeruſalem, inſtead of proper and manly anſwers, they ſent me meſſages in the moſt contemptible terms. But this indecent treatment did not, in the leaſt, abate my deſire of prevailing with the Tiberians; for I would, on no conſideration, have been the promoter of civil diſcord. It occurred, that ſome advantage might ariſe, if I could entice them out of the town; and, in conſequence of this ſuggeſtion, I drew off ten thouſand choice men, dividing them into three corps, and ſtationing one thouſand of them about four ſtadia from Tiberias in a village upon the mountains, and ordering the reſt to Dora.

I now came out of the village, and being within ſight of the Tiberians, they approached me, expreſſing the utmoſt contempt, and caſting reflections on me, equally undeſerved and ſevere. Their vanity and inſolence was ſo extreme, that, in order to expoſe me as an object of deriſion, they even repreſented my funeral; in which ridiculous and fantaſtical parade, the effigy of my body was expoſed in the open field amidſt a group of people meant to perſonate my mourners. But it was not my buſineſs to attend to this trifling.

I judged it expedient to get Simon and Joazar into my power, and to effect this, I pretended a deſire of compromiſing the prevailing differences, by dividing the adminiſtration among us. I imagined that this ſtratagem would have brought them out of the town, with ſome friends, and ſuch a number of guards as they might judge neceſſary for the ſafety of their perſons. Joazar being the more crafty man, ſuſpected my deſign, and rejected the propoſal: but Simon having meaner abilities, and being avaricious withal, came over to me without heſitation, attended by his friends and guards. I treated him with proper reſpect and acknowledgements, and after ſome time ſpent in converſation, under pretence of a deſire to be more private, I led him to ſome diſtance from the perſons by whom he was attended, then ſeized him round the waiſt, and ordered him to be conducted to an adjacent village. At this inſtant

inſtant I gave a ſignal for my people to join me, and that being duly complied with, proceeded towards Tiberias.

On our way, we had an encounter with the enemy, who behaved with ſo much bravery, that it was with great difficulty I kept my men to their ground; but after an obſtinate conteſt, it was my fortune to prove victorious, and the Tiberians retreated into the town. I had diſpatched a party, by the way of the lake, to ſet fire to the firſt houſe they ſhould meet with; and this being done at a lucky moment, the enemy imagining that the city was taken by force, laid down their arms, and, as a vanquiſhed people, came, with their women and children, and ſued for clemency. Satisfied with this ſubmiſſion, I ſounded a retreat, and the evening drawing on, retired for refreſhment, and invited Simon to ſup with me, accompanying my meſſage with the encouraging aſſurance, that he ſhould be ſafely conducted to Jeruſalem, and provided with every convenience on his journey.

I marched into Tiberias on the following day, with ten thouſand men; and having aſſembled the moſt conſiderable people of the town, made all neceſſary enquiries concerning the faction, the moſt active promoters of which I ſent under a proper guard to Jotapata; excepting Jonathan and his particular followers, whom I diſmiſſed, and moreover appointed a guard of five hundred men to convoy them ſafe to Jeruſalem, giving them a ſum ſufficient to defray all the expences of their journey.

I had now a ſecond viſit from the people of Tiberias, who ſupplicated my forgiveneſs, and made the moſt ſolemn proteſtations that an unremitting fidelity ſhould make ample recompence for former errors, finally petitioning that the plunder might be reſtored to the proper owners. Upon the interceſſion of theſe people, I commanded every article which had been pillaged to be brought into my preſence; but I obſerved, that the ſoldiers obeyed with reluctance, and that one of them had on a more coſtly habit than I thought it became a man in his ſtation to wear; I therefore queſtioned him, as to the manner of obtaining it, and his anſwers proving it to be a part of the plunder, I ordered a ſevere diſcipline to be inflicted upon him, and gave notice, that if any other ſhould be found guilty of a ſimilar offence, he ſhould be doomed to a ſtill more exemplary puniſhment; and I afterwards, as far as circumſtances would admit, cauſed the articles which had been ſeized, to be returned to their reſpective proprietors.

I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without endeavouring to controvert the aſſertions of Juſtus, who, in treating upon the matter at preſent in queſtion, has tranſmitted to poſterity the moſt profligate falſehoods, under the reſpectable name of hiſtory; and the ſame charge may, with equal juſtice, be adduced againſt other writers, : but I ſhall confine myſelf to Juſtus, who, in giving an account of the war, has advanced a number of palpable fictions, which are calculated to reflect on his own country, and to brand me with diſhonor. It is therefore neceſſary, that I ſhould now divulge certain matters, which I have hitherto concealed from the world.

An hiſtorian is peculiarly bound to keep within the limits of truth; but a modeſt author is embarraſſed when an abandoned character comes in his way, and he will ſometimes heſitate to record diſgraceful facts; but he will not

ſuppreſs

ſuppreſs his ſentiments from a motive of delicacy towards the infamous ſubject, but from a regard to the dignity of his own profeſſion. "Thou, Juſtus, "who haſt put in a claim to the character of an impartial writer, ſay, Did "not you, and your Tiberians make war againſt the Decapolitans in Syria, "and burn their villages, previous to the revolt of the Galileans from their "prince and the Roman empire, and the honour that was conferred on me "by the commiſſion conſtituting me governor of Galilee: and was not one "of your attendants ſlain in the action? How, then, canſt thou attribute to "me the cauſe of that revolt? The records of the emperor Veſpaſian will "confirm my aſſertions on this head: from which it will appear, that, du-"ring the reſidence of that prince at Ptolemais, the Decapolitans were con-"tinually importuning him for juſtice on you, as the chief author of all their "troubles; with which requeſt he would, undoubtedly, have complied, "had not king Agrippa, who was charged with the execution of the ſentence, "granted you your life, at the interceſſion of his ſiſter, Berenice: but not-"withſtanding this remiſſion, you did not obtain your liberty for a con-"ſiderable time afterwards. Moreover, your conduct has been perfectly "conſiſtent through life, as will hereafter be ſeen; for I ſhall demonſtrate, "beyond a doubt, that you was the chief inſtigator of the Tiberian rebellion. "I ſhall now prove, that both yourſelf and the Tiberians equally betrayed "the intereſts of your ſovereign, and of the emperor.

"Sepphoris and Tiberias, the latter your native place, are the two prin-"cipal cities of Galilee. The former of theſe is ſituated in the center of the "province, and has ſeveral villages under its juriſdiction; and ſuch was the "fidelity of the inhabitants to the ſuperiors of the town, that they, not ſatiſ-"fied with ſhutting their gates againſt me, ſtrictly prohibited, by a public "edict, all perſons whatever from bearing arms in the ſervice of our "nation.

"With the view of making all poſſible proviſion for their defence, they "artfully obtained from me a promiſe to encloſe their city with walls; which "I had no ſooner performed, than they ejected me in the moſt contemptuous "manner; and, without the leaſt heſitation, admitted a Roman garriſon, "under the command of Ceſtius Gallus, who was at that time governor of "Syria; and theſe tranſactions happened at the very time that I held all the "neighbouring country in abſolute ſubjection. Nay, ſo cautious were they "of giving the leaſt umbrage to the Romans, that, when the temple was "beſieged, and the very exiſtence of our nation, conſequently depended upon "the event, they declined contributing, in the ſmalleſt degree, to our "relief.

"With reſpect to the ſituation of the diſtrict in which you commanded; it "lies on the banks of the lake Genneſareth, at the diſtance of about thirty "ſtadia from Hippos, ſixty from Gabara, and an hundred and twenty from "Scythopolis; all which places were in the poſſeſſion of the king's troops, "and, moreover, ſtrongly garriſoned. What, let me aſk you, with all "theſe advantages on your ſide, could have prevented you from diſcharging "your duty to the Romans, had you in your heart been inclined thereto? "But, admitting that I was, as you contend, at that time, in ſome meaſure,

" the cauſe of the war: to whom, I wiſh to know, is the blame of the ſub-
" ſequent tranſactions to be imputed? For you cannot be ignorant, that
" I had been taken priſoner by the Romans ſome time before the ſiege of Je-
" ruſalem; that the Caſtle of Jotapata, with many others, had been carried
" by ſtorm, and that multitudes of the Galileans had fallen in the various en-
" counters. If it be true, therefore, as you would inſinuate, that you diſ-
" approved of the war, and was forced into it againſt your will, why did you
" not, when that pretended neceſſity no longer ſubſiſted, lay down your arms,
" and throw yourſelf on the mercy of your ſovereign, and of the Romans,
" as I was then no longer in a condition to hurt you.

" But you perverſely perſiſted in your rebellion, till Veſpaſian had advan-
" ced with his troops to the very walls of your city; when you found it ab-
" ſolutely requiſite to ſubmit, in order to avoid that ruin which muſt, other-
" wiſe, have been inevitable. Nor would this ſubmiſſion have availed you
" any thing, but for the interceſſion of the king in your behalf; for your
" madneſs and folly would certainly have been puniſhed with the total deſtruc-
" tion of the city, had he not obtained your pardon from the emperor: your
" enmity, therefore, to the Romans proceeded, not from any fault of mine,
" but merely from the impulſe of your own rancourous diſpoſition. Did I
" not repeatedly grant you both life and liberty, when the chance of war had
" put you in my power? Yet, it is notorious that, in the rage of your inteſ-
" tine broils, actuated neither by a zeal for the king's ſervice, nor for that of
" the Romans, but ſolely by a ſpirit of animoſity and vengeance againſt each
" other, you, on one occaſion only, put to death no leſs than one hundred
" and eighty five of the citizens; which incident happened during the time I
" was blocked up in Jotapata. Moreover, were not two thouſand of the
" Tiberians killed and taken priſoners during the ſiege of Jeruſalem? Do you
" imagine that, becauſe you appeared, at this time, in the court of your ſo-
" vereign, not from any motives of duty or affection for his perſon, but from
" an apprehenſion of falling into my hands, you were not, therefore, to be
" conſidered as an enemy?

" If, then, as you pretend, my conduct has been reprehenſible, what opi-
" nion muſt the world entertain of your actions? Notwithſtanding you had
" been twice baniſhed, as often impriſoned, and once even reſcued from an
" ignominious death, through the interceſſion of the emperor's ſiſter, Bere-
" nice; yet, when your royal maſter had received you again into favour, and in-
" veſted you with the honourable office of ſecretary, you acted ſo inconſiſtently
" with your duty, that he was compelled to forbid you his court and preſence
" for ever.

" Without ſearching further into your mal-practices, I cannot ſufficiently
" applaud your modeſty, in aſſuming to yourſelf the merit of having given a
" more faithful and exact account of this war, than any other writer on the
" ſubject; when, in fact, you are totally unacquainted with the particulars of
" thoſe tranſactions which you pretend to relate, and even of what paſſed in
" Galilee; for, during that period, you were engaged in attending the king,
" at Berytus. In like manner, how could you be enabled to give an authen-

" tic relation of my conduct during the ſiege of Jotapata, when myſelf was " the only perſon who ſurvived the capture of that city? You will, perhaps, " aſſert that, however incorrect you may have been in other parts of your hiſ- " tory, you have made amends by your accuracy in your recital of what hap- " pened at Jeruſalem. But it will appear ſcarcely probable, however, that " you ſhould be ſufficiently informed of the tranſactions of that ſiege, if we " conſider that you were neither upon the ſpot at the time, nor have even " peruſed the commentaries written by Veſpaſian on that part of the war. It " is apparent to me that you never have read thoſe commentaries, becauſe ſe- " veral paſſages therein are poſitively contradicted in your hiſtory.

" I wiſh to know, why, if you really conſider you ſelf as the firſt hiſtorian " of the preſent age, you did not favour the world with your admirable work " during the life-time of Veſpaſian and Titus, the two generals who com- " manded in that expedition, or in the time of Agrippa and his family, all of " whom were deeply verſed in the language of the Greeks? Why was this " hiſtory detained ſo long, nearly twenty years, from the public eye, when " you might have produced ſo many living evidences of the authenticity of " your relation? Why, finally, having ſuppreſſed it thus long, did you fix " upon this particular æra for its publication? The reaſon is obvious: you " dared not ſubmit it to the inſpection and cenſure of the world, while there " were yet ſo many perſons living who could have detected the falſity of your al- " legations. My conduct, in this reſpect, was widely different.

" Previous to the publication of my hiſtory, I put it into the hands of the " two emperors who had directed the war; each particular therein contained, " being yet freſh in every one's memory. To this I was induced by a con- " ſciouſneſs, that I had been guided ſolely by a regard to truth in what I had " written; and the work has, accordingly, met with as favourable a re- " ception from the world, as I could poſſibly deſire. I communicated theſe " materials to many other perſons, who had taken an active part in the war, " particularly to king Agrippa and ſeveral of his relations. As an indubi- " table proof of the eſteem in which this work was held even by Titus, he, " under his own hand, ſtrongly recommended it to the world, as a moſt au- " thentic record of the tranſactions of the times, and likewiſe honoured it " with a place in his library. The fidelity and candour, which is viſible " throughout the work, gave ſuch ſatisfaction to king Agrippa, that he ho- " noured me with no leſs than ſixty two letters, in teſtimony of his conviction " of its authenticity; two of which I have here thought proper to ſubjoin.

King Agrippa, *to his deareſt Friend* Joſeph, *Greeting.*

" *The peruſal of your book has afforded me great ſatisfaction, and I conſider it as* " *the moſt faithful and exact production of the kind. Pray let me have the remain-* " *ing part: and ſo I bid farewell to my dear friend.*"

King Agrippa, *to* Joſeph, *his deareſt Friend, Health.*

" *I perceive by your writings, that you have but little occaſion for further inform-* " *ation from me; but at our next meeting I may communicate certain matters for your* " *conſideration, which have eſcaped your obſervation.*"

From a deſire to recommend my works to poſterity, king Agrippa, gave the above teſtimonies of their authority and candour. The authenticity of the above certificates are not to be doubted: the author of them was ſuperior to flattery; and being a man of ſtrict integrity, his conduct towards me could not ariſe from the levity of making me the ſubject of merriment. Thus much I conceived it a juſtice due to my own character, to ſay in anſwer to Juſtus; and I ſhall now proceed with my hiſtory.

Having reſtored good order and diſcipline in Tiberias, I called a council of my friends to determine on the moſt proper manner of proceeding againſt John: They adviſed, that as he was the cauſe of the general irruption, to aſſemble the whole ſtrength of Galilee, and by a ſudden attack, to ſtrike a deciſive blow. I objected to this, as being too barbarous a revenge; and declared myſelf inclined to terminate the quarrel by ſome means whereby the lives of the adherents to both parties might be preſerved; and I afterwards had recourſe to the following ſtratagem in favour of my deſign. I procured a correct liſt of the perſons compoſing the faction, and publiſhed an act of amneſty, purporting that all ſuch as ſhould lay down their arms and return to their duty within the ſpace of twenty days, might claim a general pardon; but towards thoſe who ſhould favour the meaſures of the enemy after that period, prohibiting the like indulgence, and denouncing ſlaughter, pillage, and other extremities of war againſt them. As this amneſty included a menace as well as conciliatory terms, it operated the more extenſively upon the followers of of John, four thouſand of whom immediately ſurrendered, the citizens of Giſchala, and fifteen hundred mercenaries from Tyre, only continuing in his ſervice; and he was ſo depreſſed by this circumſtance, that he preſumed not afterwards to leave his own country.

The town of Sepphoris being encompaſſed by a ſtrong wall, and the inhabitants being a robuſt, ſturdy people, it was determined to put the place in a ſtate of defence, and to apply to Ceſtius Gallus, governor of Syria, either to come in perſon and take poſſeſſion of the city, or to detach a ſufficient force to protect it, in caſe of aſſault. Gallus replied that they might expect him, but mentioned not at what time.

It was ſuppoſed that the concerns in which I was engaged, would delay the execution of any attempt I had meditated againſt Sepphoris: but gaining intelligence of the negociation which had been ſet on foot, I marched immediately to the place, which I attacked, and conquered. The Galileans judging this a favourable opportunity to wreak ample vengeance on the Sepphorites, againſt whom they entertained an implacable deteſtation, formed the barbarous determination of involving the men and city in one common ruin: The inhabitants quitted their houſes, and took refuge in the caſtle, leaving their effects to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who ſet fire to the town, and, without diſtinction of perſons, made prize of all the property they could diſcover.

Theſe violences gave me extreme concern; and I endeavoured by perſuaſions, and by exerting my authority to reſtrain their barbarity towards men profeſſing to be of their own religion, and moreover belonging to the very tribe of which they were themſelves alſo members: but finding their fury,

fury to be ungovernable, I adopted the following ſtratagem. I cauſed a report to be propagated that a numerous army of the Romans had entered the town; and, as I expected, the rumour of this pretended aſſault cauſed the Galileans to ſtop their outrage, and employ their whole thoughts upon means for their own preſervation; and the apprehenſion which prevailed among them, was greatly encreaſed when they perceived me to join in the flight from the ideal foe.

Thus Sepphoris was preſerved, in a manner ſurpaſſing expectation; and Tiberias eſcaped no leſs miraculouſly, ſome time afterwards.

A letter had been ſent to the king, ſigned by ſeveral of the ſenators and principal citizens, requeſting that he would honour them with his preſence, and that he would take their city under his protection. The king immediately diſpatched one of his chief attendants, named Criſpus, a Jew by extraction, with a written anſwer to the above letter, importing that he would be at Tiberias in the ſhorteſt time poſſible. It chanced that Criſpus was met upon the road by ſome Galileans, who knew him perſonally, and brought him, in cuſtody, to me. Having learnt the object of his commiſſion, the populace inſtantly took up their arms. A prodigious concourſe of people aſſembled, the next morning, at Aſoch, where I then reſided, loudly accuſing the Tiberians of treachery, and of a deſign to revolt to the king. Their fury roſe, at length, to ſuch a pitch, that they poſitively inſiſted on my permiſſion to deſtroy the city, declaring that the Tiberians were more deſerving of puniſhment, than even the Sepphorites themſelves.

I perceived that every attempt to bring the people to reaſon, by argument, would be vain, and their numbers precluded all hopes of reducing them by force. The contents of the king's anſwer ſet the whole matter in ſo clear a light, that no vindication or palliative could be offered in defence of the Tiberians. After revolving in my mind various projects to reſtore the people to their ſenſes, and preſerve the city, I determined, at length, to obſerve a medium in my conduct towards them, neither abſolutely oppoſing, nor implicitly complying with their will; and, accordingly addreſſed them in theſe terms: "The Tiberians," ſaid I, "have, undoubtedly, acted very wrong; "and I ſhall readily yield to your deſire of puniſhing them, on condition that "you do nothing raſhly; for, truſt me, you will find, on examination, a "number of perſons of the firſt quality among yourſelves, who are equally "concerned with the Tiberians in this plot againſt your liberties. I, there-"fore, ſtrongly recommend it to you, to delay the execution of your ven-"geance for a time, till you can diſcover thoſe concealed foes to their coun-"try, and then you may puniſh them altogether, in a manner ſuitable to "their demerits." This propoſal was ſo well approved by the multitude, that they immediately diſperſed, and every man retired quietly to his own home.

As Criſpus was ſtill under confinement, I made a pretext of ſome trifling buſineſs to get out of the town, and ſending for him privately, adviſed him to attempt an eſcape, by intoxicating the keeper of the priſon. This was the ſecond time that the Tiberians were indebted to me for the preſervation of their city.

Juſt

Juſt at this juncture, Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, ſecretly withdrew to the court of king Agrippa. I was quite ignorant of his retreat, which aroſe from the following cauſe. At the commencement of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians determined to adhere to the intereſts of the latter. But Juſtus, flattering himſelf that, in the confuſion of a popular tumult, he might find means to advance himſelf to the government, ſeduced them into a revolt. But he did not ſucceed in his views; for ſo inveterate was the hatred of the Galileans to the people of Tiberias, on occaſion of the repeated inſults which they had experienced from them, previous to the war, that they conſtantly oppoſed and defeated all his attempts; and, during the courſe of my adminiſtration, I myſelf was often ſo incenſed by the perfidious practices of this wicked man, that it was with great difficulty I refrained from proceeding to extremities againſt him. From a conſciouſneſs of his danger, and not knowing, moreover, how far paſſion, and a ſeries of injuries and affronts might provoke a man in my ſtation, Juſtus thought it moſt prudent to withdraw himſelf out of my reach.

Although the Sepphorites had ſo lately experienced a deliverance little leſs than miraculous, yet, no ſooner had they recovered from their apprehenſions, than they ſent a ſecond meſſage to Ceſtius Gallus, requeſting him either to come and take immediate poſſeſſion of their city, or to ſend ſuch a force, as, might enable them to repel an attack. Gallus, accordingly, detached a numerous body of horſe and foot to their aſſiſtance, which were admitted into the city, under favour of the night. The devaſtation which theſe troops ſpread throughout the country, obliged me to encamp at the diſtance of about twenty furlongs from Sepphoris, near the town of Garizim. In the dead of the night, I poſſeſſed myſelf of the walls by ſtorm; but, for want of a due knowledge of the ſituation of the ſtreets, I was compelled, after remaining maſter of a conſiderable part of the city for ſome time, to relinquiſh the advantage I had obtained, and to retire. Twelve of the Roman foot, two of their horſe, a few of the Sepphorites, and on our ſide, only one man comprized the number ſlain in this action.

In a ſhort time after this event, a ſharp rencounter happened between us and the Roman horſe, in which my men, being ſurrounded, overpowered by numbers, after defending themſelves for ſome time with great bravery, were compelled to retire. On this occaſion I loſt one of my guards, named Juſtus, who had formerly been in the ſervice of the king.

Much about this time, Silas, the captain of the king's guards, at the head of a numerous party of horſe and foot, took poſt at the diſtance of about five furlongs from Julias, having previouſly ſecured all the paſſes leading to Cana, and the caſtle of Gamala. I, therefore, diſpatched Jeremiah, with two thouſand men, to the banks of the river Jordan, about a furlong from Julias, where I joined him with a body of three thouſand troops; ſome few ſlight ſkirmiſhes only having taken place previous to my arrival. Having placed a ſtrong ambuſh in a valley, at a convenient diſtance from the camp, on the next day, I offered battle to the king's forces, and, ordered my men to turn their backs at the firſt onſet, and to fly before the enemy till they had

drawn them into the ambuſcade. My orders were punctually obeyed; and Silas, miſtaking this feigned flight for an actual rout, purſued us ſo far, that the ambuſh fell upon his rear, and threw his troops into ſuch diſorder that, upon my facing about and attacking them in front, they were ſo entirely broken, that a deciſive victory muſt inevitably have enſued, had not my horſe, in that critical moment, unfortunately thrown me, and my wriſt being diſlocated, I was carried off the field to an adjacent village, named Cepharnome.

My people, fearing that the hurt I had received might be of a worſe kind than it was in reality, immediately gave over the purſuit, and directed their whole attention towards providing me with proper aſſiſtance. From Cepharnome, where I was ſeized with a fever, I went after one day's ſtay, to Taricheæ. When the news of this accident came to the knowledge of Silas, he took freſh courage; and, having learnt that our out-poſts were very deficient in the neceſſary vigilance, ſecretly diſpatched a troop of horſe to the other ſide of Jordan, with orders to conceal themſelves, for the purpoſe of ſurprizing us early in the morning, when he intended offering us battle. An engagement, accordingly, enſued; and my troops, falling into the ſnare, were defeated, with the loſs of ſix men only; the enemy not daring to purſue their advantage in conſequence of a report that a body of our troops were on their march, by the way of the lake, from Taricheæ to Julias.

Soon after theſe tranſactions, Veſpaſian came to Tyre, accompanied by king Agrippa. The people were very clamourous in their complaints againſt that monarch, who, they alledged, was equally the foe of the Tyrians and the Romans; accuſing him, moreover, of having treacherouſly ſent ſecret orders to his general, Philip, to ſurrender both the temple of Jeruſalem, and the Roman garriſon, into the hands of the Jews. This conduct of the Tyrians highly incenſed Veſpaſian, and he gave them a ſevere check for their audacity, in thus calumniating a ſovereign prince, and a friend to the Roman ſtate, recommending it, however, to Agrippa, for the purpoſe of reſtoring the peace of the city, to ſend Philip to Rome, to juſtify his conduct, on the above occaſion, before the emperor. Philip, accordingly, went thither; but found Nero ſo much embarraſſed with the civil wars then prevailing, that he was obliged to return, without obtaining an audience.

Upon the arrival of Veſpaſian at Ptolemais, the magiſtrates of Decapolis urgently preferred their complaints to him againſt Juſtus, who had burnt their habitations, and laid waſte their country; and Veſpaſian, in conſequence, delivered him into the hands of Agrippa, to be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner, for the depredations committed on his ſubjects. Upon this occaſion, the king condemned him, as I have already obſerved, to impriſonment, without communicating the matter to the emperor.

When Veſpaſian had approached near to Sepphoris, he was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted him into the city. They, alſo, readily admitted a Roman garriſon, and received Placidus as their governor; and with him I had frequent conteſts, before the emperor came in perſon, to Galilee. With reſpect to ſuch particulars as relate to the cauſe of his coming thither; my retreat to Jotapata, after being worſted at Taricheæ; my conduct, during the long ſiege which that place ſuſtained, and ſubſequent impriſon-

priſonment; the manner in which I was afterwards releaſed; and, in ſhort, the whole of my behaviour throughout the Jewiſh war; with reſpect, I ſay, to theſe matters, having ſpoken ſo fully in that part of my work which relates to the ſaid war, there remains little more to add; and I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with ſubjoining ſome few anecdotes only of my private life.

After the capture of Jotapata, on which occaſion I was taken priſoner, though ſtrictly guarded, I received every mark of reſpect and eſteem from Veſpaſian, at whoſe inſtigation I took to wife a virgin of Cæſarea, who was, at that time, in the ſame predicament with myſelf, reſpecting the loſs of her liberty. We abode together but a ſhort time; for I had no ſooner obtained my releaſe, and entered into the ſervice of Veſpaſian, who was about to depart from Alexandria, than ſhe quitted me. At Alexandria, I, a ſecond time, entered into the marriage ſtate. I was ſent from thence, in company with Titus, to Jeruſalem, where my life was repeatedly in danger, from the ſecret practices both of the Jews and the Romans: for, the blame of every miſcarriage was conſtantly imputed to me, nor could the emperor reſt for the importunities of the people to put the traitor, as they ſtyled me, to death. But this virulence of the populace againſt me weighed nothing with Titus, who was then advanced to the imperial dignity, and whoſe extenſive knowledge of mankind, taught him to diſregard the ill-founded clamours of an impetuous multitude: and, ſuch was the eſteem in which he held me that, even after the deſtruction of the city, he generouſly preſſed me to make choice of whatever part I pleaſed of the general wreck. But I availed myſelf no further of this permiſſion, than to requeſt the releaſement of my countrymen and friends, and the privilege of retaining in my poſſeſſion the Holy Bible, which I had fortunately been enabled to preſerve; and my deſire was inſtantly gratified; my brother, and near fifty other perſons of my acquaintance, being, in conſequence, ſet at liberty. I obtained the ſame favour for about one hundred and ninety others of my acquaintance, and friends, whom I found, together with a large number of women and children, ſhut up in the temple; and theſe were all diſcharged without any condition or ranſom.

Titus, having determined to form a camp near a village called Thecoa, diſpatched me thither, with Cerealis and one hundred horſe, to take a view of the ground. At my return, I ſaw a number of priſoners crucified by the road ſide, and diſcovered, amongſt the reſt, three perſons with whom I had been intimate ſome years. This ſight affected me to a high degree; and I inſtantly, with tears in my eyes, communicated the matter to Titus. He directly gave orders that the bodies ſhould be taken down, and that every poſſible method ſhould be uſed to recover them. One of the three ſurvived, but the others died under the hands of the operator.

As ſoon as Titus had re-eſtabliſhed order and tranquility in Judæa, he aſſigned me certain lands lying at a diſtance from Jeruſalem, in lieu of others which I had formerly poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of that city. To this he was influenced by the conſideration that it would be neither convenient nor agreeable to me to be ſituated in the midſt of the Roman troops, which muſt neceſſarily be ſtationed about Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the ſafety of the province. I alſo received the diſtinguiſhed honour from the em-

peror Veſpaſian, of being admitted into his own veſſel, when he was on his return to Rome; and, upon our arrival there, he was pleaſed to treat me in the moſt gracious manner. He not only conferred upon me the privileges of a denizen, and gave me for my reſidence the palace which he had himſelf inhabited, previous to his exaltation to the imperial dignity; but he alſo ſettled upon me a yearly penſion, and continued his favours to me during his life; which expoſed me to the moſt virulent hatred and envy of my own countrymen.

A tumult happened at Cyrene, in which two thouſand of the rabble were deſtroyed, and their leader, a Jew, named Jonathan, was ſent in chains to the emperor, by the governor of the province. This man charged me with abetting the ſaid tumult, by furniſhing him privately with money and arms; but Veſpaſian, deteſting the calumny, ordered him to be put to death. Several other attempts, of a ſimilar nature, were made to ruin me in the emperor's eſteem; but, by the interpoſition of providence, they were all defeated; and that prince conferred upon me a conſiderable grant of lands in Judæa.

Nearly about this time, a diſagreement, which had long ſubſiſted between my wife and me, roſe to ſuch a height, as to occaſion our ſeparating. This woman had borne me three children, of whom Hyrcanus was the only one then alive. Some time after this divorce, I married a third wife, a Candian by birth, of the Jewiſh religion, honourably deſcended, and famed for her excellent qualities. By her I had two ſons: Juſtus, the elder, and Simonides, ſurnamed Agrippa. Such was the ſtate and ſituation of myſelf and family: moreover, I ſtill preſerved the favour of the Cæſars: after the death of Veſpaſian, I experienced the ſame kindneſs from Titus, which had been ſhewn me by his father; and the honours conferred upon me by Domitian, were of a ſtill more diſtinguiſhed nature. A number of Jews, who had alledged falſe accuſations againſt me, were put to death by him, at different times; and he inflicted a very ſevere puniſhment, for a ſimilar offence, on an eunuch ſlave, whom I had employed as a tutor to my ſon. But the moſt honourable teſtimony of his ſingular kindneſs to me is the total exemption, which I now enjoy, from all taxes and duties upon my eſtate in Judæa; and my obligations to Domitia, the wife of Cæſar, have not been leſs, in proportion, than thoſe which I owe to the emperor himſelf. Thus have I particularized the principal incidents of my life, and I ſubmit the abſtract with confidence to the cenſure of the world.

I need, at preſent, add nothing further, for your ſatisfaction, to what I have here ſaid, moſt learned and worthy Epaphroditus; having preſumed to dedicate to you an entire new work relating to the Jewiſh Antiquities.

THE

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

Containing the tranſactions of 2230 years, commencing with the creation of the world.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE motives by which hiſtorians are induced to communicate to us the tranſactions of former times are various. Some, for example, write with the view of diſplaying their abilities, and of acquiring fame; while others become the panegyriſts of thoſe particular actors in the ſcenes they relate, of whoſe merit they are deſirous to tranſmit to poſterity the moſt indubitable proofs. Some, again, having borne a part in the actions which they record, conſider themſelves as being obligated, from that very circumſtance, to bear evidence to all ſuch matters as fell within their cognizance: and, finally, others are influenced to take up the pen ſolely from a generous indignation of the idea that ſuch actions as, for the general good of mankind, ought to be univerſally publiſhed, ſhould be buried in a degrading obſcurity or oblivion.

It is under the influence of the two laſt of the above conſiderations that I have undertaken my preſent taſk; for, as I was privy to every tranſaction in the war between our people and the Romans, I deem it my duty to publiſh

to the world a true ſtate of all that paſſed during the above period, and to expoſe the falſehoods and miſrepreſentations which have been introduced into the relations of other writers on the ſubject. Beſides, I was fully confident that I ſhould render an acceptable ſervice to the Greeks, by preſenting them with an account of our antiquities and form of government, compoſed in their own language.

It was my deſign, when I firſt entered upon the execution of the Hiſtory of the War, to have traced the origin of the Jews, and to have ſpoken of their various fortunes, and of their excellent legiſlator, by whom they were trained up in the practice of ſuch exemplary virtue and piety; and I propoſed, alſo, to relate the incidents of the various wars, in which they were engaged for ſo many ages, particularly of the laſt, which they were compelled, however averſe to it they were, to maintain againſt the Romans: but, upon recollection, perceiving the ſubject to be too extenſive for my preſent plan, I determined to diſpoſe the matter under different heads.

When I had proceeded a little way in the work, I found myſelf in the ſituation of moſt of thoſe perſons, who conceive vaſt deſigns. The execution of ſo voluminous a hiſtory, in a different language from my own, appeared ſo replete with difficulties, that I began to repent of my undertaking. But the preſſing ſolicitations of thoſe who were deſirous of learning the particulars of that memorable revolution, and the encouragement I met with from Epaphroditus eſpecially, a warm admirer of all kinds of polite literature, and chiefly of hiſtory, and who had been entruſted with various commiſſions of importance, and experienced many reverſes of fortune with unſhaken reſolution, and an unimpeached character; —theſe conſiderations, I ſay, together with a ſenſe of ſhame for the preferring a life of inactivity and indolence to the perfecting of ſo glorious a work, incited me to perſiſt in my firſt determination: and to this reſolution I was ſuper-induced, by the reflection that our anceſtors had always manifeſted the greateſt readineſs to communicate ſuch matters to the natives of the neighbouring countries, and that the Greeks themſelves had repeatedly expreſſed an affectionate inquiſitiveneſs, relative to the hiſtory of our nation.

It is recorded of Ptolemy the Second, a munificent patron of every ſpecies of literature, that he was remarkably ſolicitous to procure a hiſtory of our laws, cuſtoms, and private life, rendered into the Greek language; and that the high-prieſt, Eleazar, whoſe prudence was not inferior to that of any of his ſucceſſors, readily complied with his deſire in that reſpect; a condeſcenſion in which he, doubtleſs, thought himſelf warranted by the example of our anceſtors, who never reſerved to themſelves the knowledge of any circumſtance by which mankind in general might be benefited.

I conſidered the conduct of the high-prieſt, in this inſtance, as a very proper precedent for myſelf; not doubting, moreover, that the ſame zeal for learning which had actuated Ptolemy, might ſtill predominate in the breaſts of many of the preſent race of mankind. It muſt be obſerved, however, that the copies delivered to this monarch, were ſuch only as related to our laws, and were ſent to Alexandria by the hands of certain interpreters, who were deputed for that purpoſe. For it is evident that thoſe ſacred writings

muſt

muſt neceſſarily contain an infinite variety of articles, being, in effect, a narrative of the tranſactions of five thouſand years, full of remarkable incidents, various chances of war, notable actions of renowned commanders, and popular revolutions without number.

But in the peruſal of this hiſtory, there is one circumſtance more particularly deſerving the reader's attention; which is, that thoſe who reſign themſelves to the will, and obey the ordinances of the Almighty, proſper, even beyond belief, in all their undertakings; and enjoy, moreover, the promiſe of ecſtatic and eternal bliſs in a life to come: whereas the ungodly, on the other hand, are defeated in all their deſigns, how feaſible ſoever they may appear, and are plunged in endleſs miſery and woe. Let the reader, therefore, conform himſelf, in all things, to the Divine will, and maturely reflect on what Moſes, our legiſlator, has ſaid, reſpecting the nature of the Deity, and the correſpondence which ſubſiſts among all the works of his hands; obſerving, at the ſame time, how free the narrative of our great law-giver is from thoſe fictions, which abound in the relations of other writers. Yet, when the diſtance of time in which he wrote is conſidered, it will appear plain that he might have impoſed upon us whatever falſities he had pleaſed, without any danger of detection; as our hiſtory commences above two thouſand years prior to the fabulous narrations of the poets; neither have the heathens themſelves the audacity to trace ſo far back the origin of their gods, the boaſted actions of their heroes, or the codes of their legiſlators. But on this ſubject I ſhall ſpeak more amply in its proper place.

As the authenticity of the narrative depends, however, in a great degree, on the authority of what Moſes in his wiſdom thought fit to deliver, it will be neceſſary to premiſe ſomething concerning Moſes himſelf, in order to prevent all cavils; as my readers will naturally be ſurprized to find ſo many philoſophical digreſſions in a work which, in the title, promiſes nothing more than a plain narration of hiſtorical facts. It muſt be obſerved, therefore, that this excellent perſon contends, that every man who would live virtuouſly himſelf, or promulge laws for the regulation of the lives of others, muſt, in the firſt place, ſedulouſly apply himſelf, to obtain all poſſible intelligence as to the nature of the Divine Being; and, as far as the weakneſs of his condition will permit, to form himſelf on that perfect model. Without this application, no legiſlator can ſupport the character he aſſumes; neither can he profit others by his writings, unleſs he convinces them, in the firſt place, that God is the Father and Lord of every thing that has exiſtence; that nothing is concealed from his knowledge; and that he rewardeth the godly man, and ſeverely puniſheth thoſe who wander from the right path. Theſe were the doctrines which Moſes taught the people committed to his care. He did not, in the manner of other legiſlators, begin with enacting laws for the preſervation of their rights and properties, nor with regulating the forms of ſtipulations, contracts, and the like; but his firſt care was to give them a juſt idea of the power of God in the creation of the world, and of the ſuperior excellence of man over all other earthly beings: and, having poſſeſſed their minds with a due reverence of the Deity, he found them likewiſe ſuſceptible of every other laudable impreſſion. But the lawgivers of the heathens, who-

were guided ſolely by the fabulous traditions of the times, have, with the utmoſt freedom, imputed to their gods ſuch lewdneſs, as would diſgrace the moſt laſcivious of men, and thus, by theſe examples, have they authorized and incited mankind to the commiſſion of every ſpecies of wickedneſs imaginable. Our legiſlator, on the contrary, having, in the firſt place, repreſented to us that God is the very eſſence of virtue and purity, proceeds to demonſtrate that every man is bound to exert his utmoſt endeavours to render himſelf a partaker, in ſome degree at leaſt, of the ſanctity of that divine original; denouncing, finally, a rigid ſentence againſt the unbelievers, and ſuch as will not admit theſe truths.

I hope, and truſt, that every reader, who examines this work by the foregoing ſtandard, will find each part thereof perfectly conſonant with reaſon, and with the goodneſs and majeſty of the Divine Being. It will be ſeen that I have varied my mode of treating on the different matters mentioned by our great legiſlator; ſlightly touching only upon ſome; illuſtrating others by apt alluſions; and, with reſpect to ſuch paſſages as were moſt worthy of a thorough inveſtigation, I have rendered the ſenſe of them as perſpicuous as language will admit. It would engage too large a portion of my preſent time, to particularize the reaſons which have induced me to adopt theſe different modes of writing; but I propoſe to make that my next buſineſs, if it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to grant me life and health to compleat the undertaking in which I am now engaged. I ſhall now proceed to my hiſtory, beginning with the account given by Moſes, as it is tranſmitted to us in the Holy Scriptures, of the creation of the world.

CHAP. II.

The world created in ſix days. The ſeventh day, a ſabbath, or day of reſt. The formation of Adam and Eve, and the etymology of their names. The garden of Eden planted, and inhabited by Adam and Eve. Particulars relating to the forbidden fruit. The Serpent tempts Eve. The fall of Adam and Eve, and the curſe pronounced in conſequence of that event.

"IN the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth;" but the earth was, as yet, overſpread with an impenetrable darkneſs. The Spirit of God, afterwards, paſſing over it, God commanded that there ſhould be light, and, upon its appearance, having viewed the maſs, he divided the light from the darkneſs; ſtiling the darkneſs, night, and the light, day. The earlier hours of the day he called morning, and the concluſion of it, or the time of retiring to reſt, evening: and this was the diviſion of the firſt day. Moſes terms it *one*, or *a* day, and not the firſt day; for which diſtinction I could aſſign a reaſon, but ſhall reſerve it for the tract in which I have engaged to explain all thoſe paſſages which have the leaſt appearance of obſcurity, in the works of our excellent law-giver.

The ſecond day was employed in the conſtruction of the firmament, or heaven, which was placed high above the reſt of the works of creation, and ſurrounded with a chryſtalline atmoſphere; and the air was impregnated with that

that due proportion of humidity, which produces thoſe refreſhing ſhowers, by which the earth is enabled to "bring forth her fruits in due ſeaſon."

On the third day, God fixed the earth, which had, hitherto, floated, and encompaſſed it with the ſea; and on the ſame day the various ſpecies of plants, with their ſeeds, were produced.

The ſun, the moon, and the other planets were formed on the fourth day; being intended, by their Creator, both to embelliſh the firmament, in which they were placed, and, alſo, by the regularity of their motions and courſes, to mark out to the inhabitants of this nether world, the progreſſion of time.

On the fifth day God created the fiſh, and feathered fowl; and ſent them forth in couples, that every creature, according to its ſpecies, might increaſe and multiply upon the face of the earth.

The work of the ſixth day was the formation of the various ſpecies of quadrupeds, male and female; and on this day, God alſo created man. Thus, in the words of Moſes, "In ſix days God made the world, and all that is therein."

The Almighty, having thus accompliſhed the grand undertaking, ceaſed from his labours, and reſted on the ſeventh day. Hence it is that we diſtinguiſh this day by the title of Sabbath, which, in the Hebrew language, ſignifies Reſt, and a prohibition of every kind of worldly occupation.

After recounting theſe particulars, Moſes expatiates upon the works and offices of nature, beginning with the creation of man. "God," ſays he, "formed man of the duſt of the ground, and breathed into him the breath "of life; ſo that he became a living ſoul." He adds, that this man was named *Adam*, which, in the Hebrew language, ſignifies *Red*; the earth, from which he was formed, being of that colour, in its original ſtate.

By the command of God, all living creatures, male and female, paſſed in review before Adam, who gave to each a name, by which they have ever ſince been diſtinguiſhed.

The ſolitude in which Adam had hitherto lived, rendering his ſituation very uneaſy to him, God was pleaſed to provide a ſuitable companion for him in the perſon of Eve, who was formed from one of the ribs of Adam, taken from his ſide during a deep ſleep; and he no ſooner ſaw her, than he acknowledged the conſanguinity, ſtyling her "bone of his bone, and fleſh of "his fleſh." The common Hebrew term for a woman is *Iſſa*; but this woman was ſtyled *Eva*, ſignifying the *Mother of all living*.

It is further related by Moſes, that God planted a garden, in the eaſtern part of the earth, filled with every ſpecies of fruit-trees; the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil among the reſt.

The care of cultivating this garden was entruſted to Adam and Eve. A large river, which divided itſelf into four branches, ran through, and ſurrounded it. The firſt of theſe branches, ſtyled, in the Hebrew tongue, Piſon, ſignifying fulneſs or inundation, and by the Greeks, Ganges, directs its courſe through India, and loſes itſelf, finally, in the ſea: The ſecond, called, in our tongue, Phora, meaning diſperſion, or a flower; and the third, which we call Diglath, or narrow and rapid, are both called Euphrates by the

Greeks, and they empty themſelves into the Red-Sea: the fourth branch ſhapes its courſe through Egypt, and is called by us Gihon, which means, to come from the eaſt; but the Greeks term it the Nile.

It was permitted to Adam and Eve to eat of every fruit in the garden, except of the tree of knowledge; which they were prohibited from taſting, upon pain of death. Hitherto, a perfect harmony had ſubſiſted among all the creatures; and the ſerpent appeared to be particularly familiar with Adam and Eve; but, being envious of the happineſs they enjoyed, while they continued in their obedience to the commands of God; and knowing, on the other hand, the miſery they would bring upon themſelves by a diſregard of the divine injunction, tempted the woman to taſte of the fruit; by repreſenting to her that, upon eating of it, ſhe would be endued with a miraculous power of diſtinguiſhing between good and evil, and would attain to an equal portion of happineſs with the Deity. Thus was the woman prevailed upon to violate the command of God; and the flavour of the fruit proved ſo grateful to her, that ſhe ſolicited her huſband, alſo, to eat of it, and he yielded to her perſuaſion. The virtue of the fruit beginning now to operate upon them, they perceived that they were naked, and made themſelves coverings of fig-leaves, woven together, to conceal their ſhame; conſidering this diſcovery of their wants as an increaſe of happineſs.

Some time afterwards, Adam perceiving the Almighty walking in the garden, was ſtruck with a conſciouſneſs of his guilt, and endeavoured, for the firſt time, to conceal himſelf. But God, ordering him to draw near, demanded, why he, who had hitherto ſo eagerly ſought all opportunities of preſenting himſelf before his Creator, ſhould now avoid him? Adam was incapable of replying; and the Almighty thus proceeded: "I had made every "neceſſary proviſion for the eaſe and happineſs of your life; nor had I left "you even a ſingle wiſh to be gratified; neither could your enjoyments "have been interrupted by the infirmities of old age: but, as you have "dared to break through the reſtrictions I had laid on you, and are unable, "through guilt, to offer any plea in defence of your conduct, I will ſhorten "the number of your days." Adam extenuated his offence in the beſt manner he could; ſupplicated pardon for his tranſgreſſion, and caſt the whole blame upon his wife.

The woman, on her part, alledged that it was the ſerpent who had ſeduced her from the obedience which ſhe owed to the divine command. God, therefore, to puniſh Adam for liſtening to the inſinuations of his wife, pronounced a curſe on the ground; declaring that, in future, it ſhould produce nothing but what ſhould be extorted from it by labour, and the ſweat of man's brow; neither ſhould its produce be always anſwerable to his expectation and aſſiduity. The ſentence denounced againſt Eve, in conſequence of her complying with the ſuggeſtions of the ſerpent, and afterwards luring Adam into the ſame ſnare, was, "in ſorrow to bring forth children:" and, as the juſt puniſhment of the malice and wiles of the ſerpent, God deprived him of the gift of ſpeech, put poiſon under his tongue, condemned him to the loſs of his feet, and to crawl upon his belly in future; and branded him as the avowed enemy of mankind; further commanding Eve to tread upon his head, as

being the ſource of all our miſeries, and that part in which he is moſt ſuſceptible of a mortal wound. Immediately after the denunciation of theſe penalties, the Almighty diſmiſſed our firſt parents from the Garden of Eden.

CHAP. III.

The hiſtory of Cain and Abel. Cain murders his brother. God calls him to an account for the deed; diſtinguiſhes him by a mark, and denounces a curſe againſt him. The invention of weights and meaſures diſcovered by Cain. Cain builds the firſt city. Jubal the inventor of Muſic. Tubalcain the firſt artificer in braſs and iron-work. Adam lived 930 years. Seth and his ſons apply themſelves to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy. The Pillars of Seth.

EVE bore two ſons: the eldeſt was named Cain, which means, *Poſſeſſion*, or *Acquiſition*; and the ſecond was called Abel, ſignifying *Affliction*, or *Mourning*. The tempers of theſe brothers were totally different from each other. Abel, whoſe profeſſion was that of a ſhepherd, led a virtuous and godly life: whereas Cain, who was a huſbandman, and the firſt inventor of tillage, abandoned himſelf to all kinds of wickedneſs. He was influenced by intereſted motives alone, and proceeded ſo far in his wickedneſs as, on the following account, to put his own brother to death. They had mutually agreed to offer a ſacrifice to God. Cain's oblation conſiſted of the fruits of the earth; but Abel offered up the milk and firſtlings of his flock. The latter, being ſolely the production of nature, gave the moſt ſatisfaction to the Almighty; whereas the other appeared to be rather an offering extorted by avarice, induſtry, and force, than a teſtimony of the good-will of the ſacrificer *. The preference thus manifeſted for Abel, gave ſuch high offence to his brother, that he privately ſlew him and concealed his body. When God, who knew what had paſſed, enquired of Cain, where his brother was, he betrayed great confuſion, and replied, with much heſitation, that he had not ſeen him for ſome time paſt, and was much ſurprized at the circumſtance. Being queſtioned more cloſely, he anſwered, with great inſolence, that he was "not his bro-"ther's keeper, nor was he of his council." God now charged him home with the murder of his brother, and he was compelled to acknowledge the fact. Upon his ſubmiſſion, however, God was pleaſed to remit the puniſhment of "blood for blood;" but pronounced a curſe on him and his deſcendants, to the ſeventh generation, and baniſhed him, together with his wife, to a diſtant part of the earth. This ſentence filled him with terror, leſt, in wandering through the world, in ſearch of a ſettlement, any accident ſhould befal him; but, to preſerve him from every danger to which he might chance to be expoſed, either from man or beaſt, God ſet a diſtinguiſhing mark on him, and diſmiſſed him from his preſence.

Cain

* It is obſerved by Leo Alatius, in his notes upon Euſtatius's Hexaëm, p. 210, and by Cunæus, l. 3. de Rep. Hebr. c. 1. that Joſeph has committed an error in ſpeaking of theſe ſacrifices. See Dr. Patrick on Geneſis.

Cain accordingly departed, with his wife; and, after travelling through various countries, they fixed their reſidence at Nais, and here they had many children; but, inſtead of benefiting by his afflictions, he rather became more diſſolute than b fore, abandoning himſelf, without reſerve, to every ſpecies of luſt and violence. He enriched himſelf by continual depredations on the property of others, and, ſelecting for his aſſociates, the moſt profligate of the human ſpecies, ſhewed himſelf capable of giving inſtructions even to theſe adepts in villainy.

By the introduction of weights and meaſures, he deſtroyed the honeſt ſimplicity, and plain dealing of former times, and ſubſtituted policy and craft in the place of the ancient candour and generoſity. It was he, who firſt violated the general rights of mankind, by dividing and encloſing the land in ſeparate portions. And he alſo founded the firſt city, which he called Enos, after the name of his eldeſt ſon.

Theſe were the deſcendants of Cain: Enos begot Jared; Jared begot Mahalaleel; Mahalaleel begot Methuſelah; and Methuſelah begot Lamech, whoſe two wives, Zillah and Adah, bore him ſeventy ſeven children. By the latter of theſe wives he had Jabal, who was the firſt man that dwelt in tents, and employed himſelf in the occupations of a paſtoral life. Another of his ſons, by the ſame wife was named Jubal; a great proficient in the ſcience of muſic, and to whom we are indebted for the invention of the Pſaltery and the Harp.

His wife Zillah bore him Tubalcain, a renowned warrior, and who firſt diſcovered the art of working in braſs and iron: he had a daughter, whoſe name was Naamah. Lamech, who had always ſtrictly obſerved the progreſs of divine juſtice, conſcious that his own family was involved in that dreadful judgment, which had been denounced againſt the whole race of Cain, on account of the murder of Abel, made his wives acquainted with the particulars of that event.

The accurſed race of Cain encreaſed daily in wickedneſs; not only imitating, but even ſurpaſſing the moſt atrocious examples of former times. War and rapine were their chief delight; and, if any of them chanced to be free from the guilt of homicide, they were equally addicted to avarice, pride, and other vices of a like bad tendency.

But to return to my ſubject: Adam, who had now attained his two hundred and thirtieth year, applied himſelf very aſſiduouſly to people the earth. He ſurvived this period ſeven hundred years, and left ſeveral children, one of whom was named Seth. It would take up too much time, and would anſwer no purpoſe, to particularize the offspring of Adam; and I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to the mention of Seth alone. He was educated by his father with great care, and no ſooner became capable of diſtinguiſhing between good and evil, than he applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of virtue. He became eminent for his qualifications; and his children cloſely copied the example of their excellent father. They lived in the utmoſt harmony and happineſs, both amongſt themſelves, and with the reſt of mankind. They were the firſt perſons who ſtudied the motions and influences of the heavenly bodies; and, having been forewarned by Adam of an univerſal deluge and conflagration,

flagration, they erected two pillars, one of brick, and the other of ſtone, which they were of opinion would, one or the other of them, be proof againſt every attack, either of fire or water. They engraved upon theſe pillars their diſcoveries and inventions, leſt, in a ſeries of ages, the knowledge of the ſcience itſelf ſhould become extinct. Their precaution was not vain; for, to this day, the ſtone pillar is to be ſeen in Syria.

CHAP IV.

The Wickedneſs of the world, and the judgment of the Almighty upon it. The General Flood. Noah's Ark. The Genealogy of Noah. The time of the deluge. The ten ſeveral generations from Adam to the flood. The commencement and progreſs of the Flood. A raven and a dove go out of the ark. Noah goes out of the Ark and performs ſacrifices. Beroſus, Damaſcen, and others write on the Ark and the deluge. The Prayer of Noah: he lived nine hundred and fifty years. The great year.

MANKIND lived according to the ſtrict principles of virtue, and in the love and fear of the Almighty, the acknowledged Lord of the Creation, for ſeven generations; but they afterwards diſregarded the duties of religion and moral rectitude, and ſo far degenerated from the manners of their predeceſſors as to ſtudy to excel in vice with double the avidity that they had before ſhewn to emulate each other in the practice of virtue. The abominable impiety which now prevailed, called down the wrath of heaven upon the human race, and the angels of the Lord, mixing with the women, a perverſe, and diſobedient generation was produced, which with ſome propriety may be compared to the giants in the Greek fables, who are repreſented to have confounded and deſtroyed right and juſtice by an undue exertion of ſuperior ſtrength and power.

Noah laboured to effect a reformation by perſuaſion, argument, and by exerting his authority, but finding, at length, that his endeavours to reclaim this incorrigibly obſtinate race would not prevail, and apprehending violence and barbarity in return for his good-will, he removed, with his family and all his people from the land of wickedneſs,

The virtue and integrity of Noah gained him the favour of God; but the general depravity of the age had encreaſed to ſuch a ſhocking pitch of extravagance, that the Lord determined to extirpate the preſent race of mankind, and in their ſtead to ſupply a more virtuous generation, limiting the term of their lives to one hundred and twenty years.

God ſignified to Noah his intention to deſtroy the world by a flood, and commanded him to form an ark of three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height, and that this ark ſhould contain four ſtories or ſtages, and be conſtructed ſufficiently firm and compact to reſiſt the wind and water. In obedience to the command of the Almighty, Noah went into the ark with his wife and ſons and their wives, taking with him male and female, in pairs, of every creature living, and ſeven couples of ſome kinds,

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for the preſervation of the ſeveral ſpecies, having previouſly ſupplied the ark with the proper food, and every other neceſſary. Noah having duly complied with the injunctions laid upon him, the Almighty cauſed an univerſal deluge, which ſwallowed up and deſtroyed all living creatures except thoſe appointed to be preſerved in the ark. Noah was deſcended in a right line from Adam, and was the tenth in ſucceſſion, being the ſon of Lamech, Lamech of Methuſelah, Methuſelah of Enoch, Enoch of Jared, Jared of Mahaleel, (who had ſeveral brothers) Mahaleel of Cain, Cain of Enos, Enos of Seth, Seth being the ſon of Adam.

It was in the ſecond month when the deluge happened, which month the Macedonians called Dius, and the Hebrews Marſuane, according to the Ægyptian manner of dividing the year. Niſan, whichſignifies Xanthicus, is called the firſt month by Moſes, on account of its being the month in which he brought the Iſraelites out of Ægypt; and this computation he invariably obſerves in matters which relate to the divine worſhip: but in regard to fairs, trade, and other civil matters, he admits the calculation of time as it was delivered to him by tradition. At the time of the general inundation, Noah was aged ſix hundred years: according to Moſes, the firſt rain towards drowning the world, fell on the twenty ſeventh day of the before-mentioned month, in the year of the world 2256; and this correſponds with the holy ſcriptures, wherein the moſt particular accounts are given of the births and deceaſe of the moſt remarkable men of early times.

Adam was two hundred and thirty years old when he begot Seth, and at the age of nine hundred and thirty, he died. Seth begot Enoch at one hundred and five, and he died at nine hundred and five, leaving all his concerns to the management of his ſon Cainan, whom he begot in his ninetieth year; and Cainan lived to the age of nine hundred and ten years. Cainan was ſucceeded by a ſon, whom he begot at one hundred and ſeventy years old, named Mahalaleel, who died at eight hundred and ninety five, leaving his ſon Jared to ſucceed him, whom he begot at one hundred and ſixty two, and who died at nine hundred and ſixty nine. When he was one hundred and ſixty two, his ſon Enoch was born, and having attained his three hundred and ſixty fifth year, "he went to God, and was no more ſeen". In the hundred and ſixty fifth year of Enoch's age, he had a ſon born, called Methuſelah, and at one hundred and eighty ſeven, he had another ſon, named Lamech, in whoſe favour he reſigned the government which he had poſſeſſed for the ſpace of nine hundred and ſixty nine years. When Lamech had held his commiſſion ſeven hundred and ſeven years, he transferred it to his ſon Noah, who was born when his father was one hundred and eighty two years old, and Noah continued in the adminiſtration nine hundred and fifty years. Admitting Noah's age to have been ſix hundred years at the time of the flood, and adding the ages of the ſeveral perſons above-mentioned, the amount will appear to correſpond exactly with the number of years above ſpecified, as the period when the deluge took place. But it is our buſineſs more particularly to conſider the birth, than the death of theſe men, who lived till they had propagated many generations.

The

The appointed time being arrived, God commanded the waters to pour from the clouds, and for the ſpace of forty days, a violent and inceſſant rain fell upon the earth, the moſt elevated parts of which were covered to the depth of fifteen cubits. At the end of the forty days the waters began to decreaſe, and in about one hundred and fifty days more, on the twenty ſeventh of the ſeventh month, the ark ceaſed to float, being left aground upon a mountain in Armenia. When Noah diſcovered this circumſtance he looked from a window, and perceiving that the water had ſunk beneath ſome parts of the earth, he congratulated himſelf in the pleaſing reflection, that the moſt melancholy part of the dreadful ſcene was paſt.

The water continuing gradually to decreaſe, Noah, in a few days, turned out a raven, which returned to the ark; whence he concluded that he could not ſafety venture abroad, and therefore deferred taking any meaſures towards a diſcovery for ſeven days longer, when he ſent out a dove, which ſoon afterwards came back, her feathers being diſcoloured with ſlime and dirt, bringing an olive branch in her mouth; and this he conſidered as a certain token that the flood had nearly ſubſided, and that no further danger was to be apprehended. In ſeven days after this, Noah turned all the creatures abroad, and then going forth himſelf, with his family, his firſt buſineſs was to offer ſacrifice to his Creator, after which he joined in rejoicing and merriment with his ſeveral relations. The ſpot on which the ark was left was called by the Armenians, Apobaterion, or the place of a deſcent.

The authors of the Barbarian hiſtory have ſeverally ſpoken of the deluge and the ark, and Baroſus, the Chaldæan, writes to the following purpoſe: "They ſay that there are ſome remains of this veſſel ſtill to be ſeen upon "the mountains of the Cordyæanes in Armenia, and that the inhabitants of "the adjacent country ſcrape the pitch from the planks, prizing it as a rarity, "and carrying it about them as an amulet, or charm againſt the accidents of "life." Hieronymus, the Ægyptian ſpeaks of this matter in his Phœnician Antiquities, and it is alſo taken notice of by many other writers. Nicholaus of Damaſcus, writes to the following effect in his hiſtory (*vide* v. 96): "In "the province of Minyas in Armenia, there is an high mountain, called "Baris, whither, as tradition relates, great numbers of people fled for refuge "at the time of the general deluge. There is alſo a tradition that a veſſel, "with a man in it, ſtruck upon the above mountain, and that part of the "timber remained there a long time. Probably this is the man whom Moſes "has mentioned."

Under the perſuaſion that God had pronounced a ſentence of deſtruction againſt the human race, Noah was dreadfully apprehenſive that the judgment would be repeated, and even that an inundation of the univerſe would take place annually: he therefore offered ſacrifices, and humbled himſelf in prayer, before the Lord, beſeeching the Almighty, "to continue the world in its "original order; to chaſtiſe the wicked, and ſhew favour to the unoffending, "and not to act in wrath againſt the whole race for the vices of ſome in-"dividuals, whereby thoſe who had ſurvived the devaſtation would be in-"volved in greater miſery than thoſe who had met their fate in the waters "which had overwhelmed the world, and would beſides labour under the diſ-

"treſſing

" treſſing idea of having been preſerved from one calamity to become ſharers " in another diſmal event, ſimilar to that of which they had already been " melancholy witneſſes." He fervently ſupplicated the Creator " to hear his " prayers, receive his ſacrifice, and, removing his indignation from man- " kind, permit them again to cultivate and enjoy the fruits of the earth, and " to reſtore to them thoſe bleſſings and comforts of life, which they had ex- " perienced before the flood." He moreover prayed for long life to himſelf and his deſcendants, and that ſuch children as ſhould be born to him in future, might not periſh till they had numbered the days of their forefathers.

The righteouſneſs and piety of Noah were ſo acceptable to God, that his petition was not wholly rejected: the Almighty ſaid to him that, " he was not " himſelf the author of the judgment, but that the atrocious and complicated " vices of mankind had called down the vengeance of heaven; that he gave " not life with an intention of taking it away again, for that it would have been " better not to have created man than to have given him exiſtence under that " condition: but (ſaid the Deity) though my wrath has been provoked by a " violation of the reverence due to me, I will prove to you that I am neither " inexorable or too ſevere:—your mediation has, in ſome degree, prevailed up- " on me againſt inflicting ſo heavy a puniſhment upon future ſinners; therefore " be not alarmed at the contention of the elements, for however ſtorms and " tempeſts may prevail, be aſſured that the world is in no danger of a ſecond " inundation. I ſtrictly enjoin you, however, not to ſtain your hands with " human blood, and to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment upon the perpetrators of " murder. Saving the human ſpecies, every creature, whether living upon the " earth, ſwimming in the waters, or flying in the air, they are left to your diſ- " poſal, and under your command, excepting only the blood, wherein the life " of the animal is placed: and as a token of my covenant, that the arrows of " my wrath ſhall not ſtrike mankind again in the ſame terrible manner, I will " fix my bow in the ſkies." The rainbow was conſidered as the emblem and token of the bow of the Creator. The Lord now aſcended into the heavens.

For three hundred and fifty years after the flood, Noah lived in the full enjoyment of eaſe and ſecurity, ſo that the whole of his life was comprized in the ſpace of nine hundred and fifty years. To compare the time allotted to the exiſtence of the antideluvians, with the contracted limits to which the days of the preſent generation are confined, will afford no reaſonable argument againſt the authenticity of the traditions before us; for it does not follow, becauſe the lives of the preſent inhabitants of the earth are confined to a ſhort period, that our fore-fathers muſt have been under the ſame predicament. In the early ages, man lived in the obſervance of duty and reverence to Almighty God, who was pleaſed to allow him a great length of days, to which the ſimplicity in the manner of living may be ſuppoſed to have conduced in a great meaſure. Providence alſo found it neceſſary, for the promotion of virtue, and for cultivating the ſtudy and improvement of aſtronomy and geometry, to give a long date to the life of man; for (agreeable to the computation of the great year) no leſs a ſpace of time than ſix hundred years was required for making accurate experiments in thoſe ſciences. In ſupport of what I have aſſerted on this head, I am juſtified in the authority of

numerous Greek and Barbarian antiquaries who have treated on hiſtorical matters. Manetho, in his Ægyptian Chronicle; Beroſus, in the Hiſtory of Chaldæa; Mochus; Heſtiæus; Hieronymus, the Ægyptian, who have ſeverally written the Hiſtory of Phœnicia; beſides Heſiod, Hecactæus, Hellenicus, Acuſilaus, Ephorus and Nicolaus, agree that the age of man was even extended to a thouſand years. But whatever may be my opinion, I leave every man to make his own comment on what I have related according to the beſt of my judgement.

CHAP. V.

Shem, Japheth and Ham, the three ſons of Noah, ſettle in Sennaar: deſcribed to be an obſtinate and ignorant generation. Nimrod, a grandſon to Noah, the principal and abettor of them. The deſign of the tower of Babel fruſtrated by the confuſion of tongues.

SHEM, Japheth and Ham, the three ſons of Noah were born about an hundred years previous to the general deluge; and they were the firſt who ventured to reſide in the plains; the dread of a ſecond flood having induced men, hitherto, to confine their abode to the mountains. They called the place, in which they firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves, Shinar. But, the more effectually to people the earth, and to maintain peace and harmony among mankind; and, moreover, that each man might have a more free and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his property, and enjoy the fruits of the earth in greater plenty, God was pleaſed to command them to ſeperate themſelves, and to ſettle in different parts. But ſuch was the ignorance and obſtinacy of theſe people, that they totally diſregarded the Divine injunction, and remained in the ſame place where they at firſt planted themſelves, till God made them ſenſible of their fault in the puniſhment which he inflicted on them. In a courſe of time they became numerous and powerful, and the Almighty once more admoniſhed and directed them to diſperſe; but they, nevertheleſs, perſiſted in their contumacy, not only forgetting from whom they derived all the bleſſings they enjoyed, but arrogating to themſelves the credit of their ſucceſſes; and, what was ſtill worſe, impiouſly conſtruing the advice which had been given them, to ſeparate themſelves, into a latent deſign, firſt to divide and weaken their force, and then to reduce them to a ſtate of ignominious ſubjection.

The perſon who chiefly inſtigated the people to this audacious contempt of the command of God, was Nimrod, the nephew of Ham, one of the ſons of Noah; a very brave man, but ſo extravagantly vain, that he would frequently boaſt, that he owed his preſent dignity to his own courage and conduct alone, independent of any interference of the Almighty. Thus he endeavoured to obtain an unlimited power over the people; being fully perſuaded that they might eaſily be induced to apoſtatize from their duty to God, if they ſhould previouſly confer on him the chief command. And, leſt their dread of a ſecond deluge ſhould deter them from entering into his

views, he informed them that, he had diſcovered an expedient to prevent any danger of a ſimilar accident in future. This expedient was, to erect a tower of ſuch a height, that the waters might not be able to reach the top of it: and this project he was further induced to try, from motives of revenge for the loſs of thoſe who periſhed in the general inundation.

This haughty boaſt of Nimrod flattered the vanity of the multitude to that degree, that they began to conſider a continuance in their duty to God as derogatory to their newly-aſſumed conſequence. They, therefore, applied themſelves to the work with the utmoſt alacrity. Immenſe as the undertaking was, yet, from the prodigious number of hands employed therein, the work was carried on with an expedition ſcarcely to be conceived. The circumference of the edifice, from the vaſt thickneſs of the walls, appeared, to a perſon near at hand, to take off conſiderably from the heighth of it. It was conſtructed with burnt brick, and cemented with a ſubſtance reſembling pitch, that it might reſiſt the waters. The extreme folly of theſe people was highly deſerving of puniſhment; particularly when we conſider the example they had before their eyes of the late deſtruction of their anceſtors, in one univerſal deluge. But God choſe rather to confound the language of mankind, as a puniſhment for their tranſgreſſions, than to extinguiſh the whole race a ſecond time. The ſpot on which this tower was erected, is, to this day, ſtiled Babylon; the word Babel, in the Hebrew language, ſignifying *confuſion*.

The Sybil mentions the erection of this tower, and the conſequent confuſion of tongues, in the following terms: "At that period when all mankind "ſpake the ſame language, the people aſſembled, and raiſed a tower of ſuch "an amazing height, that they ſeemed to have formed the deſign of ſcaling "heaven from the top thereof. But the Gods, letting looſe the winds there-"on, threw it to the ground; and, as a further mark of their diſpleaſure, "inflicted on the builders an utter oblivion of their native tongue; ſubſti-"tuting in the ſtead thereof a new, and unknown language, wherein no one "of them could underſtand another." With reſpect to Sennaar, Heſtiæus makes this obſervation: "The prieſts of Jupiter the conqueror, who ſur-"vived the general deſtruction, having preſerved the holy veſſels and orna-"ments, repaired with them to Babylon."

CHAP. VI.

The diſperſion of the ſons of Noah.

IN conſequence of this confuſion of languages, mankind were obliged to diſperſe themſelves throughout the earth, ſome fixing their reſidence on the ſea-coaſts, others in parts more inland: all according to the lot which God, in his wiſdom and goodneſs, had been pleaſed to aſſign them: but the whole earth was to be peopled in a certain degree. Men acquired, in proceſs of time, ſome knowledge of the ſcience of navigation, ſo much, at leaſt, as enabled them to conſtruct boats, and to tranſport themſelves to places ſeparated from the continent. They gave titles to the places in which they ſettled, many of which ſtill retain the names of their founders. Some, it is

true,

true, have loſt their original appellations, while thoſe of others are diſguiſed, only, under Greek derivations, to render them more familiar and intelligible to the neighbouring people. In ſucceeding ages, when the Greeks became poſſeſſed of thoſe countries, they claimed to themſelves the credit of being the firſt founders and poſſeſſors thereof; impoſing upon them, at their pleaſure, not only names, but new laws, cuſtoms, and manners alſo.

CHAP. VII.

The names of nations derived from their reſpective founders. Liſt of the deſcendants of Noah, ending with Jacob; and of the places inhabited by them.

THE children of the ſons of Noah, in order to perpetuate their memory, gave their own names to whatever places they either founded, or acquired the poſſeſſion of. Thus Japheth, the ſon of Noah, had ſeven ſons, who ſettled in that part of Aſia which extends from the mountains Taurus and Amanus to the river Tanais in Europe, to Gades. Gomer was the founder of the Gomarites, ſtyled at this time, by the Greeks, Galatians, or Gauls. The Magogians, called, by the Greeks, Scythians, derive their origin from Magog. From Madæus came the Madæans, or Medes; and from Javan, the Ionians, and the whole race of the Greeks. Thobel founded the nation of the Thobelians, now termed Iberians, or Spaniards. The Meſchinians, or Cappadocians, as they were afterwards ſtyled, were founded by Meſches; yet there is ſome reaſon to think that they originally inhabited the town of Mazaca, from the reſemblance of the ancient name, by which they were diſtinguiſhed, to that of the town in queſtion. Thires was the founder of the Thiræans, ſtyled afterwards, by the Greeks, Thracians. Theſe are the nations of which the ſeven ſons of Japheth were the founders.

Gomer had three ſons: Aſchanaxes, Riphates, and Thygrammes. From the firſt came the Aſchanaxians, or Rheginians of the Greeks; the ſecond was the founder of the Riphatæans, now ſtyled Paphlagonians; and the Thygrammæans, whom the Greeks have named Phrygians, derive their origin from the laſt.

Javan, alſo, had three ſons: Aliſas, the founder of the Aliſæans, now called Æolians; Tharſus, from whom came the Tharſians, ſince named Cilicians, as appears by the preference given to the city of Tarſus beyond all others, changing, only, the firſt letter Θ into a T. The third ſon of Javan was Cethimos, from whom the iſland, which we now call Cyprus, was originally named Cethyma. For this reaſon the Jews give the title of Cethim, not to iſlands alone, but to all places on the ſea-coaſt; and in the iſland of Cyprus there is a town, which thoſe whom a fondneſs for ſound has blindly attached to the Greek tongue, ſtyle Citium; between which and Chethim there is ſome degree of reſemblance. All theſe nations derived their origin from the deſcendants of Japheth. But, before I proceed any further, I muſt remark one circumſtance, which may, perhaps, have eſcaped the attention of the Greeks. What I mean to refer to is a cuſtom, which they have adopted, of altering the names of places, with a view to pleaſe the ear, and to give a ſoft-

ſofineſs to the pronunciation; a cuſtom which our people neither practiſe nor permit. The Greeks have changed *Noe* to *Nochos*; but we never alter even the terminations themſelves.

The poſterity of Ham fixed their reſidence in Syria, near the mountains of Amanus and Libanus, extending their poſſeſſions as far as the ſea-coaſt; and they gave whatever names they thought proper to the various places under their government; but moſt of thoſe names are loſt to us at this day, through the corruptions and alterations which they have undergone. The Æthiopians, however, ſtill retain the name which they derive from Chus, one of the ſons of Ham, and are to this preſent time ſtyled Chuſians, throughout Aſia. The ſame has happened with reſpect to the Meſreans, alſo; the whole kingdom of Egypt ſtill preſerving the name of Meſrim, and the natives that of Meſreans. The Libyans were originally denominated Phutians, from Phutes, who governed in that country; and ſeveral Greek hiſtorians make mention of a river in Mauritania of this name, and of a country, which is ſituated on its banks, named Phute; but the name of Lybia is derived from Libys, one of the ſons of Meſraim. We ſhall ſhew in another place from whence this country derived the title of Africa. The kingdom of the Canaanites was founded by Canaan, the fourth ſon of Ham: the land which they inhabited now bears the name of Judæa.

All the ſons of Ham had children; and Chus, the eldeſt, had ſix ſons: Sabas, who founded the Sabæans; Evilus, the founder of the Evilæans, or Getulians, as they are at this day termed; Sabathes, from whom came the Sabathænians, or Aſtabanians of the Greeks; Ramus who founded the Ramæans; and Nimrod, who, as we have already obſerved, remained with the Babylonians, uſurped the government, and rendered his authority abſolute.

The whole tract of land between Gaza and Ægypt, was peopled by the eight ſons of Meſraim. Philiſtim, one of the eight, gave his name to the country which he peopled, or to that diviſion of it, at leaſt, which is called Palæſtine, by the Greeks. Labim, alſo, founded a colony, which he named Libya. Of the ſix remaining ſons of Meſraim, *viz.* Ludim, Ananim, Nedem, Phetroſim, Cheſlem, and Chephthorim, ſcarce any particulars have been tranſmitted to us, ſave their names; the cities and colonies founded by them, having been deſtroyed in the Æthiopic war. But of thoſe events I ſhall ſpeak more at large in their proper place.

Canaan was the father of eleven ſons. Of theſe, Sidon built a city in Phœnicia, to which the Greeks have given his name; Amath founded Amathe, a place ſtill exiſting, and called Amathine by the inhabitants; but the Macedonians, in compliment to one of their kings, changed the name of it to Epiphania; Aradæus poſſeſſed the iſland of Aradus; and Arucæus built the town of Aree, on mount Libanus. The ſcripture mentions nothing relative to the other ſeven, Euæus, Chetæus, Jebuſæus, Eudæus, Sinæus, Samaræus, and Gergaſæus, except their names; the Hebrews having utterly deſtroyed all their poſſeſſions on the following account.

When the earth had, in part, recovered itſelf from the effects of the flood, Noah re-applied himſelf to the cultivation of the ground, the planting of vines, and gathering and preſſing the grapes when ripe; and thus he revived

the uſe of wine. On a certain day, after having offered a ſacrifice to God of the firſt fruits of his vineyard, he drank to that exceſs of the liquor, that he became totally inſenſible, and lay upon the ground faſt aſleep; expoſing his nakedneſs, in the moſt ſhameleſs manner, to the view of every one paſſing by. His youngeſt ſon, having diſcovered him in this ſituation, brought his brothers to the ſpot, to deride their father; but they, being impreſſed with a due ſenſe of filial duty, concealed his ſhame, by throwing a covering over him. When Noah became ſenſible of what had paſſed, he bleſſed Shem and Japheth, for their pious conduct, but vented a bitter imprecation on the poſterity of Ham; nor did the malediction fail of its effect; but it is to be obſerved, that Noah exempted Ham, in his own perſon, from his curſe, in conſideration of his near relationſhip.

Shem, the eldeſt of Noah's children, had five ſons, who inhabited the whole tract of Aſia, extending from the Euphrates to the Indian ſea. From Elam were derived the Elamites, from whom came the Perſians. Aſſur was the founder of Nineveh, where the Aſſyrians, as a rich and powerful people, firſt ſettled. From Arphaxad the Arphaxadæans, or modern Chaldæans, derive their origin. Aram was the founder of the Aramæans, or Syrians of the Greeks; and from Lud came the Luddians, or Lydians of the preſent time.

Aram had four ſons, of whom Uz founded Trachonitis and Damaſcus, ſituated between Palæſtine and Cælo-Syria; Hull peopled Armenia; Gether was the leader of the Bactrians; and Meſas of the Meſanæans, whoſe country is ſtyled at this time after the name of the camp of Spaſinus.

The Jews derive the title of Hebrews from Heber, the ſon of Salas, who was the ſon of Arphaxad. Heber had two ſons, Jucta and Phalec. The latter was born at that period when the diviſion of the land took place; Phalec ſignifying, in the Hebrew tongue, *Partition*. Jucta, the eldeſt ſon of Heber, had thirteen children, whoſe names were Elmodad, Saleph, Azermoth, Eiraes, Edoram, Uzal, Declas, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilath, and Jobab. Theſe inhabited all the extent of land lying between the river Cophene, in India, and the neighbouring part of Syria.

Having already mentioned the ſons of Shem, I ſhall now treat on the ſubject of the Hebrews. Phalec was the ſon of Heber, and Ragaus the ſon of Phalec. Ragaus begat Serug; Serug begat Nahor; and Nahor begat Thares, the father of Abraham, the tenth generation from Noah. Abraham was born two hundred and ninety-two years after the flood. Thares was ſeventy years old when he begat Abraham; Nahor one hundred and twenty when he had Thares; Serug was about one hundred and thirty-two at the birth of Nahor; Ragaus had attained his one hundred and thirty-fourth year when Serug was born, and Phalec was much about the ſame age when he had Ragaus; Heber had reached his one hundred and thirty-fourth year when he begat Phalec; Salas was one hundred and thirty at the birth of Heber; and Arphaxad was one hundred and thirty-five years old when he had Salas; and Arphaxad, who was the ſon of Shem, and the grandſon of Noah, was born in the ſecond year * after the deluge.

* We rectify an error in the original work, which mentions the birth of Arphaxad to have happened in the twelfth year.

Nachor and Haran were the two brothers of Abraham; of whom the latter died at Ur, in Chaldæa; at which place a ſepulchral monument erected to his memory is to be ſeen to this day. He left a ſon, named Lot, and two daughters, Sarah and Melcha: Nachor eſpouſed the latter, and Abraham took Sarah.

Thares, the father of Abraham, was ſo much affected by the loſs of his ſon Haran, that he quitted his reſidence in Chaldæa, and repaired, with his whole family, to Charran in Meſopotamia, where he died, and was intered in the one hundred and fifth year of his age. The term of man's life was now abbreviated, and God was pleaſed, ſoon afterwards, to reduce it to the narrow compaſs of one hundred and twenty years, which was the exact age of Moſes.

Melcha, the wife of Nachor, bore him eight ſons, whoſe names were Uz, Baux, Camuel, Chazad, Azaus, Pheldas, Jadelphas, and Bathuel. Theſe were the only legitimate ſons of Nachor; but, by his concubine, Ruma, he had four others, named Tubæus, Gabam, Tavaus, and Machas. Bathuel had a ſon and a daughter, whoſe names were Laban and Rebecca.

CHAP. VIII.

Abraham, having no legitimate iſſue, adopts Lot, his brother's ſon; departs from Chaldæa, and ſettles in Canaan.

AS Abraham had no legitimate offspring, he adopted Lot, his brother Aram's ſon, and the brother of his wife, Sarah. He departed from Chaldæa, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and, taking with him his family, and the whole of his effects, journeyed into the land of Canaan, according to the divine command, where he fixed his reſidence, and there died. He was equally famed for wiſdom and eloquence; and, as he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the abilities, ſo neither did he want the reſolution, to attack the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the times; and, by the dint of authority, as well as of argument, he was enabled to eradicate the falſe notions which men had fallen into reſpecting religion, and to reduce unbelievers to a proper ſenſe of their duty to God. Abraham was the firſt perſon who ventured to enforce the doctrine, that all things in heaven and earth had been formed by one Almighty Creator, to whom alone we are indebted for all the enjoyments of this life. He maintained that theſe truths were apparent, from the marvellous regularity which is obſervable throughout all the works of creation; inſomuch that, did not an over-ruling providence interpoſe, to keep the wheel conſtantly in motion, the whole frame of the univerſe would inevitably fall into irremediable diſorder; and, conſequently, that our ſole dependance, in all matters either of profit, or pleaſure, muſt reſt on the benevolence of the firſt mover, to whom alone, without arrogating any merit to ourſelves, we are bound to render all honour and praiſe.

His endeavours to eſtabliſh this doctrine in Chaldæa and Meſopotamia, incenſed the people ſo highly againſt him, that he retired, by the command of God, from Chaldæa, and ſettled in Canaan, where he erected an altar, and

ſacrificed thereon. There is a paſſage in Beroſus, in which the Patriarch Abraham is mentioned, though not by name. "In the tenth generation," ſays he, "ſubſequent to the deluge, there dwelt in Chaldæa, a man re-"nowned for his wiſdom and juſtice, and for his obſervations on the mo-"tions of the heavenly bodies." Hecatæus has been ſtill more explicit, in a hiſtorical treatiſe written expreſsly on the ſubject of his tranſactions. Mention is alſo made of him by Nicolaus of Damaſcus, in the fourth book of his hiſtory. "Abraham," ſays he, "held the ſupreme command in Da-"maſcus, though he was not a native of the place; and he came thither, "with a numerous train, from a country named Chaldæa, which lies beyond "Babylon. In a ſhort time, the people riſing in rebellion againſt him, he "retired, with his family, to Cananæa, now called Judæa, where he fixed "his reſidence, and had many children, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to "ſpeak further in a ſubſequent part of the work." But his very name is ſtill held in great reverence at Damaſcus; and there is a village, in the neighbourhood of that city, which, to this day, is called the *dwelling place of Abraham.*

CHAP IX.

On occaſion of a famine, which ariſes in Canaan. Abraham accompanied by Sarah, departs into Egypt; where he remains for a time, and then returns to Canaan.

DURING this period, a dreadful famine aroſe in Canaan; and Abraham, having learnt that Ægypt enjoyed a great plenty at the time, determined to go thither; being partly induced thereto by this report, of the fruitful ſtate of the country, and partly by a deſire of converſing with the Ægyptian prieſts, on the ſubject of their religious tenets; ardently deſirous to diſcover the truth, and well diſpoſed to coincide in whatever arguments might appear to be founded in reaſon and juſtice.

As Abraham had been previouſly acquainted with the unbounded laſciviouſneſs of the Ægyptians, he was apprehenſive of the conſequences of taking Sarah with him, who was very beautiful; and, therefore, propoſed to her that ſhe ſhould paſs for his ſiſter, with which, perceiving the neceſſity of the caſe, ſhe complied. Upon his arrival in Ægypt, matters fell out juſt in the manner he had foreſeen; for, the fame of Sarah's beauty being ſpread abroad, Pharaoh was inflamed with a violent deſire of ſeeing and poſſeſſing this miracle of a woman. But God was pleaſed to puniſh his lewd deſigns, by a plague and a revolt of his ſubjects, which broke out both at the ſame time. In this emergency, Pharaoh applied to the prieſts, to know what ſin had involved him in the preſent calamity, and in what manner he might expiate his offence. When the prieſts had ſacrificed, they returned him anſwer, that his preſent misfortunes aroſe from the baſeneſs of his intentions againſt the wife of a ſtranger.

The king, being greatly alarmed at this reply, immediately requeſted Sarah to inform him of the circumſtances of the hiſtory of herſelf and Abraham, without diſguiſe; and ſhe, accordingly, acknowledged the deception.

Pharaoh,

Pharaoh, therefore, apologiſed to Abraham for his conduct; declaring, that he had conſidered the woman as his ſiſter, and not as his wife, and had ſought an alliance with her, without the leaſt intention of offering her any perſonal injury or affront. He, afterwards, preſented Abraham with a conſiderable ſum of money, and granted him a permiſſion to aſſociate himſelf with the moſt learned men reſiding in the land of Ægypt; by which indulgence, his abilities and virtues became daily more conſpicuous, and, conſequently more eſteemed. From this freedom of intercourſe, Abraham was enabled to diſcover the ceaſeleſs differences which ſubſiſted among them, reſpecting rites, ceremonies, and tenets; their factions, and animoſities; and their mutual contempt and hatred of one another. From this view of their conduct, he heſitated not to characterize them as a people acting in contradiction to themſelves, as well as to each other; and whoſe notions and opinions were deſtitute of every kind of foundation. During his reſidence in this country, he became famed for the ſolidity of his judgement, and for the powers of his elocution. He alſo initiated them in the ſtudy of aſtronomy and arithmetic, with which ſciences the people of Egypt were totally unacquainted, till Abraham tranſplanted them thither from Chaldæa, and from Ægypt they paſſed into Greece.

When Abraham returned to Canaan, having learnt that his ſhepherds and thoſe of Lot had diſagreed, relative to the boundaries of the lands of their reſpective maſters, he propoſed a diviſion of them. Abraham permitted Lot to make choice of whatever part of them he beſt approved, contenting himſelf with the remainder, and fixed his abode in the city of Hebron; which had been founded ſeven years before that of Tanis, in Ægypt. The ſpot which Lot choſe for his reſidence, was ſituated on the banks of the river Jordan, a ſmall diſtance only from Sodom, which was at that period a flouriſhing city, but was afterwards ſo utterly deſtroyed, in conſequence of the wickedneſs of the inhabitants, that there is not, at the preſent time, the leaſt trace of it to be perceived. The particulars of this extraordinary event ſhall be related in their proper place.

CHAP X.

The Aſſyrians obtain a ſignal victory over the people of Sodom, and Lot is taken priſoner.

DURING that period in which the Aſſyrians held the whole empire of Aſia in ſubjection, Sodom and its dependencies were governed by five kings, viz. Ballas, Barſas, Senabar, Symobar, and the king of the Balinians; and each of theſe was inveſted with abſolute power in his own diſtrict. In thoſe days the Aſſyrians marched a numerous and well diſciplined army, divided into four bodies, againſt the people of Sodom, whom, after a ſevere and bloody conteſt, they utterly defeated; and from this time, the kings of Sodom became tributaries to the Aſſyrians; and ſo continued for the ſpace of twelve years. In the thirteenth year, they refuſed to pay the tribute impoſed upon them; in conſequence of which, the Aſſyrians, under the command

mand of Amraphel, Arioch, Chodollomor and Thabal, advanced againſt them a ſecond time; ravaged Syria, ſubdued the race of the giants, and, entering the land of Sodom, pitched their camp in the valley among the brimſtone-pits, many of which were then to be ſeen in that neighbourhood; but the valley ſince the deſtruction of the city of Sodom, has been converted into a lake, called Aſphaltitis: of this I ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter. A great ſlaughter of the Sodomites enſued, and numbers were taken priſoners; among the latter was Lot, who had come to the aſſiſtance of the city.

CHAP. XI.

Abraham purſues and routs the Aſſyrians, and reſcues Lot and the other priſoners out of their hands. Melchiſedech entertains Abraham, who preſents him with a tenth part of the ſpoil taken from the Aſſyrians. God promiſes a ſon to Abraham, who, in conſequence, offers up a ſacrifice. Sarah brings Hagar to Abraham's bed, which gives riſe to a diſſention between the two women. Hagar withdraws herſelf from Abraham's dwelling, and is comforted by an angel. The birth of Iſhmael. Iſaac is promiſed to Abraham. Inſtitution of the ceremony of circumciſion.

IMMEDIATELY upon the intelligence being communicated to Abraham that the Sodomites had been defeated, and great numbers of his friends and neighbours killed and made priſoners; and that his nephew Lot was among the latter; he haſted in purſuit of the Aſſyrians, and on the fifth night of his journey, he ſurpriſed them near Dan, which is one of the heads of the river Jordan, and finding them in a ſtate of the utmoſt confuſion, ſome being intoxicated, others aſleep, or unprovided with arms, and the whole incapable of making either a timely retreat or ſucceſsful reſiſtance, he availed himſelf of the general conſternation, and falling upon them in their quarters, put a great number to death by the ſword, and the next day, purſued the reſt as far as Choba of Damaſcus. Abraham had barely three hundred and eighteen of his own domeſtics, beſides three auxiliary friends, when he ſo effectually routed this numerous army: and this may ſerve to prove, that victory does not ſo much depend on the number, as on the reſolution and valour, of the combatants. The few who eſcaped, retreated from the obſervation of the public, from a ſenſe of ſhame at their own daſtardly behaviour. Thus was liberty reſtored to Lot and the other priſoners, while Abraham returned to his people with the tidings of victory and peace.

In his way home, Abraham was met, at a place called the Valley Royal, by the king of Sodom, who congratulated him on his victory: and he was there received by Melchiſedech, king of Solyma, which is now called Jeruſalem. Melchiſedech ſignifies a righteous king, which appellation was worthily applied to this prince, who by the voice of the public had been elected to ſerve at the altar, in the character of a prieſt to the Moſt High and Almighty God. Melchiſedech accommodated Abraham and his followers with various refreſhments, and otherwiſe behaved towards them with ſingu-

lar benevolence: while they ſat at table, he greatly extolled Abraham, for his noble atchievements, and, with thankſgivings worthy his ſacred character, glorified the Almighty for the bleſſing of the victory. On the other hand, Abraham preſented Melchiſedech with one tenth part of the ſpoils he had obtained, which the king graciouſly accepted.

Abraham alſo offered a portion of the booty to the king of Sodom, but he excuſed himſelf from complying with the generous propoſal, ſaying, a return of his ſubjects, who had been made priſoners by the Aſſyrians, and afterwards reſcued by Abraham, was all he could reaſonably expect, deſiring him to diſpoſe of every thing elſe, as his judgement might direct. Abraham, however, declared, that he would make no private advantage of the ſpoil, ſuch a portion of which he only required, as would be ſufficient to ſupply his ſoldiers and followers with proviſions, and afford a proper recompence to Enner, Mambres and Eſchol, the three friends who had ſupported him in, and ſhared the hazard of the battle.

The ſincerity and diſintereſted conduct of Abraham, were ſo much approved by the Lord, that he informed him they ſhould be properly rewarded. "Almighty God," ſaid the righteous Abraham, "how will thy rewards "avail me, ſince I have no heir to inherit the bounties you may beſtow?" Now the Lord aſſured him, that he ſhould have a ſon, and be bleſſed like wiſe with a poſterity *as numerous as the ſtars of the heavens*. Upon theſe words a ſacrifice was offered by Abraham, agreeable to the direction of the Creator. This ſacrifice conſiſted of an heifer, a goat and a ram, being each three years old, beſides a turtle-dove and a pigeon: the birds remained entire, but the other animals were divided in halves, according to the command of God. While preparations were making at the altar, for the performance of the ſacrifice, and the birds of prey were hovering about, in expectation of the blood of the creatures, a voice from Heaven foretold, that the poſterity of Abraham ſhould fall into bondage in Ægypt, and remain in ſubjection to their oppreſſive enemies for the ſpace of four hundred years; at the expiration of which period, they ſhould ſpread themſelves over the whole country of the Canaanites, extending from Ægypt to Sodom, and ſubject the cities and whole extent of territory to their dominion.

At this time, Abraham dwelt not far from Hebron, at a place called the Oak of Ogye, where he lamented the circumſtance of his wife's barrenneſs, and the conſequent failure of iſſue, but ſtill offering up daily ſupplications that a male child might be born to him. Theſe entreaties induced the Lord to repeat his promiſe, reſpecting a ſon, and the other bleſſings decreed to him on removing from Meſopotamia.

By the immediate direction of Heaven, Sarah cauſed an Ægyptian ſervant in the family, named Hagar, to go to bed to her huſband, hoping that her pregnancy might be the conſequence; and this circumſtance occurred; whereupon Hagar, under the ſuppoſition that the child within her would ſurely ſucceed to the government, became extremely preſuming and arrogant to her miſtreſs. This ingratitude determined Abraham to reſign her up to the management of his wife Sarah, whom he authorized to chaſtiſe her at diſcretion, which mortified Hagar to that degree, that ſhe quitted Abraham's

ham's houſe, and ſet out in ſearch of ſome other ſettlement, earneſtly ſupplicating the protection of heaven in her miſerable condition. As ſhe paſſed through a deſert, ſhe was accoſted in her flight by an angel, who ordered her to return from whence ſhe came; telling her, that this affliction had befallen her in conſequence of her pride and ingratitude, and that, upon a reformation of conduct, ſhe would experience kinder uſage for the future; enjoining her, moreover, in the ſtricteſt manner, not to neglect this admonition, but to return inſtantly; and aſſuring her, in caſe ſhe obeyed, that ſhe ſhould live to be the mother of a child, who, in proceſs of time, ſhould obtain the dominion of that country. She, accordingly, returned to her miſtreſs, and, having humbled herſelf, obtained her pardon: ſoon after which ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who was named Iſhmael, ſignifying, in Hebrew, *prevailed upon*; God having attended to, and granted the prayers of the mother.

Abraham had attained his eighty-ſixth year when Iſhmael was born; and, at the age of ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and acquainted him that his wife Sarah ſhould be delivered of a ſon, whom he ſhould name Iſaac; foretelling, alſo, that many powerful monarchs and nations ſhould derive their origin from him, and ſhould conquer the whole land of Canaan, extending from Sidon to Ægypt. God commanded, in order to make a diſtinction between the race of Abraham, and the people of other nations, with whom all commixture was ſtrictly prohibited, that all his poſterity ſhould be circumciſed on the eighth day after their birth; and this not only for the reaſon above aſſigned, but for ſome others alſo, which ſhall be more particularly mentioned hereafter. Abraham having enquired of God the fortune of Iſhmael, received for anſwer, that he ſhould live to a great age, and ſhould be the founder of many mighty nations; whereupon Abraham returned thanks to the Almighty, and was immediately circumciſed, together with Iſhmael, who was then in his thirteenth year, and the reſt of his family.

CHAP. XII.

The execrable crimes of the people puniſhed by the judgment of God in the deſtruction of Sodom.

AT this time the people of Sodom became ſo extravagantly vain in the great wealth and plenty which they enjoyed, as totally to fail in reverence to God, and reſpect to their fellow-creatures. Inhoſpitality to ſtrangers, ingratitude towards thoſe who had beſtowed benefits upon them, and unnatural luſts towards each other, incenſed the Almighty againſt them to ſo high a degree, that he determined to puniſh their abominable crimes by laying waſte their whole country, and pronouncing that the parts inhabited by them, ſhould no longer produce fruit or plants for the uſe and benefit of mankind.

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The ſentence againſt the Sodomites being paſt, while Abraham was ſitting under an Oak of Mambres near the entrance of his tent, he perceived three angels coming towards him, and from their appearance, he judged them to be travellers. He roſe to meet them, and, after the cuſtomary ſalutes, invited them to partake of the beſt refreſhment and entertainment his habitation would afford. His proffered civility was accepted, and directions were given for dreſſing a calf and baking a cake, which being made ready, were placed before the ſtrangers under the oak, and they gave thanks to their hoſt, and appeared to feed upon what had been provided for them. While the meat remained before them, they inquired of Abraham reſpecting Sarah his wife, and were anſwered, that ſhe was in the tent. They now aroſe as preparing to depart, obſerving, that they ſhould in a ſhort time ſee Abraham again, and that in the interim his wife would become a mother. Sarah was now called in, and ſhe ſmiled at hearing it ſaid, that ſhe ſhould have a child, ſhe being ninety, and her huſband an hundred years of age. The angels now threw off their diſguiſe, confeſſed whom they were, and mentioned the commiſſions with which they were charged; ſaying, two of them were employed to execute the deſtruction of Sodom, and that the third was intruſted with the tidings that a ſon would be born to Abraham. The judgment pronounced againſt the people, occaſioned Abraham to offer up earneſt prayers to God, that he would be pleaſed to ſpare the innocent from becoming partakers of the puniſhment denounced againſt the guilty: and the Almighty ſaid, in reply, that if ten righteous men could be found amongſt the citizens, for the ſake of thoſe ten he would ſpare all the others. Upon this declaration, Abraham declined offering any thing farther in behalf of the people.

The two angels went to Sodom, and being obſerved by Lot, he invited them to take up their reſidence in his houſe. Lot was naturally benevolent towards ſtrangers, and equal to Abraham for piety and good-nature. Some abandoned ruffians obſerved the angels to go into Lot's houſe, and as they were of graceful appearance, they conceived a deſign of attempting ſome violence upon their perſons, and endeavoured to force into the houſe in order to gratify their brutal appetites. Every argument that could be ſuggeſted in recommendation of continence and hoſpitality was enforced by Lot, who even offered to give up his two daughters inſtead of the ſtrangers; but this propoſal they would not liſten to. Highly incenſed at their outrageous conduct, and the horrid complexion of their guilt, the Lord ſtruck them with inſtant and total blindneſs on the ſpot, ſo that they could not diſcover the way to enter Lot's houſe, and the ſentence of exemplary perdition was, at the ſame time, pronounced againſt the whole people.

Lot being forewarned, eſcaped the calamity by a timely retreat from the town, taking with him his wife and two maiden daughters. The two perſons with whom theſe maidens were contracted to be joined in marriage, were intreated to accompany the family of Lot, but they ridiculed the threatened vengeance of heaven, and remained in the city. The wrath of God was now diſcharged againſt this impious race in a general conflagration, which conſumed the city and the whole number of its inhabitants, as well as thoſe of

ſurrounding country, laying the whole in a ſtate of irreparable devaſtation. The wife of Lot went out of the town with her huſband, but either from a motive of tenderneſs or curioſity, ſhe violated the ſtrict command of God in looking behind her, and ſhe was in conſequence turned into a pillar of ſalt. I have ſeen the pillar, and can ſafely aſſert that it ſtill remains.

After this judgment, Lot and his daughters ſought refuge in the country called Zoar, (which in the Hebrew language ſignifies *ſmall*) this being the only place which eſcaped the fury of the devouring flames; but while they remained here, their life was rendered uneaſy and irkſome from a deficiency of proviſions, and the want of ſocial intercourſe. In their ſolitude the daughters conſidered their ſmall family as the only ſurviving part of the human ſpecies, and, therefore, imagined themſelves, in ſo preſſing an exigency, to be juſtifiable in any means they ſhould adopt for the conſervation of the human race. On this conſideration they went privately to bed to their father, when he was inſenſible of their being his children, and the conſequence was that they both proved pregnant; and each bringing forth a ſon, that of the eldeſt was called Moah (in Hebrew, meaning, *of my father*) and that of the younger, Ammon (or, *of my race*). One of theſe was the father of the Moabites, a powerful people yet exiſting, as the other was of the Ammonites, both which people were inhabitants of Cælo-Syria. In the above manner it was that Lot eſcaped the conflagration of Sodom.

CHAP. XIII.

Particulars concerning Abimelech, and Iſhmael, the ſon of Abraham, and his poſterity, the Arabians.

ABRAHAM withdrew to Gerar, in Palæſtine, accompanied by Sarah, who ſtill paſſed for his ſiſter, from an apprehenſion of danger from Abimelech, who reigned over the country. It happened afterwards, that Abimelech conceived a paſſion for her, and endeavoured to ſeduce her, but was prevented from purſuing his deſign, by a violent fit of ſickneſs, with which God was pleaſed to afflict him, as a puniſhment for his laſciviouſneſs. The diſorder roſe to that height, that his life was deſpaired of, and God warned him, in a dream, to offer no violence to Sarah, ſhe being the wife, and not the ſiſter, of the ſtranger. In a ſhort time afterwards, Abimelech, perceiving that his diſorder was abated, communicated to his friends all the circumſtances of his paſſion for Sarah, his dream, and of every thing that had paſſed; declaring that he conſidered his preſent ſickneſs as a juſt mark of God's diſpleaſure.

He then ſent for Abraham, by advice of his friends, and gave him the moſt poſitive aſſurances that the honour of his wife was ſtill unviolated; appealing to God and her own conſcience for the truth of his declaration; proteſting that, had he imagined Sarah to have been his wife, he would not have offered her the leaſt inſult; and conjuring him to overlook what had paſſed, and to intercede with the Almighty in his behalf. He further ac-

quainted him that ſhould he be inclined to continue in Palæſtine, he ſhould be amply provided for: or, if he rather choſe to depart, that he ſhould be furniſhed with guides, carriages, and every other convenience for his journey.

Abraham, in reply, did, in ſome meaſure, juſtify his conduct in ſtyling Sarah his ſiſter, ſhe being the daughter of his brother, and, therefore, of the ſame blood with himſelf; alledging, moreover, that he looked upon this deception as neceſſary to his ſafety in his travels. He alſo, obſerved that he could not conſider himſelf as the cauſe of Abimelech's ſickneſs; and, finally, expreſſing a ſincere regard and affection for him, declared his willingneſs to continue in his dominions. The king, thereupon, generouſly preſented Abraham with a large tract of land, and a conſiderable ſum of money; and concluded a ſolemn league and covenant with him, which was ratified at the well of Berſabe, or the *Well of the Oath*, which name it bears to the preſent time.

Sarah, ſoon afterwards, bore to Abraham a ſon, as the angel had foretold, and they named him Iſaac, which, in the Hebrew tongue, ſignifies *laughter*; alluding to the circumſtance of Sarah's ſmiling, when the angel announced to her the purpoſe of God to grant her a ſon; ſhe judging it an improbability to bear a child at ſo advanced a period of life, being herſelf ninety, and Abraham one hundred years old, at the time of the birth of Iſaac. The child was circumciſed on the eighth day, which is the time ſtill obſerved by the Jews for the celebration of that ceremony. But, as Iſhmael, the ſon of Abraham by Hagar, was not circumciſed till the thirteenth year, the Arabians, who are deſcended from him, ſtill retain the ſame cuſtom.

During the infancy of Iſhmael, Sarah manifeſted as much tenderneſs for him, as if he had been her own child; and he was brought up and educated with all poſſible care, as the preſumptive heir of the family: but, after the birth of Iſaac, Sarah became apprehenſive of the conſequences of bringing up the two children together; as Iſhmael, who was ſo much older than his brother, might be tempted to deprive him of the inheritance, in caſe of the death of Abraham. She, therefore, uſed all her influence with Abraham, to prevail on him to ſend away both the mother and the child to ſome diſtant country. Abraham, at firſt, rejected the propoſal with horror; but, at length, being warned of God to comply with what his wife required of him, he diſmiſſed Hagar and her ſon, who was ſtill of too tender an age to provide for himſelf, to ſeek a ſettlement elſewhere; giving them, at their departure, a portion of bread and water for their ſubſiſtence.

Their ſmall ſtock of proviſions was ſoon conſumed, and the child's ſtrength was ſo much exhauſted, that Hagar laid him down at the foot of a fir-tree, and retired to a diſtance, in order to avoid the ſight of his laſt agonies. In this emergency, ſhe was accoſted by an angel, who directed her to a neighbouring fountain, and ſtrictly enjoined her to pay the utmoſt attention to her charge, with whoſe ſafety and happineſs her own was connected in the higheſt degree. This conſolation reviving her courage, ſhe purſued her jour-

ney, and, at length, fortunately met with a company of ſhepherds, from whom ſhe experienced great kindneſs in her neceſſity.

When Iſhmael had attained to man's eſtate, he married a woman of Ægypt, of which country his mother alſo was a native. This woman bore him twelve ſons, whoſe names were Nabaioth, Cedar, Abdeel, Mabſamas, Idumas, Maſmaus, Maſſäus, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphaiſh, and Cadmas; who inhabited the whole extent of country lying between the Euphrates and the Red-Sea; and which is called Nabathæa. From theſe perſons the different tribes of the Arabians derive their origin.

CHAP XIV.

God commands Abraham to offer up his beloved ſon, Iſaac. The exemplary faith and obedience of Iſaac, and the bleſſing conſequent thereon.

ISAAC was the only legitimate ſon of Abraham, born to him in an advanced period of his life, and, on both theſe accounts, particularly dear to him. But the tenderneſs of the parent was amply repaid and juſtified by the excellent qualities of the child. Abraham was now, therefore, no longer ſolicitous for life, or the enjoyments of this world, but was cheerfully diſpoſed to reſign his poſſeſſions to his heir, and his very being into the hands of God, from whom he derived it. The Almighty, however, was pleaſed to make a further trial of his faith and obedience; and therefore, after recapitulating the various bleſſings which he had conferred upon him, commanded him, as a proof of his gratitude, to offer up his beloved and only ſon Iſaac, upon a mountain of Moriah. Abraham, who had ever paid the moſt implicit obedience to the will of God, did not heſitate one moment to promiſe an exact conformity to the preſent injunction.

Without communicating a ſyllable of his deſign, or of the command, either to his wife, or to any of his family, leſt they ſhould oppoſe him therein, he departed from his own dwelling, with his ſon Iſaac and two ſervants, taking with him an aſs laden with articles for the ſacrifice. On the third day they arrived within ſight of the deſtined place; and Abraham, leaving his ſervants below in the valley, aſcended the mountain, accompanied only by Iſaac, who was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age. It was on this mountain that David afterwards erected a temple. Iſaac, obſerving that his father had made all the neceſſary preparations for a ſacrifice, yet perceiving no victim near at hand, queſtioned him on the ſubject. Abraham anſwered, "God that in whoſe power it was to relieve the wants of the neceſſitous, and to deprive the opulent of their ſtore, as he found it moſt conducive to the happineſs of thoſe who put their truſt in him, would, doubtleſs provide a victim, in caſe he ſhould vouchſafe to accept of an oblation."

The wood being laid, and all things in readineſs, Abraham addreſſed Iſaac in theſe terms: "My beloved ſon, thou art the child of my prayers, and, from the time of thy birth, I have ſpared neither coſt nor pains in thy nurture and education. My utmoſt wiſh has been, that you might attain a maturity of manhood and reaſon, and that, whenever it ſhould pleaſe

"God

" God to take me to himſelf, I might leave thee in poſſeſſion of my autho-
" rity and dominions; but, ſince the Almighty, who firſt beſtowed thee on
" me, has thought proper to recall the gift, ſubmit thyſelf, I pray thee, my
" dear ſon, with a pious firmneſs, to the fate which awaits thee. It is to
" God that thou art to be offered up; to that God who now commands me to
" relinquiſh thee to him, in proof of my gratitude for the numerous bleſſings
" he hath ſhowered upon us, throughout the courſe of our lives. Death is the
" common portion of all mankind; and, certainly, thou can'ſt not fall more
" glorioufly, than by the hand of thine own father, an oblation to the God
" and father of the univerſe, who prefers rather to receive thy ſoul into end-
" leſs bliſs, on the wing of prayer and ejaculation, than to ſuffer thee to be-
" come the victim of diſeaſe, war, paſſion, or any other of the various caſu-
" alties, to which mankind are hourly expoſed. Reflect maturely on what I
" have ſaid, and thou wilt perceive that, in the heavenly ſtation to which
" thou art now ſummoned, thou may'ſt afford thy aged father unfailing ſup-
" port, and that, in the room of thee, my ſon, I ſhall have God himſelf for
" my protector."

Iſaac manifeſted a firmneſs and reſignation, on the occaſion, worthy of his birth; declaring that, if he ſhould heſitate to ſurrender up his life, at the requiſition of God and his father, from whom he derived it, he ſhould be undeſerving of that exiſtence which he had hitherto enjoyed; nay, that he would readily have yielded it up, at the command even of his father alone.

He then advanced to the altar, and, baring his throat, waited in patient expectation of the event; but, at the very inſtant that Abraham raiſed his arm to ſtrike the blow, the Almighty called aloud to him from heaven, and prevented his deſign. God commanded him to ſtay his hand, and to ſpare the life of his ſon; declaring, that it was not from any pleaſure that he took in human ſacrifices, nor from an intention of conſtituting a father the murderer of that very child which he had himſelf beſtowed on him, that he had enjoined him to this action; but ſolely to try how far a ſenſe of his duty to the Almighty might operate upon him, in oppoſition to the dictates of affection and nature; that, finding his piety ſuperior to all temptations, he, confirmed to him his ſeveral former promiſes; accepted of his intended ſacrifice, and engaged that his providence ſhould never forſake either him or his poſterity; that he would bleſs his ſon, Iſaac, with length of days, and a numerous and illuſtrious offſpring, who ſhould eſtabliſh their authority over many nations, and ſhould ſubdue the land of Canaan by the ſword; rendering themſelves the envy of the reſt of mankind, by the abundance of their wealth, and the fame of their glorious deeds.

When God had finiſhed ſpeaking, a ram moſt unexpectedly appeared, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſpot. The father and ſon, in a tranſport of ſurprize and rapture, now exchanged their mutual endearments; fervently praiſing God for his gracious promiſes and unbounded goodneſs: and thereupon, offered up a ſacrifice on the ſpot. When they had performed this duty, they returned home, where they paſſed a life of eaſe and happineſs; God proſpering them in all their undertakings.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The death of Sarah.

SOON after this event Sarah died, in the hundred and twenty-ſeventh year of her age, and was buried in Hebron. The Canaanites preſſed Abraham to accept of a ſepulchre for her interment; but he perſiſted in declining the offer, chuſing rather to purchaſe a field, belonging to an inhabitant of Hebron, named Ephraim, for which he paid four hundred ſhekels of ſilver, and applied it to the above-mentioned purpoſe; and ſeveral monuments, erected in honour of himſelf and his poſterity, may be ſeen there to this day.

CHAP. XVI.

Particulars concerning Abraham, his wife Chetura, and their progeny. The marriage of Iſaac and Rebecca.

SOME time after the death of Sarah, Abraham married a ſecond wife, named Chetura, by whom he had ſix ſons, viz. Zembran, Jazar, Madan, Madian, Jozubac, and Suus.

Sabathan and Dadan were the two ſons of Suus, of whom the latter had Latuſim, Aſſur, and Luom. To Madian were born five ſons: Epha, Opher, Enoch, Ebidas, and Eldas.

At the inſtigation of Abraham, theſe perſons ſettled in different parts, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the country of the Troglodytes, and that part of Arabia Felix bordering upon the Red-Sea. A tradition has been handed down to us, that Opher, having entered Libya with a powerful army, made an entire conqueſt of the country: the deſcendants of this man, who ſucceeded him in the government, named it Aphrica. There is a paſſage in Alexander Polyhiſtor, relating to this ſubject, which mentions that the prophet, Cleodemus (ſurnamed Malchus) in a hiſtory of the Jews, written by him, in the manner of Moſes, their law-giver, obſerves that Abraham had ſeveral children by Chetura, three of whom he ſpecifies by name: viz. Apheran, Surim, and Japhran. The Syrians derive their name from Surim; and the city of Aphra and Aphrica take theirs from Japhran and Apheran. Theſe are the people who are ſuppoſed to have fought under the command of Hercules, in his expedition againſt Antæus and Libya: and this Hercules is reported to have eſpouſed the daughter of Aphra, by whom he had Dedor, the father of Sophon, from whom the cruel race of the Sophaces derive their origin.

Iſaac being now about forty years of age, his father conceived the deſign of marrying him to Rebecca, the daughter of Bathuel, who was the ſon of his brother Nachor. On this buſineſs he diſpatched one of his moſt truſty ſervants; firſt binding him, by an oath, to a faithful diſcharge of his commiſſion; which ceremony he performed, by

putting his hand under his maſter's thigh, according to the form uſed in that country on all ſimilar occaſions. The meſſenger then departed, being inveſted with full powers to negociate and conclude the buſineſs in queſtion, and furniſhed with rare and coſtly preſents, and all neceſſaries for his journey. Meſopotamia, through which his rout lay, is, on account of the badneſs of the roads in winter, and the great ſcarcity of water in ſummer, a moſt inconvenient country for travellers. Having ſurmounted theſe difficulties, he arrived, at length, at Charran; upon entering the ſuburbs of which city, he met a number of virgins, who were going to the well for water.

He, thereupon, offered up a prayer, requeſting that, if God approved of the propoſed alliance, he might meet with Rebecca in that company; and that he might be enabled to diſcover her, by the circumſtance of her giving him water to drink, when all the others ſhould deny his requeſt. On his arrival at the well, he addreſſed himſelf to each of the virgins, ſeparately, begging them to oblige him with a draught of water. One replied, that ſhe had taken too much trouble to get it, to part with it ſo eaſily; another, that ſhe did not draw water for every one who might apply to her for it; ſome making one excuſe, and ſome another, but all refuſing to comply with his requeſt, ſave one ſingle virgin, who ſharply reproved her companions for their incivility to a ſtranger, and courteouſly offered him her pitcher to allay his thirſt. This was ſo auſpicious a commencement, that the meſſenger, after ſome general compliments on her perſon and benevolence of temper, deſired to be informed to what family ſhe belonged; wiſhing that her parents might live to ſee her ſettled in the marriage ſtate, with an affectionate and virtuous huſband, and a numerous and obedient progeny.

To this, without the leaſt heſitation, Rebecca replied: "The name of "my father, was Bathuel; but he died long-ago, and left my mother "and me, together with all his ſubſtance, to the care of my brother, "whoſe name is Laban; and I am called Rebecca." The meſſenger was delighted with what he had heard and ſeen; being fully convinced that God favoured the deſign on which he was come thither. He, therefore, preſented Rebecca with a ſmall chain, and ſome other ornaments for her perſon, ſuch as commonly attract, in a conſiderable degree, the attention of women of her age; requeſting her acceptance of them as a mark of his eſteem for her ſingular excellencies, and of his gratitude for the particular obligation ſhe had conferred on him. He then requeſted that, as it grew late, and would be unſafe travelling further, he might be permitted, for that night, to reſide at the houſe of her relations; adding, that he had a valuable charge of jewels with him, which he judged he could not depoſit more ſafely, than in the hands of perſons of ſuch integrity, as he was authorized to ſuppoſe, from the rare qualities he had experienced in herſelf, the reſt of her family to be; hoping that they would make no ſcruple to receive a gueſt, who would not put them to any manner of charge for his entertainment. The virgin replied, "that he appeared to have conceived a proper idea of the humanity of "her relations, but that ſhe wiſhed him to have a better opinion of their ge-"neroſity; as he ſhould be lodged at their dwelling without any expence. but "that ſhe would firſt aſk her brother's permiſſion to introduce him." This was immediately

immediately granted, and the ſervants of Laban were ordered to take care of the ſtranger's camels, while he ſat down to table with the maſter of the houſe. When ſupper was ended, the gueſt addreſſed himſelf to the mother and ſon, in theſe terms: "I am ſent to you," ſaid he, "by Abraham, the ſon of "Thares, and your kinſman; for Nachor," directing his diſcourſe to the woman, "the father of your late huſband, was the brother of Abraham, by "the ſame father and mother. I am a domeſtic ſervant of Abraham, who "has commiſſioned me to propoſe a marriage between this virgin, and his "only legitimate ſon and heir. From a predilection for thoſe of his own "blood, he has rejected offers of alliance with many of the moſt powerful "families in the country where he reſides. Do not, I conjure you, withhold "your conſent to my propoſal, ſince God himſelf evidently interpoſes in be-"half of it, and has directed me, in a miraculous manner, both to this vir-"gin and to your dwelling. When I entered the town, I ſaw a number of "maidens, who were going to the well for water, and I offered up a ſecret "prayer to heaven, that I might find the virgin whom I ſought among them, "which happened according to my prayer: thus, you may perceive that "the propoſed match has already obtained the approbation of heaven, and "wants but the ſanction of your authority to confirm it." This marriage was ſo eligible in itſelf, and ſo plainly conformable to the will of God, that Rebecca was delivered into the care of the meſſenger, who conducted her to the houſe of Iſaac, to whom the whole poſſeſſions of Abraham had now de-volved; the children that Chetura bore to Abraham having taken up their reſidence in other countries.

CHAP. XVII.

The death of Abraham.

IN a ſhort time after the marriage of Iſaac, Abraham departed this life, in the hundred and ſeventy-fifth year of his age. This man was equally renowned for his piety and virtue, and had rendered himſelf highly accept-table both to God and man. He was interred at Hebron, in the ſame ſe-pulchre with his wife, Sarah; Iſaac and Iſhmael taking upon themſelves the care of his funeral.

CHAP. XVIII.

The birth of Eſau and Jacob. Particulars relating to Eſau's wives. Iſaac ſends Eſau into the fields, to procure him ſome veniſon; but, being in years, and dim-ſighted, is deceived by Jacob, who perſonates Eſau, and thus ſurreptitiouſly ob-tains from his father the bleſſing intended for his brother.

IN a ſhort time after the death of Abraham, the wife of Iſaac became preg-nant, and increaſed ſo much in ſize, that her huſband, being greatly alarmed at the circumſtance, beſought the Almighty to reveal to him the cauſe

cauſe thereof. The purport of the anſwer he received was, that ſhe ſhould be delivered of twins, from whom two mighty nations, bearing their names, ſhould proceed; and that the younger of the two ſhould, in proceſs of time, eclipſe the glory of the elder. This prediction was in due time verified; for Rebecca brought forth twins; the elder of whom was covered with hair from head to foot, and as they came into the world, the younger was obſerved to be holding the other by the heel. The firſt-born was the favourite of his father, and was named Eſau, or Seir, which ſignifies in the Hebrew language *Hair*; but Jacob, the younger, became the darling of his mother.

At this period, the land of Canaan was afflicted with a terrible famine, and Ægypt enjoying the greateſt abundance at the ſame time; Iſaac was inclined to go thither; but God diverted him from his deſign, and he, therefore, repaired to Gerar. Upon his firſt arrival at that place, he was received by king Abimelech with every appearance of reſpect and friendſhip, in remembrance of the ancient alliance which had ſubſiſted between him and Abraham. But this kindneſs could not be expected to be of long continuance with a man who ſacrificed every conſideration to his envy. He perceived that Iſaac enjoyed a larger portion of God's favour than himſelf, and therefore diſmiſſed him from his court. Iſaac penetrating into the cauſe of this change of diſpoſition in Abimelech, withdrew to a place called the Valley, at a ſmall diſtance from Gerar. As his men were employed in digging for water in this place, the king's ſhepherds came to the ſpot, and prevented them from proceeding. They then repaired to another part, where they once more began to dig, but were interrupted as before. At length, he obtained the king's permiſſion to dig, and the place where he firſt found water he named Rooboth, which ſignifies *large* or *ſpacious*. Of the other two places, where he had been diſappointed, he called one Eſcon, ſignifying *contention*; and the other Sitenna, which, being interpreted, means *enmity*.

Abimelech, conſcious of his own inſincerity, obſerved, with a jealous eye, the increaſing power and reputation of Iſaac, who, he was apprehenſive, might, on a compariſon of his late unkind conduct with the favourable reception he had at firſt given him, be induced to revenge the inſult; he was, moreover, unwilling to provoke the enmity of a man of Iſaac's temper and character. He, accordingly, taking with him one of the chief officers of his court, repaired to the ſpot where Iſaac reſided, and propoſed to him a renewal of the former league which had ſubſiſted between them; with which Iſaac, recollecting the ancient friendſhip which his father and the king had mutually entertained, readily complied; and thus all diſagreement between them ceaſed.

At the age of forty, Eſau, the favourite of his father, married two wives; Adah, the daughter of Elon, and Alibama, the daughter of Eſbion; both perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank and high reputation in the land of Canaan. He contracted theſe marriages without conſulting his father, Iſaac, on the ſubject; nor would he have been able to have procured his conſent thereto; Iſaac being fully determined not to form any alliance, whatever, with the Canaanites. As the matter, however, was irremediable, Iſaac judged it

better to paſs the whole over in ſilence, than to proceed to the extremity of compelling his ſon to diſmiſs the women.

Iſaac, being now arrived at a very advanced age, and having, in part, at leaſt, if not totally, loſt his ſight, called to him his ſon Eſau; and, after premiſing what he was about to ſay, with ſome reflections on his age and infirmities; grievouſly lamenting his incapacity to ſerve God, as he had formerly been accuſtomed to do; and ordering Eſau to go into the fields, and endeavour to procure him ſome ſavoury food for his ſupper; he promiſed, at his return, to beſtow his bleſſing on him, and to recommend him to the protection of Almighty God. "The period of my own exiſtence," ſays he, "draws near; and, as the hour is uncertain, I cannot employ the ſhort time "I have to live, in a more proper manner, than in offering up prayers to "God for thy welfare and happineſs."

Eſau having retired, to execute his father's commands, Rebecca, who had overheard the converſation between them, contrived to transfer to Jacob, for whom ſhe had more affection than for his brother, the bleſſing which was intended for Eſau. She, therefore, ordered Jacob to kill a kid, and have it prepared for ſupper. Jacob obeyed, being conſtantly obſervant of the orders of his mother; and, when ſupper was ready, he ſet it before his father, having taken the precaution to ſpread the ſkin of the kid over his hands and arms, that he might appear to be hairy to his father, the brothers reſembling each other, in other reſpects, ſo ſtrongly, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh one from the other: he was, however, in great agitation, leſt he ſhould be detected in the impoſture, and thereby, draw upon himſelf a curſe, in the room of a bleſſing.

Iſaac, noting ſome particularity in his ſon's voice, bad him draw near, and finding his hands to be covered with hair, he obſerved, that "the voice "was Jacob's voice, but the hands were the hands of Eſau;" and without further heſitation, began to eat of the victuals ſet before him. The repaſt being finiſhed, he offered up a prayer to heaven in theſe words. "Eternal "God, from whom all created beings derive their origin! Thou haſt ſhower-"ed down on my father, myſelf, and our offſpring, a profuſion of the "comforts of this life, and haſt promiſed us the enjoyment of ſtill greater "bleſſings to come: make good, O Lord, thy gracious promiſes, and diſ-"dain not the application of thy ſervant on account of his infirmities, which "render him ſtill more ſenſible of his dependance on thee for his ſupport: "Preſerve, I pray thee, this child from all evil; grant him length of days "and all happineſs; bleſs him with the poſſeſſion of every worldly enjoyment "which thou, in thy wiſdom, ſhall deem conducive to his welfare; and render "him the dread of his enemies, and an honour and comfort to his fa-"mily and friends."

No ſooner had Iſaac concluded his prayer, than Eſau entered the room, being juſt returned from the chace; which circumſtance diſcovered to Iſaac the deception: but he thought proper to be ſilent on the matter. When the particulars of what had paſſed came to the knowledge of Eſau, he requeſted of his father to beſtow the ſame bleſſing on him, as he had already conferred

on his brother. But Iſaac excuſed himſelf; declaring, that he was reſtricted both from withdrawing, and from making a ſecond grant of the benediction he had conferred on Jacob. Eſau was ſo much affected with the diſappointment, that he could not refrain from tears, and his father, to comfort him as far as lay in his power, aſſured him, that he and his poſterity ſhould excel in hunting, and in the profeſſion of arms; concluding, nevertheleſs, that he muſt be ſubject to his younger brother.

Jacob, conſcious of the injury his brother had ſuſtained from him, was violently apprehenſive of his reſentment; and Rebecca, who was actuated by the ſame fears, in order to divert the danger, prevailed on Iſaac to ſend Jacob into Meſopotamia, to take a wife from among her kindred, reſiding in that country.

Eſau, perceiving that he had highly diſobliged his father by forming an alliance with a Canaanitiſh family, which people were his profeſſed enemies, now took to wife Baſſemath, the daughter of Iſhmael, for whom he entertained a ſtronger affection, than for any of his other wives.

CHAP XIX.

Jacob is ſent into Meſopotamia, to contract a marriage with Rachel, the daughter of Laban. His viſion. He engages to ſerve Laban, on certain conditions, and is deceived by him.

AT the inſtigation of Rebecca, Iſaac ſent Jacob into Meſopotamia, to treat of a match with the daughter of Laban, Rebecca's brother. It happened that a mortal enmity ſubſiſted, at this time, between that family and the Canaanites; and, as the rout which Jacob was to purſue lay thro' the land of Canaan, he durſt not truſt himſelf in any of their houſes, but repoſed, during the night, in the open air; a ſtone, or a hillock ſerving him for a pillow. On a certain night, as he lay thus at reſt, he had the following viſion.

He imagined that he ſaw a ladder placed on the earth, the top of which reached to the ſkies; and that a number of figures, reſembling, in form, the human race, but far exceeding them in ſize, and in the luſtre of their appearance, were continually paſſing and repaſſing up and down the rounds thereof; the Almighty appearing, in perſon, at the top, and ſpeaking to him in theſe words: "You, Jacob, who are deſcended from Iſaac and "Abraham, men deſervedly famous for their faith and virtue, inſtead of "deſponding of my care and protection, under any degree of affliction what-"ever, ought rather to ſubmit cheerfully to your preſent troubles, with a "firm reliance on me to extricate you from your difficulties. Place your "truſt in me, and be aſſured that you ſhall experience happier days. It "was I who brought Abraham out of Meſopotamia hither, when he was "driven from his poſſeſſions by thoſe of his own family; it was I who "ſhowered down bleſſings on your father, through the whole courſe of his "life; and I am determined, if you will render yourſelf deſerving of my "favour, to transfer to you thoſe bleſſings which I formerly conferred on

"your

" your anceſtors. The buſineſs which is the object of your preſent journey " ſhall ſucceed to your wiſh; you ſhall become the father of dutiful chil- " dren, and your progeny ſhall be without number. To them, and their " poſterity will I give this land, as an inheritance; and they ſhall plant co- " lonies throughout the whole earth, and the iſlands, as far as the ſun ex- " tends its influence. Let nothing, therefore, diſcourage you; but place " an implicit confidence in my protection, not only on the preſent oc- " caſion, but in all caſes in future."

This viſion filled Jacob with rapture; and he anointed the ſtone on which he had repoſed; vowing, at the ſame time, if God ſhould ever permit him to return home again, to erect an altar on the ſpot, and to offer ſacrifice thereon. This vow he afterwards performed; dedicating to God the tenth of all his ſubſtance, for an oblation. And as a further memorial of what had befallen him there, he named the place Bethel, or the *Houſe of God.*

He then continued his journey, and, after a tedious paſſage, arrived at Charran, where he found ſeveral ſhepherds, and other young perſons, of both ſexes, aſſembled about a well, and drawing water. He accoſted them, and begged a draught of water, to quench his thirſt; and thus, by degrees, entered into diſcourſe with them; enquiring whether they knew Laban, and whether he lived in the neighbourhood? They all anſwered in the affirmative, adding, that his daughter and they were accuſtomed to feed their ſheep together, and that they were ſurprized ſhe had not joined them yet. The virgin herſelf came to the ſpot, in the midſt of this converſation, and was acquainted by her companions with the enquiries which Jacob had made, concerning her father. She immediately with an eager ſimplicity, began to queſtion him relative to the place from whence he came, and the buſineſs which had brought him thither; making him an offer, at the ſame time, of her ſervices.

Jacob, charmed with her courteous behaviour, but much more ſo with the beauties of her perſon, inſtantly conceived a violent paſſion for her, and addreſſed himſelf to her in theſe terms: " A firm friendſhip," ſaid he, " has " ſubſiſted between our families, if you, fair virgin, are actually the daugh- " ter of Laban, a long time previous to the birth of either of us; Abraham, " Haran, and Nachor, being the ſons of Thares, and Bathuel, your grand- " father, the ſon of Nachor. Iſaac, my father, was born to Abraham by " Sarah, the daughter of Haran. Moreover, my mother, Rebecca, is the " ſiſter of your father, Laban, by the ſame parents: thus, you ſee that we " ſtand related to each other in the degree of couſin-germans; and the ob- " ject of my preſent journey is, to renew the ancient family league and " compact."

The virgin now recollected with how much affection ſhe had often heard her father ſpeak of Rebecca, and ſhe was ſo overjoyed with the idea of the pleaſure which he would derive from the circumſtance of Jacob's arrival with tidings of that excellent woman, that ſhe burſt into tears, threw her arms round Jacob's neck, and kiſſed him, and, with her arms ſtill about him, ſpoke thus: " Thou bringeſt," ſaid ſhe, " the moſt welcome news imagin- " able, both to my father and to the whole family. He, good man, was

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" never ſo happy as when expatiating on the virtues of thy mother; and I " am poſitive, he would not exchange the felicity which thy tidings will " give him, for any other bleſſing under the ſun. Therefore, let us haſten " to him, without any further delay." She then introduced him to Laban, who, as well as the reſt of the family, expreſſed the utmoſt joy on his unexpected arrival.

He had been with the family but a few days, when Laban thought proper to compliment him upon the pleaſure he profeſſed that he enjoyed in his converſation; at the ſame time expreſſing ſome ſurprize, that he ſhould have quitted his father and mother at a period, when, from their extreme age, his preſence muſt have been moſt neceſſary to them; concluding with an aſſurance, that he would render him every ſervice in his power. Jacob, to ſatisfy his curioſity, gave him the following ſhort abſtract of the hiſtory of his family. " My mother, Rebecca," ſaid he, " bore twin ſons, Eſau and " myſelf. My father, being blind, was led, by the contrivance of my " mother, to confer on me the bleſſing he had meant for my brother. " Eſau, therefore, conſiders me as a perſon who has ſupplanted him in his " juſt claim, both to his father's bleſſing, and the inheritance which God had " aſſigned him, and he determined, in conſequence, to take away my life. " To avoid the danger which threatened me, and in compliance with the in- " junction of my mother, I have fled to thee for protection, as to the near- " eſt relation ſhe has living; and it is on thee, next under God, that I de- " pend for my ſafety." Laban gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his favour, not only in conſideration of his own good qualities, but alſo, as being the ſon of his ſiſter; ſaying he ſhould ever entertain the ſincereſt affection for her, whatever the diſtance might be that ſhould ſeparate them; adding that, for the preſent, he would give him the ſuperintendency of his flocks and ſhepherds; and that, whenever he ſhould think proper to return home, he might depend on a gratification ſuitable to his merit.

Jacob, who was deſirous of continuing in the family on any terms, conſented to Laban's propoſal, on condition that he might have Rachel in marriage, as the reward of his ſervices; declaring that he loved her to exceſs, not only on account of her own rare merit, but alſo, as having been the providential inſtrument of his introduction to the family. Laban inſtantly ratified the condition, with earneſt expreſſions of joy; proteſting that he ſhould prefer him before all men living for a ſon-in-law; but gave him to underſtand, at the ſame time, that he muſt wait awhile for the execution of the agreement, as it would not be without great unwillingneſs that he ſhould ſuffer his daughter to go ſo far from him as to the land of Canaan; having, to ſay the truth, almoſt repented, at times, the ſending his ſiſter thither. To prove the diſintereſtedneſs of his views, Jacob engaged to wait, and contracted to ſerve his intended father-in-law for the term of ſeven years.

Preciſely on the concluding day of the above term, Laban prepared the nuptial feaſt, and, having previouſly intoxicated Jacob, late at night, and in the dark, ſecretly conducted to his bed the blear-eyed elder ſiſter, inſtead of the younger. Jacob having diſcovered the impoſition, expoſtulated with him on this breach of faith: but Laban attempted to vindicate his conduct, on

the plea of neceſſity; alledging that the cuſtom of the country would not permit the younger ſiſter to be married before the elder, and ſolemnly proteſting that he was totally uninfluenced by any malicious motive on this occaſion; "But, the diſappointment you have now experienced," ſaid he, "need not "be any obſtacle to your marrying Rachel at a future time; for, if you will "engage yourſelf to me for another term of ſeven years, at the expiration "thereof, ſhe ſhall be delivered to you, unveiled, and in the face of day; "and thus you will be guarded againſt every danger of a ſecond deception." Jacob, who was guided ſolely by the dictates of his paſſion, yielded to this propoſition alſo; and, having compleated the term of his contract, received Rachel for his wife.

Laban had given to his daughters two maidens, who were to attend them, not altogether in the capacity of menial ſervants, though they were, nevertheleſs, to be ſubſervient to their commands: Zilpah attended on Leah, and Bilhah on Rachel. As Rachel evidently poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of Jacob's affection than her ſiſter Leah, the latter was greatly afflicted thereat; yet ſhe ſtill entertained hopes that, by bringing him children, ſhe might, at length, win him to herſelf. This, accordingly, happened; for, having born to him a ſon, whom ſhe named Reuben, or *divine mercy*, this circumſtance influenced him in her favour, and ſhe had afterwards three other ſons, who were called Simeon, ſignifying *God is favourable*; Levi, or the *ſupport of ſociety*; and Judah, or *thankſgiving*.

Rachel was very apprehenſive, leſt the fruitfulneſs of her ſiſter ſhould, in part, abate Jacob's attachment to herſelf, and, therefore, contrived to deceive him, by ſubſtituting her woman, Bilhah, in her place; and by her Jacob had a ſon, named Dan, or the *judgment of God*; and ſhe was ſome time afterwards, delivered of Nephthalim, ſignifying *artificial*; alluding to the circumſtance of Rachel's craft, in her contention with her ſiſter for children. Leah afterwards adopted her ſiſter's arts, and introduced Zilpah to Jacob, who bore him two ſons, one of which was named Gad, ſignifying *by chance*; and the other Aſer, or *beautifying*, becauſe they obtained honor by the tranſaction.

On a certain day, as the two ſiſters were ſitting together, Reuben, Leah's eldeſt ſon, brought ſome mandrake-apples to his mother. Rachel was eagerly deſirous to partake of them, but was refuſed by the other, who peeviſhly told her, that it was unreaſonable to think of depriving her of her huſband and her apples alſo; but Rachel, to ſoothe her, offered to relinquiſh Jacob to her for that night. The propoſal was accepted; and Leah, afterwards, bore other children; as Iſſachar, which ſignified *born for hire*; Zabulon, or a *pledge of love*; and a daughter, named Dinah. A conſiderable time elapſed before Rachel became pregnant, but, at length, ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who was named Joſeph, ſignifying an *addition*.

Jacob had now ſerved his father-in-law, in the ſtation of a ſuperintendant over his ſhepherds and herdſmen, full twenty years: he, therefore, began to entertain thoughts of returning home, and of conducting his wives thither with him. But, it was neceſſary to act with caution; as he was conſcious

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that Laban would throw every obſtacle in the way of his deſign. He determined, however, to adopt no reſolution, till he ſhould firſt have conſulted his wives on the ſubject, and have learnt how they were diſpoſed to the meaſure. Finding them, however, well inclined to accompany him, he departed immediately, with his two wives, their attendants, and children; and taking with him one half of the flocks. Rachel ſecreted the idols which her father had been accuſtomed to worſhip; not from any reſpect ſhe bore them, for her huſband had convinced her of the folly of ſuch adoration; but ſhe imagined that, in caſe her father ſhould overtake them in their flight, theſe images might prove the means of effecting a reconciliation between Laban and her huſband.

No ſooner did Laban become acquainted, on the following day, with Jacob's ſecret departure, and all the attendant circumſtances, than he aſſembled a ſtrong party of his followers, and went in purſuit of him. In the evening of the ſeventh day, he overtook Jacob and his company, as they were ſitting on a hillock, to reſt themſelves after the fatigue of the day's journey: but, it being late, Laban and his party laid themſelves down to repoſe. During the night, God appeared to Laban in a dream, and ſtrictly enjoined him rather to accommodate matters than offer the leaſt violence to his fugitive children; cautioning him, moreover, not to deſpiſe them on the inferiority of their numbers, as, in that caſe, he would, himſelf, fight on their ſide.

Early the next morning, Laban ſent for Jacob, who came to him with the confidence of a man who is ſenſible of no crime. Having firſt related to him his dream, Laban began to reproach him: "You muſt be "conſcious," ſaid he, "that I received you into my houſe at a time when "you were reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of indigence; that I generouſly relieved and entertained you, and gave you my daughters in mar-"riage, as the moſt effectual means to bind you to my intereſts. Yet, ſet-"ting at nought all regard for your mother, or for the cloſe alliance which "ſubſiſts between us, you have treated me more like an avowed enemy, than "as a near relation; ſeizing my effects, compelling my daughters, againſt "their wills, to abandon their parents, and even ſecretly conveying away "the very gods of my country, for which my anceſtors entertained ſo high a "veneration. This was an injury which a generous enemy would have ab-"ſtained from. And from whom do I experience this undeſerved ill-uſage, "but from my kinſman, my nephew, my ſon-in-law, and the man, whom "I ſo long harboured under my roof!"

Jacob replied, in vindication of himſelf, "That it was natural for a man, "who had been ſo long abſent from his native country, to wiſh to return "thither; that, with reſpect to the charge of robbery and injuſtice, he was "diſpoſed to appeal to the deciſion of any other perſon rather than Laban "himſelf; that he thought himſelf entitled rather to his acknowledgements, "for the care he had taken to improve his eſtate, than to his reproaches for "having reſerved to himſelf ſo ſmall a pittance out of it; and that, in the "caſe of his taking his wives with him at his departure, both he and they "had acted ſolely in conformity to their conjugal duty." Thus much he

ſaid in vindication of himſelf; and then adverted to the conduct of Laban, on whom he retorted his own reproaches; complaining, and expreſſing great ſurprize that, having ſerved his father-in-law, with unimpeached fidelity, for the long term of twenty years, he ſhould now be treated as the worſt of foes.

It muſt, doubtleſs, be admitted, that Jacob had ſufficient cauſe to complain of the uſage he had experienced from Laban, who, obſerving that God manifeſted a ſtrong predilection for Jacob, repeatedly impoſed upon his credulity by fair ſpeeches and promiſes; engaging, at one time, to beſtow on him all the white cattle which ſhould be produced in the courſe of the year, and at another, all the black; and when, at the expiration of the twelve-month, he found that the ſhare promiſed to Jacob, amounted to the greater part of the cattle produced in the time, he refuſed to fulfil his engagement till the following year; being pre-determined to pay no more regard to his ſtipulation, at the end of that period, than he had done on former occaſions, if his intereſt ſhould require it.

Rachel had ſecreted the idols in her ſaddle, and pretended to have a diſorder incidental to her ſex upon her. Laban, therefore, to whom Jacob had given free permiſſion to make a thorough ſearch for the images, paſſed her by, not imagining that, in her condition, ſhe would ſuffer any thing ſacred to be ſo near her perſon. Laban, thereupon, entered into a covenant with Jacob; forgave his daughters all that had paſſed, and promiſed that, for the future they ſhould hold the ſame place in his affection they had ever poſſeſſed; all which he confirmed with the ſolemnity of an oath. This ceremony was performed on a mountain, on which they erected a pillar, reſembling an altar, and they ſtyled it, and all the adjacent country, Galaud, or the *Hill of Witneſs.* After the ratification of the league between them, they feaſted together, and then ſeparated; Laban returning to his own home, and Jacob continuing his way to the land of Canaan.

CHAP. XX.

The interview between Jacob and Eſau.

AS Jacob purſued his journey to the land of Canaan, he had ſeveral viſions, all tending to give him hopes of future ſucceſs; and the place where the Almighty was pleaſed to grant him theſe revelations he named the *Field of God.* But he ſtill bore in mind the ancient reſentment of Eſau; and therefore, privately exerted all his endeavours to diſcover how his brother ſtood diſpoſed to him; ſending, moreover, ſeveral meſſengers to find out his reſidence, and to addreſs him, in his name, to the following effect: "That perceiving he had drawn upon himſelf the reſentment of his "brother, he retired from his own country; but, confident that his long "abſence muſt have obliterated all remembrance of paſt diſagreements, he "was now on his return home, with his wives, children, and treaſures; "propoſing to himſelf, as the firſt wiſh of his heart, to ſhare the wealth "God had ſo profuſely beſtowed on him, in common with his brother."

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This meaſure afforded Eſau ſuch heart-felt ſatisfaction, that he inſtantly began his journey, at the head of four hundred men, to meet him on the road. When Jacob learnt that Eſau was approaching at the head of ſo numerous a party, he was ſomewhat confounded; but, quickly recovering himſelf, determined, with the divine aſſiſtance, to repel any attack that might be made on him. He formed his men into two bodies; ordering the firſt to advance, and the other to keep at ſuch a diſtance, as to be able to ſecond the firſt, in any advantage which they might obtain, or to ſupport them, in caſe they ſhould be repulſed. Having made theſe preparations, he ſent ſome of his people before, with preſents to his brother, of different ſpecies of animals, ſome for uſe, others for curioſity. Theſe he ordered to march at a diſtance from each other, that they might appear more numerous than they in reality were; and he particularly enjoined the perſons who conducted them, to ſhew the utmoſt deference and reſpect to Eſau; truſting, by theſe means, to diſpel any rancour which might yet remain in his brother's mind. The whole day was ſpent in adjuſting the diſpoſition of the troops, and at night they marched.

After they had croſſed the torrent of Jabac, Jacob being at a ſmall diſtance behind, an angel laid his hands on him; and Jacob wreſtling with the angel, overcame him; whereupon he heard a voice, ſpeaking to him in theſe words: "Thou mayeſt with reaſon, boaſt of the advantage thou haſt "obtained over me; for it is not a common adverſary, but an angel of the "Lord, whom thou haſt foiled. This ſhall ſerve thee for a token, that "thy poſterity ſhall never become extinct, and that, in all thy conteſts, thou "ſhalt prove victorious." The angel, thereupon, gave him the title of Iſrael, which, in the Hebrew, ſignifies, *ſtruggling*. Jacob had prayed for a revelation of his future fortune, and, when he perceived that it was an angel who ſpake to him, he urged him to be explicit, and this being complied with, the angel diſappeared. The joy which Jacob felt on this occaſion was ſuch, that he named the ſpot, whereon the incident happened, Phanuel, ſignifying, the *face of God*. In this conteſt, one of the ſinews of his thigh was ſtrained, upon which account, he would never afterwards eat of that part of any animal; in which we follow his example to this day.

Jacob being informed that Eſau was approaching, ordered his wives, and their attendants to walk at a diſtance from his troops, that, in caſe his brother ſhould think proper to attack him, they might ſee the engagement without ſharing the danger. But when Jacob perceived that Eſau drew near with looks of complacency and peace, he ran towards him, and threw himſelf at his feet. Eſau raiſed him up, embraced him, and, with many queſtions reſpecting the women and children, earneſtly preſſed him to accompany him to his father's houſe. Jacob, however, declined the invitation; alledging that his horſes and cattle were too much tired to continue the journey; and Eſau, thereupon departed to his habitation at Seir; which was ſo named on account of the *hairineſs* of his perſon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

The rape of Dinah. The children of Jacob.

JACOB, after his brother's departure, repaired to the place called the Tabernacles, which is the name it bears to the preſent time, and from thence to Sichem, in the land of Canaan. It chanced that the inhabitants were engaged in the celebration of a feſtival, and Dinah, the only daughter of Jacob, went thither, to be preſent at the ſpectacles exhibited on the occaſion. Sichem, the ſon of king Emmor, conceived a paſſion for her, carried her off, and forced her. He afterwards aſked the conſent of his father to marry her, and he, not only readily yielded thereto, but went in perſon to Jacob, to obtain his compliance alſo. Jacob was greatly perplexed what anſwer to give the king; ſeeing that his conſcience forbad him to marry his daughter to a perſon of a different religion from himſelf; yet neither could he, with propriety, reject the application of a perſon of the petitioner's diſtinguiſhed rank. After ſome deliberation, however, he determined to requeſt a ſhort time to conſider of the matter; and the king quitted him, in full confidence of ſucceeding in his views.

When the ſons of Jacob became acquainted with the indignity that had been offered to their ſiſter, and the propoſal made by Emmor, they were ſo much confounded, that they could not determine what meaſures to adopt: but Simeon and Levi, the brothers of Dinah by the ſame mother, concerted a deſign, which, without the participation or privity of their father, they executed in the following manner.

Embracing the opportunity of the next feſtival at Sichem, they, at a late hour of the night, entered the city, overpowered the guards, whom drowſineſs and inebriety had rendered an eaſy conqueſt, and killed all the males they could find, among whom were the king and his ſon; ſparing the women alone: after the completion of this enterprize, they conducted Dinah back to their father's houſe. The barbarity of this action ſtruck Jacob with the utmoſt horror, and highly incenſed him againſt his ſons; but God comforted him, in a dream, bidding him take courage, and cleanſe his tents, and to perform the ſacrifice which he vowed, in conſequence of the viſion while on his journey into Meſopotamia.

While Jacob was employed in the execution of this command, he accidentally diſcovered the gods of Laban, which Rachel, unknown to him, had buried under an oak. He then went to Bethel, where he had the viſion, and there performed ſacrifice. From thence he repaired to Ephrata, at which place Rachel died in child-birth, and was buried; being the only perſon of the family who was not interred at Hebron. He was greatly affected by this

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incident; but, the child ſurviving, he named him Benjamin, from the great *grief he gave his mother**.

Jacob had twelve ſons, and one daughter. Of theſe, eight were legitimate; ſix being by Leah, and two by Rachel; of the four illegitimate children, two were born to him by Zilpah, and the ſame number by Bilhah. Their names have been already given, in a preceeding chapter.

CHAP. XXII.

Iſaac dies, at the age of an hundred and eighty-five years, and is buried in Hebron.

FROM Ephrata Jacob went to Hebron, in the land of Canaan, at which place Iſaac then dwelt; but they reſided together for a ſhort time only. Rebecca died ſome time previous to Jacob's arrival, and Iſaac did not long ſurvive her. He was interred, by Eſau and Jacob, in the family ſepulchre, in Hebron, where his wife, alſo, had been laid. Iſaac, by his virtuous conduct, rendered himſelf acceptable in the ſight of God, and, next to Abraham, appeared to be the peculiar favourite of heaven. He paſſed through life in the uniform and exemplary practice of piety and virtue, and died in the hundred and eighty-fifth year of his age.

* This is an error. See Gen. xxxv. 18. in the LXX, and Cotelerius's notes to the ſecond vol. of his Eccles. Græc. Monumenta, p. 548. See, alſo, Voſſius Conflagationum Auctarium, p. 363.

END of the FIRST BOOK.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK II.

Including the tranſactions from the year of the world 2230, to 2454.

CHAP. I.

Eſau and Jacob divide their poſſeſſions: Idumæa falls to the lot of the former, and the latter acquires Canaan for his ſhare.

AFTER the death of Iſaac, the two brothers, Eſau and Jacob, ſhared their poſſeſſions between them; and Eſau, having yielded to his brother the city of Hebron, withdrew himſelf to Seir, where he fixed his reſidence. The whole country of Idumæa belonged to him, and he named it after himſelf, Edom: this was a kind of nick-name, which had been given him in his youth, in conſequence of the following incident. Returning one day from hunting, greatly fatigued and hungry, he found his brother employed in preparing a ſoup of lentils for his dinner. The very colour of them, being a fine red, proved highly attractive, and he earneſtly beſought his brother to let him have a part of this pottage with him. But Jacob poſitively refuſed to comply with this requeſt, unleſs Eſau would relinquiſh to him his birth-right, which, through mere hunger, he conſented to, and confirmed the reſignation with the ſolemnity of an oath. When this incident came to the knowledge of his youthful companions, they conſtantly

conſtantly ridiculed him on the ſubject; giving him, in deriſion, the title of Edom, which, in the Hebrew, ſignifies *red*. The country alſo which he inhabited obtained the ſame title, though the Greeks have ſomewhat diſguiſed and ſoftened it, by converting it into Idumæa.

He had five children, *viz.* Jaus, Jalom, and Core, by his wife Alibæma; Eliphaz, by Adah; and Raguel, by Baſſemath.

Eliphaz had five legitimate ſons, whoſe names were Theman, Omar, Saphas, Gotham, and Canaz; and one natural ſon, named Amalek, by his concubine, Thamna. Theſe perſons ſettled in that diſtrict of Idumæa, which is named Gobolitis, and in the country of the Amalekites, ſo termed from Amalek, the ſon of Eliphaz. The whole was formerly ſtyled Idumæa; but, at this day, the ſeveral diſtricts retain the names of their reſpective planters.

CHAP. II.

Joſeph's dreams. He becomes the envy of his brethren, who conſpire againſt his life.

JACOB was one of the happieſt of mankind: he not only ſurpaſſed all his neighbours in wealth and power; but was alſo bleſſed with a progeny, who were equally renowned for their induſtry, valour and prudence; and whoſe very ſufferings and afflictions it pleaſed God to render advantageous to them, by making them the happy inſtruments of extricating our anceſtors from the bondage of the Ægyptians. The particulars are as follow.

Joſeph, whom Rachel bore to Jacob, was the favourite of his father, both on account of his perſonal and mental qualifications. This predilection, which his father conſtantly manifeſted for him, excited the jealouſy and ill-will of the reſt of his brethren; and theſe diſguſts received additional force, from the circumſtance of certain dreams, which Joſeph communicated to his brethren, at different times, all appearing to prognoſticate his future felicity and power. The viſions were theſe.

Having been ſent, by his father, to aſſiſt his brethren in reaping, he had a dream, which differed widely from thoſe fantaſtic creations of the brain, to which the above title is uſually given. He made his brothers acquainted with the particulars of this viſion, and deſired them to ſolve it. "I dreamt," ſaid he, "that I ſaw my own ſheaf of wheat ſtanding erect, and thoſe of all "my brethren haſtening, and proſtrating themſelves before it." This dream might have been expounded without much difficulty, as it plainly portended the great power which Joſeph was to acquire over the reſt of his brethren. But they pretended an incapacity to explain the meaning of it; praying earneſtly, however, for heaven to avert the omen, and conceiving a ſtill greater hatred againſt Joſeph than before.

A ſecond viſion, which he had, was of a ſtill more extraordinary kind than the former. He imagined that he ſaw the ſun, the moon, and eleven ſtars, deſcending from the ſkies, and doing him reverence. Still unconſcious of the evil deſigns of his brethren, Joſeph alſo communicated this viſion

to his father, in their hearing, and expreſſed an earneſt deſire to be acquainted with the tendency of it. Jacob was greatly pleaſed with this dream; conſidering it as a preſage of the future happineſs and glory of his ſon Joſeph, and of the honor which, in proceſs of time, he ſhould receive both from his father and brothers. The ſun and moon he expounded to mean the father and mother; it being the office of the one to increaſe and nouriſh, and of the other to give form and ſtrength; and he ſuppoſed the eleven ſtars to ſignify the eleven brethren, who alſo derived their knowledge and virtue from above.

This was, doubtleſs, a rational interpretation of the dream in queſtion; but it gave great offence to the brethren of Joſeph, who, on the contrary, ought to have rejoiced in the proſpect of their brother's promiſed happineſs, inſtead of envying to ſo near a relation thoſe advantages and benefits, which they would not have regretted the poſſeſſion of to a ſtranger. But, to that height had their inveteracy againſt him now ariſen, that nothing leſs than his life would ſatisfy them: and this was the method they took to effect their purpoſe. No ſooner was the harveſt over, than they removed, with their flocks, to Sichem, which place is remarkable for the excellency of its paſture; but without giving their father the leaſt intimation of their departure. When they had been gone ſome time, and no intelligence being received by Jacob of the place to which they had retired, he diſpatched Joſeph to acquire all poſſible information concerning them.

CHAP. III.

The conſpiracy of Joſeph's brethren: his life is preſerved through the interceſſion of Reuben, and he is ſold to Arabian merchants.

IN obedience to the command of his father, Joſeph went in ſearch of his brothers, and upon his arrival among them, they rejoiced exceedingly; and, conſidering him as an enemy whom God had delivered into their power, were deſirous of putting their ſanguinary purpoſe into immediate execution. But Reuben exerted his utmoſt powers of perſuaſion, and endeavoured to prevail upon them in favour of Joſeph, by repreſenting to them how hateful they would render themſelves both in the ſight of God and man, by ſacrificing their brother to their deſperate and unnatural conſpiracy. Reuben, who was the elder of the brethren, addreſſed them in the following words: "To deprive a perfect ſtranger of life would be an abominable crime, but "the life of a kinſman and a brother, ſhould be doubly ſacred, ſince a fa- "ther and a mother would be ſunk to the grave by the inſupportable af- "fliction conſequent on the loſs of ſo virtuous and hopeful a ſon. Remem- "ber, there is an all-diſcerning God, who will pour down his mighty "wrath on the perpetrators of the horrid act you have meditated. Relin- "quiſh your bloody deſign, and be no longer callous to the feelings of hu- "manity. You muſt not hope to effect this enormous crime, and eſcape "the juſt vengeance of heaven; for the Divine Providence is not confined to

" cities; it pervades the whole creation; ſo that, till the end of your
" days, you will labour under the moſt excruciating, and unremitting tor-
" tures of an upbraiding conſcience, if you proceed in your cruel deter-
" mination. Suppoſing even that your brother had committed a fault,
" would you, therefore, be juſtifiable in depriving him of exiſtence?
" Should you not rather excuſe him, in conſideration of his early years,
" and the ſimplicity of his manners? But wherein hath Joſeph offended
" you? Being his brothers, you, in particular, ſhould exert yourſelves in
" offices of friendſhip towards him, and become the guardians of his ſafety:
" but you now ſtand forth with the declared intention of taking away his life.
" The very foundation of your barbarous purpoſe will greatly add to the
" heinouſneſs of the crime you are about to commit. You have determined
" to deſtroy Joſeph from an apprehenſion that he will enjoy an extraordinary
" portion of grandeur and happineſs, knowing, at the ſame time, that your-
" ſelves would partake of his good fortune. Be aſſured, if you proceed in
" this horrid, inhuman conſpiracy, that the Almighty will call you to a ſe-
" vere account, and denounce an exemplary judgment againſt you, for hav-
" ing ſpilt the blood of your innocent brother, in inſolent defiance of his
" power, and open violation of his ſacred commands. Your enmity is raiſed
" againſt Joſeph, only becauſe he obſerves a due reverence towards his
" Creator, and is favoured by him in return." He uſed other arguments to diſcourage the aſſaſſination, but finding that neither religion, reaſon, or humanity would prevail with his brethren, and that they were inflexibly determined againſt Joſeph, he ſuggeſted a way to mitigate the rigour of the ſentence they had pronounced. Addreſſing himſelf to them a ſecond time, he ſaid, " Since you are inexorably determined upon the deſtruction of the
" youth, do not aggravate your crime by ſpilling his blood: caſt him into
" ſome adjacent pit, and leave him there to periſh; by which means the
" crime itſelf will be leſſened in ſome degree, and you will evade the ſeverity
" of reproach." This qualifying propoſal being aſſented to, Reuben tied a cord round the body of Joſeph, and having carefully lowered him into a dry well, departed in ſearch of his ſheep.

Soon after this, a company of Arabian merchants appeared, who were Iſhmaelites, and were on their way from Galaad, conveying ſpices and other articles, the produce of Syria, into Ægypt. In order to diſpoſe of Joſeph ſo that they might never ſee him again, and yet not ſtain their hands with his blood, Judas propoſed ſelling him to theſe merchants; which being agreed to, he was taken from the well, and the merchants paid twenty pieces of ſilver for him, and took him away. He was at this time ſeventeen years old.

Reuben endeavoured to ſuggeſt ſome means for preſerving his brother, but concealed his intention from the others; and, at a late hour of the night, he went to the well and called to Joſeph, but no anſwer being returned, he imagined him to have been murdered, and was exceedingly diſtreſſed at the ſuppoſed cruelty. But when he learnt in what manner they had diſpoſed of him, he became reconciled to the proceeding: and his care now was to form ſuch excuſes to his father, as might prevent the ſuſpicion of unfair practices

practices in his brothers. Some time was employed in debates upon this matter; and it was, at length, reſolved, to take the travelling coat which had been ſtripped from Joſeph, and, after tearing it and ſtaining it with goat's blood, to produce it to Jacob, as an evidence that his child had been deſtroyed by ſome voracious animal. With this pretence, they went to their father, and ſhewing him the coat, in a torn and bloody condition, ſaid they had not ſeen him, and were apprehenſive he had fallen a prey to ſome wild beaſt. Jacob, who had before received ſome ſlight intimation of his ſon's misfortune, entertained a hope that he might have been taken priſoner, or, that he was detained by a ſtill more favourable accident: but upon ſeeing the bloody coat, he inſtantly knew it to be Joſeph's, and concluding him to have been devoured, cloathed himſelf in ſack-cloth, and gave way to the moſt paſſionate lamentations and inconſolable ſorrow.

CHAP. IV.

The exemplary continence of Joſeph, who is tempted to lewdneſs by the wife of Potiphar.

THE merchants who had purchaſed Joſeph, proceeded into Ægypt, and there ſold him to Potiphar, an officer of diſtinguiſhed rank in the ſervice of king Pharaoh, by whom he was not treated as a menial ſervant, but, on the contrary, with every inſtance of liberality and kindneſs: he was allowed opportunities for cultivating the ſtudy of literature, and, in a ſhort time, was advanced to be ſuperintendant of Potiphar's houſe. This change of fortune had no effect upon the ſteady integrity of Joſeph, the propriety and prudence of whoſe conduct, afforded an inſtance that true virtue will not yield to the temptations and accidents of life.

He was remarkable for perſonal attractions, and the wife of his maſter ſoon diſtinguiſhed his ſuperior qualifications, and became violently enamoured of him. Preſuming on the inferiority of Joſeph's ſituation, ſhe imagined that a motive of ambition would incite him to a ready acceptance of her offer, and entertained no the leaſt idea of the inflexible dignity of his mind. She ſignified her intention to proſtitute herſelf by intimations too palpable to be miſconceived: but upon the firſt hint, he rejected her invitation, and adviſed her utterly to ſuppreſs her unruly deſires of what ſhe could not poſſibly obtain; urging that he could not return affront and treachery for the kindneſs and generoſity he had experienced from his maſter. He ſaid, he would chearfully obey her lawful commands, and ſhould think himſelf highly honoured by them; but that he could not condeſcend to perform a guilty action. She was greatly diſappointed by this refuſal, which, however, ſerved but more to enflame the paſſion ſhe had conceived, and was determined to gratify; and for effecting this, ſhe ſuggeſted the following ſtratagem. A feſtival being held, whereon it was uſual for the women of rank to aſſemble, ſhe counterfeited indiſpoſition, and remained in her chamber, where ſhe procured Joſeph to be introduced to her, and behaved to him with ſingular complacency and tenderneſs, addreſſing herſelf to him in words to the following purpoſe.

" purpoſe. Had it been only from a motive of reſpect to the ſuperior rank of " your ſupplicant, and a proper regard to the fervency of her love, you ought, " ſurely, to have acquieſced in my former ſolicitation; ſo would you have " ſpared me the pain ariſing from ſome expreſſions, which even now I bluſh " to recollect: but your late error ſhall be excuſed, if you have ſenſe enough to " make atonement for it by taking advantage of the opportunity which is now " offered. Perhaps you expected me to repeat my requeſt; and on this occaſion " you will perceive that I act with more precaution than was obſerved in our " former interview; for, under pretence of illneſs, I have avoided joining " in the merriments of the day, that I might prove the warmth of my af- " fection for you, by ſhewing how greatly I prefer your company and con- " verſation to that of my friends and equals who are now aſſembled. If you " have entertained a doubt on the ſubject of my application, be now aſſured, " that I ſeriouſly meant what I propoſed, and that the paſſion ſtill reigns " within my breaſt with unabated ardour; therefore, now determine, either " to enjoy the embraces of the woman who adores you, or, by rejecting the " proffered favour, from a ridiculous parade of your own continency, ren- " der yourſelf the object of my keeneſt reſentment; for, if you inſult my paſ- " ſion by a ſecond refuſal, I will vehemently accuſe you of having at- " tempted the violation of my virtue; and the charge being made, will re- " ceive immediate and full confidence from my huſband, in ſpite of every ar- " gument you will be able to offer in ſupport of your innocence."

She accompanied this ſpeech with tears, prayers and menaces; but all were ineffectual to ſeduce him from his duty, and, conſcious that no puniſhment could be adequate to his demerits, ſhould he yield to the ſolicitations of this baſe woman, he reſolved to brave every danger, rather than to comply therewith. Neither did he omit to repreſent to her the duties ſhe owed to herſelf, her huſband, and the world. " What ſatisfaction," ſaid he, " can " a momentary pleaſure afford, which, we are certain, muſt be followed by " an inſtant repentance? Can that be called an enjoyment, which muſt " be attended with continual regret, unceaſing fears of detection, and " inevitable ignominy? In a conjugal ſtate, on the other hand, the ſame " pleaſures are innocent, and allowable by the ordinances both of God and " man. Reflect, moreover, how much you will degrade yourſelf by par- " ticipating with your ſervant in the commiſſion of this crime. How far " preferable is it to truſt to a good conſcience, which never ſhuns the light, " than ſecretly to commit an infamous action, and embitter the reſt of your " days with the continual dread of diſcovery!" He enforced many other arguments, to bring her back to decency and reaſon: but this was only adding fuel to flame; for, perceiving, that ſhe could effect nothing by entreaty, ſhe had recourſe to violence, and, ſeizing hold of his garment, endeavoured to force him to a compliance with her libidinous deſires. But his indignation againſt this ſhameleſs woman, roſe to ſuch a height, that, breaking from her, he haſtily quitted the chamber, and left his garment in her hand. For a ſhort interval, her mind was violently agitated, between the indignity of the repulſe, and the apprehenſion of a diſcovery; but ſhe quickly determined to ſhelter herſelf from every dangerous conſequence, by accuſing Joſeph:

thus, at once, providing for her own ſecurity, and gratifying her malice. She, accordingly, confined herſelf cloſely to her chamber, affecting to be in great trouble and affliction. Juſt at this juncture, her huſband came into the chamber, and, obſerving the diſorder and confuſion which was viſible in her face, earneſtly requeſted her to acquaint him with the cauſe thereof. She replied in theſe terms. "You are called upon, my dear huſband, "by every conſideration of juſtice and affection, to inflict an exemplary "puniſhment on that perfidious wretch, your ſervant Joſeph. Forgetful "of the abject ſtate from which you raiſed him, and of the unlimited power "and authority which he poſſeſſes in your family; regardleſs of all your "paſt bounty and kindneſs to him, he has baſely attempted the violation of "your bed; fixing on this day of feſtivity, when you were abſent, to ſoli-"cit me to a compliance with his lewd deſires. Inveſted, as he is, with an "unbounded power over all things elſe in your houſe, will nothing content "this ungrateful villain; and ſhall he with impunity endeavour to poſſeſs him-"ſelf of the affections of your wife? What an exterior of modeſty did this "wretch aſſume, without one ſingle grain of it in his compoſition! To "give you the moſt convincing proof of the truth of what I alledge, here is "his garment, which he left behind in the ſtruggle, when he attempted to "force me."

This plauſible ſpeech, together with the tears and paſſionate geſtures with which it was accompanied, ſo effectually impoſed on the credulity of Potiphar, that, without making any manner of inquiry into the foundation of the charge againſt Joſeph, he ordered him to be confined in the common priſon, which was appropriated to the reception of the moſt notorious criminals.

CHAP. V.

In conſequence of a groundleſs accuſation Joſeph is lodged in priſon. Circumſtances attending him during his confinement. His interpretation of ſeveral dreams.

JOSEPH patiently ſubmitted to his fate, appearing neither ſolicitous to vindicate his own conduct, or to deſtroy the credibility of the charge alledged againſt him; but, ſatisfied in his innocence, cheriſhed the comfortable hope that the power of the ſupreme Being would riſe ſuperior to that of his malicious enemies; and the providence of God was ſhewn towards him in the following inſtance: the gaoler became ſo prejudiced in his favour, by the gracefulneſs of his perſon, his pleaſing addreſs, candour, diligence and integrity, that he freed him of his irons, and ſhewed him other marks of favour and reſpect, which his fellow priſoners were not ſo happy as to experience.

Times were allowed for the priſoners to converſe together; and Pharaoh's butler, who had held a high place in the eſtimation of the king, being under confinement, on account of ſome diſpleaſure his maſter had conceived againſt him, an intimacy was contracted between him and Joſeph. This man diſ-

tinguiſhing Joſeph for the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, communicated to him a dream, and requeſted him to give an interpretation of it; ſaying, that his unhappineſs conſequent on the king's diſpleaſure, was aggravated by the perplexity occaſioned by many extraordinary dreams and viſions. "I imagined," ſaid he, "that I beheld three bunches of ripe grapes, depending on three ſeveral branches of a vine; and that the king held a veſſel, into which I preſſed the fruit, and then preſenting the liquor to his majeſty, he pronounced it to be wine of delicious flavour." Upon this relation, Joſeph informed him, that the king having occaſion for his ſervices, would reſtore him to liberty, and re-eſtabliſh him in his office within the ſpace of three days. "The Almighty," ſaid Joſeph, "has beſtowed on mankind the fruit of the vine, both for their uſe and comfort. He has ordained it to be offered to him in ſacrifices: it gives birth to friendſhips, adjuſts differences, diſpels care and melancholy, and converts ſorrow into joy. Pharaoh, you tell me, received the cup from your hand: this circumſtance denotes that, within the ſame number of days as you ſaw branches, you ſhall, aſſuredly, obtain your releaſement. Let me requeſt of you that, when you find this prediction verified, you will remember me, and uſe your intereſt to procure me my liberty. I am not detained here for any criminal action which I have been guilty of, but merely for having preferred the honor of my maſter to the gratification of a libidinous appetite." The butler was, as it may naturally be ſuppoſed, highly delighted with this interpretation, and waited with confidence for the event.

It happened that the chief baker of Pharaoh was confined in the ſame priſon. He communicated a dream to Joſeph; hoping that it would bear an interpretation equally favourable with that of the chief butler. "I dreamt, laſt night," ſaid he, "that I had upon my head three baſkets, one containing meats of ſundry ſorts, and the other two containing bread for ſupplying the king's table. As I paſſed along, the birds, in ſpite of all my endeavours to drive them away, fell upon the proviſions with great eagerneſs, and entirely devoured them." Joſeph told him that his dream would not bear ſo favourable an explanation as he could wiſh. "The baſkets," ſaid he, "denote, that at the expiration of two days, you will infallibly be hanged on a tree, and that your body will be expoſed, to be devoured by the fowls of the air."

This explanation was verified in every particular; for, preciſely on the third day, as Joſeph had predicted, which was the anniverſary of Pharaoh's birth, the king commanded the chief baker to be hanged, and re-inſtated the chief butler in his poſt. Two years had now elapſed, and Joſeph ſtill remained in priſon, utterly forſaken by the ungrateful butler: but he ſuddenly obtained his liberty, by the following extraordinary means.

The king had two dreams, in the ſame night, and the expoſition of them was revealed to him, during his ſleep. The viſion he recollected, but had totally forgotten every particular of the explanation, ſave that in general, it betokened him no good. Pharaoh, early the next morning, convened an aſſembly of the moſt learned men of the realm, and deſired them to expound the viſions. They conſulted together on the ſubject, but were unable

able to ſolve the difficulty; and the king's chagrin was greatly increaſed by this diſappointment. The chief butler now recollected the proof which Joſeph had formerly given him of his ſkill in the art of interpretation. He, therefore, waited on the king, and acquainted him with the circumſtances of the viſions which he himſelf, and the chief baker, formerly had in the priſon, and of Joſeph's explanation thereof; which was, in every reſpect, confirmed by the events; adding, that Joſeph paſſed for an Hebrew, and was ſuppoſed to be of no obſcure extraction. Pharaoh, being ſtrongly inſtigated thereto by the chief butler, ſent for Joſeph in all haſte. The king received him with great courteſy, and, familiarly taking hold on his right-hand, addreſſed him in theſe words. "One of my domeſtics has "repreſented you to me as a perſon of great learning and wiſdom; of which, "he ſays, he has himſelf had frequent proofs, and that you particularly "excel in a certain faculty, in which I chance, at this time, to have ur"gent occaſion to employ you. He informs me that you are well verſed in "the expoſition of dreams, and that you formerly explained a viſion which "he had. I ſhall eſteem it as a favour, if you will do the like for me: but "I muſt caution you, not to diſguiſe the truth, in the ſmalleſt degree, but "to acquaint me minutely with the circumſtances, whether they ſhould be "propitious, or otherwiſe. I imagined that, walking by the river's ſide, I "ſaw ſeven large, and well-fed oxen riſe from the water, and direct their "courſe towards an adjacent paſture: after which, I ſaw ſeven lean oxen, "and they paſſing from the paſture towards the river, encountered the firſt "mentioned ſeven, and devoured them; yet without appearing to have en"creaſed in bulk. Waking, I began to make ſome reflections on the na"ture of dreams, and, inſenſibly falling aſleep again, I had a ſecond viſion, "of a ſtill more extraordinary and fearful kind than the former. I dreamt "that I ſaw ſeven ears of corn growing upon one ſtem. They appeared to "be ready to cut, and the ſtalks to bend under the weight of their burden. "At a ſmall diſtance from theſe, I remarked ſeven other ears, which were "very bare of grain; and, to my great amazement, theſe thin ears totally "ſwallowed up the others."

Hereupon Joſeph informed the king, that but one interpretation could be given to both dreams. "The ſeven fat and ſeven lean oxen," ſaid he, "and the ſeven full and ſeven withered ears of corn, were meant to predict "ſeven years of abundance, to be followed by ſeven years famine in Ægypt; "and by the lean cattle devouring the fat, and the blighted devouring the "full ears of grain, an emblem was afforded to ſhew that the plenty of the "firſt ſeven years would be inſufficient to provide againſt the extremities of "the ſeven to follow: and this appears to be demonſtrated by the lean oxen "not being ſufficed, when they had devoured the fat ones. The famine "will, doubtleſs, be extreme. The purpoſes of heaven are not revealed "ſolely to alarm and diſtreſs mankind, but are intimated with a view of "inducing them to provide againſt future extremities: therefore, the calami"ties of the ſeven years of ſcarcity, will be greatly alleviated, if it ſhall "pleaſe your majeſty to iſſue your royal command for providing a ſupply

"againſt

" againſt the time of need, by a neceſſary reſerve of ſtores during the years " of plenty."

The penetration of Joſeph ſtruck the king with admiration, and he requeſted his advice as to the moſt ſucceſsful method of guarding againſt the threatened diſtreſs. He adviſed a reduction of all ſuperfluous expences, and that quantities of corn ſhould be ſtored in magazines, and delivered out only in ſuch portions as ſhould be indiſpenſably required for making bread, and for cultivation.

The credit Joſeph had obtained with Pharaoh, on account of his ſkill in the ſolution of dreams, was greatly improved by the above inſtance of his expert and ready turn for œconomics; and he, beſides, entertained ſo great a deference for the ſolidity of his judgment and the importance of his counſel, that he appointed him ſuperintendant of the ſtores, giving him full commiſſion and authority to adopt the meaſures he had ſuggeſted, and to execute them according as he ſhould himſelf judge moſt expedient. At the ſame time, the king conferred on him the office of keeper of his ſignet, and inveſted him with certain diſtinguiſhed privileges; ſuch as wearing a purple habit, and riding publicly in a chariot. Joſeph now began his progreſs through the kingdom, ſtoring up the corn in all parts where he came, and diſtributing among the farmers and huſbandmen ſuch a quantity only as would b· barely ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of themſelves and their families, and for ſowing their ground; without making any perſon privy to the cauſe of his conduct on this occaſion.

CHAP. VI.

Joſeph becomes the favourite of the king. Particulars of what paſſed between himſelf and his brethren, on their arrival in Ægypt.

JOSEPH had now attained his thirtieth year, and was ſo highly eſteemed for his wiſdom, that the king gave him the title of Pſonthomphanec, which, in the Ægyptian language, ſignifies the *Diſcoverer of hidden things.*

He married Aſaneth, the daugher of Potiphera, the high-prieſt of Heliopolis; and this match was effected by the mediation of the king himſelf. By her he had two children, previous to the famine, the eldeſt of whom he named Manaſſes, which ſignifies *Oblivion,* becauſe the preſent proſperity of Joſeph had cauſed him to forget his former misfortunes; and the younger was called Ephraim, or *Reſtitution,* on account of his being reſtored to the liberty enjoyed by his forefathers.

The ſeven predicted years of plenty were now expired, and in the eighth the ſcarcity began. This calamity ſpread an univerſal conſternation throughout the kingdom, and the people came in great bodies to the palace, ſoliciting relief. Joſeph, hereupon, took ſuch pruent meaſures, to alleviate the public diſtreſs, that the people unanimouſly hailed him as their deliverer. It was not only the natives, but foreigners alſo who were ſupplied from the public granaries; it being the opinion of Joſeph, that all mankind were of

the ſame family, and that the diſtreſs of the unfortunate gave them an indubitable claim to the aſſiſtance of thoſe in more proſperous circumſtances.

The famine was not confined to Ægypt, ſeveral other countries, and particularly Canaan, being under the ſame predicament: and Jacob, having learnt that ſtrangers were permitted to purchaſe corn in Ægypt, ſent all his children thither, for that purpoſe, ſave Benjamin, the brother of Joſeph by the ſame mother, whom he detained at home with him.

Such was the influence which Joſeph poſſeſſed at court, that no favour could be obtained from the king, but through his intervention. The ten brethren, therefore, applied themſelves to him, on their arrival, for leave only to buy the quantity of grain they wanted. Joſeph immediately recollected his brethren, though they did not know him; neither was it at all probable that they ſhould, he being very young at the time of their ſeparation, and now greatly altered in his perſon. Perceiving that he was in no danger of being diſcovered by his brethren, Joſeph determined to make trial of them. He therefore, not only refuſed to ſupply them with corn, but alſo accuſed them of being ſpies. "My friends," ſaid he, "inſtead "of brothers, as you pretend to be, you are no other than a band of con- "ſpirators, of different countries. It is not probable that you, who plainly "appear to be poſſeſſed of ſuch extraordinary qualifications, ſhould all be the "ſons of a private individual, when ſcarcely any ſovereign can boaſt of ſuch "a progeny." The motive which influenced Joſeph to this conduct was, that he might thereby draw from his brethren ſome information of what had paſſed in the family ſince his departure, and whether his brother Benjamin, was ſtill at home; being very apprehenſive leſt they ſhould have treated him in a manner ſimilar to what he experienced from them in his own perſon. The brethren were greatly alarmed with the proſpect of their danger, and clearly perceived that the deſign of their long journey was effectually defeated. Reuben, however, took courage, and, in the name of the reſt, addreſſed Joſeph in theſe words: "We do not come hither," ſaid he, "either with "the view of penetrating into myſteries of ſtate, or of attempting any thing "againſt the ſafety of the king, or the tranquility of his government. It "was merely the ſcarcity of bread which compelled us to reſort hither; or, "ſhould I rather ſay, that your humanity, in throwing open your market to "ſtrangers as well as natives, has invited us. The very reſemblance "which we bear to each other in our countenances, beſpeaks us, as we in "reality are, the ſons of one man. Our father is, by birth, a Hebrew, "and he is named Jacob. He had twelve ſons, by four wives, and, whilſt "they all lived, every thing proſpered with us; but, from the time that "one of the number, named Joſeph, was taken away from us, our miſ- "fortunes have continually accumulated. Our father ſtill repines at that "loſs, and his inconſolable ſorrows afflict us equally with the untimely fate "of our beloved brother. Our deſign in coming hither was, with your per- "miſſion, to buy corn; and, during our abſence from home, the care "of our reverend father is entruſted to our youngeſt brother, Benja- "min. Should you have any doubts of the truth of what I have now ad-

" vanced, you have only to diſpatch a meſſenger to our father, to be ſatisfied " that I have not uttered a falſehood."

Joſeph, perceiving by this diſcourſe, that his father and Benjamin were ſafe and in health, ordered his brethren into cloſe confinement, till he ſhould be at leiſure to examine them with greater ſtrictneſs. At the expiration of three days, he commanded them to be again brought before him; and, upon their entrance, addreſſed them thus: " You have aſſured me," ſaid he, " that you entertain no deſigns againſt the ſtate, and that you are all bre- " thren, and the ſons of Jacob? In confirmation of the truth of what you " have aſſerted, you ſhall leave one of your brethren with me, as an hoſtage, " and the reſt ſhall carry home to your father the corn you purchaſe; after " which you ſhall return hither, with your youngeſt brother, whom you " ſay, you have left at home; and this only ſhall be the teſt of the rectitude " of your intentions. In the mean time, give yourſelves no concern about the " hoſtage you leave with me, as he ſhall experience every indulgence du- " ring your abſence." This ſpeech afflicted them in the higheſt degree, and conſidering themſelves to be on the very verge of ruin, they lamented their misfortune, and repeatedly obſerved to each other, that it was an effect of the Divine vengeance, which purſued them for the barbarity of their conduct towards their unhappy brother. Reuben reproached them with the folly and inefficacy of their late repentance; frankly telling them that they had no other remedy than patience, under the judgment which they had drawn upon themſelves by their wickedneſs. Thus they converſed together, in the perſuaſion that no one preſent underſtood their language. The bitter reflections which Reuben caſt on them ſo powerfully awakened their feelings, that Joſeph, who obſerved the violent agitation of their minds, was obliged to retire, leſt his emotions ſhould diſcover him. After a ſhort abſence, he returned to them, took Simeon for an hoſtage, and gave the reſt a licence to purchaſe whatever corn they might want; but he ſecretly inſtructed one of his ſervants to put the money they ſhould pay for it into each man's baggage, which order was, accordingly executed.

Upon their return into Canaan, they acquainted Jacob with all the particulars of their adventures in Ægypt; concluding with an urgent requeſt to their father, to permit Benjamin to return with them to that kingdom, in order to vouch for the truth of their former declarations, and to procure the releaſement of Simeon. Jacob was not at all ſatisfied with their conduct in leaving Simeon behind them; but he would not give the leaſt ear to the propoſal of ſending Benjamin thither with them, although Reuben offered to pledge the lives of his own children for the ſafe return of his brother. They were reduced, by this refuſal, to a terrible dilemma; to which the diſcovery of their money in their ſacks greatly contributed. But, their proviſions being nearly exauſted, Jacob, at times, ſeemed to be partly inclined to permit his ſon, Benjamin, to accompany the reſt of his brethren, being convinced that they muſt never think of returning to Ægypt unleſs they complied with the terms which had been preſcribed to them, at their departure from thence. Their wants ſtill encreaſing, the brothers were very urgent with their father to comply with what had been propoſed to him; but

Jacob

Jacob ſtill refuſed to liſten to them, till, at length, Judah, a man of a reſolute temper, and great freedom of ſpeech, adopted another method to engage his father to yield his conſent to what they required of him. "In "my opinion," ſaid he to Jacob, "you expreſs rather too great a degree "of ſolicitude for the ſafety of Benjamin. Whether he goes with us, or "continues at home, he muſt ſtill ſubmit to whatever God ſhall ordain. "Yet you ſeem inclined to ſuffer us all to periſh, for want of food, which "muſt inevitably happen, if we ſhould forfeit the favour of Pharaoh, "through an ill-founded fear of what may happen to our brother. But "would you not blame yourſelf ſeverely, ſhould the Ægyptians put Simeon "to death in the mean time? Place an entire confidence in the power of "the Almighty, and reſt aſſured that I will either conduct our brother back "in ſafety, or periſh in the attempt."

Jacob, at length, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, and delivered the child into their care; furniſhing them with a double portion of money, that they might pay for the corn they had purchaſed in the former journey, and with preſents of balm, myrrh, turpentine, honey, and other productions of the land of Canaan, for the uſe of the officer with whom they were to treat for the grain they intended to buy. Thus provided, they began their journey; leaving Jacob in the utmoſt anxiety for the ſafe return of his beloved children, and being themſelves, very apprehenſive, leſt this ſeparation ſhould ſo far affect their father, as to be the cauſe of his death.

Immediately on their arrival in Ægypt, they waited on Joſeph; not without ſome fear, that the circumſtance of their diſcovering the money in their ſacks, would be imputed to them as a fraud. When they mentioned the matter, however, to Joſeph's ſteward, he utterly diſavowed all knowledge of the tranſaction. They now, therefore, began to take courage, more eſpecially when they ſaw their brother Simeon had obtained his liberty. Joſeph enquired after the health of his father, and other particulars: and his apprehenſions for Benjamin being now removed, he aſked them whether he was the younger brother, whom they had before mentioned to him; to which they replied in the affirmative. He, thereupon, exclaimed, "God's "providence is conſtantly over all his works!" and withdrew, with tears in his eyes, to indulge the impulſe of nature. The ſame evening he invited them to ſup with him, and placed them at the table in the ſame order in which they were accuſtomed to ſit at their father's houſe, conducting himſelf towards them with all imaginable courteſy; but the portion allotted to Benjamin was double that of either of his brethren.

Joſeph gave orders, after the repaſt was finiſhed, that their corn ſhould be meaſured, and that each man's money ſhould be put into his ſack, as before; ſecretly inſtructing his ſteward, moreover, to convey a certain ſilver cup, which he cuſtomarily uſed at his meals, into that particular ſack which belonged to Benjamin. His intention in this was, to try whether, in caſe that Benjamin ſhould be detained for the pretended theft, the reſt would remain with him, for the purpoſe of obtaining his releaſement, or whether they would not rather abandon him to his fate, and return to their father. The orders given on this occaſion were punctually executed.

The next morning, by break of day, they began their journey, totally unconſcious of the deſign which was in agitation againſt them, and pleaſing themſelves with the reflection, that they had both Simeon and Benjamin in their company, whom, they truſted, they ſhould deliver up ſafe to their father, according to their promiſe. They had not proceeded far, before they found themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded by a party of horſe, accompanied by the ſervant who had been commiſſioned to ſecrete the cup in Benjamin's baggage. This unexpected event incenſed them to a high degree, and they exclaimed bitterly againſt the people who had ſo recently treated them with the moſt remarkable honor and hoſpitality. The Ægyptians, on the other hand, reproached them, in terms equally ſevere, with the baſeneſs of returning injuries for the numerous civilities and benefits they had received, and threatened them with a ſpeedy puniſhment, adequate to their demerits; telling them, that however ſecretly they might imagine they had perpetrated this crime, there was an all-ſeeing eye above, from which it was not poſſible to conceal their iniquity. In this manner the Ægyptians continued to reproach them, but the ſervant was more vociferous and inſulting than the reſt; inſomuch that the unfortunate brethren, concluded that he was little leſs than inſane. They urged the improbability of their committing a crime of that nature, ſince, uninfluenced by any conſiderations but thoſe of honor and juſtice, they had, with the ſtricteſt fidelity, reſtored the money which they had payed for the corn, and afterwards found put into their ſacks.

"But," ſaid they, "the moſt effectual way to evince our innocence or "guilt, will be to ſearch our baggage, to which we are ready to ſubmit with "the utmoſt confidence; and, ſhould any one of us be found to have com-"mitted this action, we are all willing to ſuffer with him whatever puniſh-"ment he may be deemed to have deſerved."

The Ægyptians, accordingly, began to examine each man's baggage; declaring, however, that no one but the perſon in whoſe cuſtody the cup ſhould actually be found, ſhould meet with the leaſt moleſtation. They had now examined all the baggages, ſave that of Benjamin, without effect, and the brethren were felicitating themſelves on the proſpect of being quickly rid of theſe troubleſome people, when, upon opening his ſack, the cup inſtantly appeared. This unexpected diſcovery plunged them into inconceivable anguiſh; they burſt into tears, tore their garments, and uſed the moſt extravagant geſtures, declaring that themſelves and their brother were inevitably ruined by this incident, and, with the moſt poignant lamentations, deploring their incapacity to fulfil the promiſe they had made to their father, on leaving him, to convey Benjamin home in ſafety.

Benjamin was conducted in chains before Joſeph, his brethren accompanying him. Joſeph received them with an aſſumed ſternneſs, and reproached them in terms ſimilar to theſe: "Is it thus, ye baſeſt of men, that, "regardleſs of the hoſpitable treatment you have received, and contemning "the anger of an offended Deity, you give the moſt ſenſible affront to your "patron and benefactor?" The reſt of the brethren earneſtly requeſted that their lives might be accepted, in lieu of that of the unfortunate Benjamin.

"They

They repeatedly obſerved to each other, how much the ſituation of Joſeph, if actually dead, was to be envied, in compariſon with theirs; or, if he was ſtill living, how much it redounded to his honour, that the vengeance of God ſhould thus be exerted againſt them, in conſequence of their cruelty to him. They alſo reproached themſelves with being the authors both of the preſent as well as the former ſorrows of their unhappy father; Reuben continually recalling to their minds the guilt of their brother's murder. Joſeph, pretending to deliberate for ſome time on the courſe he ſhould take, told them, at length, that, as he neither thought himſelf juſtified in puniſhing the innocent indiſcriminately with the guilty, nor in releaſing the culpable at the inſtance of thoſe who bore no part in the perpetration of the crime, they were at liberty to return home when they pleaſed, and that he ſhould content himſelf with detaining Benjamin, to receive the puniſhment due to his offence.

This ſpeech threw them into the utmoſt conſternation; but Judah, a man of courage and abilities, and who alone had been able to prevail on his father to part with Benjamin, reſolved to defy every danger in the attempt to ſave him, and, accordingly, addreſſed himſelf to Joſeph in theſe words: "We "do not pretend to deny, moſt excellent governor, that the crime charged "upon our brother is of a heinous nature, and merits a ſevere puniſhment. "It is certain that the guilt of the action can be imputed to one only of our "number, and he chances to be the youngeſt; yet we are all willing to yield "up our lives for the preſervation of his.

"With reſpect to the unfortunate youth, did we not place the moſt im- "plicit confidence in your clemency, we ſhould conſider his caſe as deſ- "perate. We hope, however, that the benignity and tenderneſs of your "nature will operate againſt the notoriety of the fact, and induce you to "ſet bounds to your reſentment; the paſſion of anger being prevalent in ig- "noble ſouls alone. For, I ſpeak with reverence, it would ill beſuit your "honor and dignity, to condemn thoſe perſons to death, who have vo- "luntarily ſubmitted to your juſtice, and wiſh to owe their lives ſolely to "your mercy. This would, in reality, be no more than granting us our "lives a ſecond time: for the generoſity and diſpatch with which you reliev- "ed us, when in diſtreſs for want of corn, proved the means of preſerving "our whole family from periſhing by famine.

"The act of ſupplying with bread thoſe who were upon the point of dy- "ing for want of it, and that of granting pardon to an offender who has "incurred the rigour of the law, are but different exertions of the ſame ſpirit "of humanity; by the latter means, life is *ſpared*, by the former it is *pre- "ſerved*. In condeſcending to our requeſt, you will *ſave* thoſe whom you "formerly *fed*, for the very purpoſe of ſaving them; which purpoſe will be "defeated, if you do not preſerve the lives you have given; and thus we "ſhall become indebted to you, not only for the neceſſaries of life, but even "for life itſelf.

"It appears as if the Almighty had, the more firmly to eſtabliſh your "fame, given you this opportunity to exerciſe your virtue, and to demon- "ſtrate to the world that you are equally merciful as liberal, and that you

" are not more prone to confer benefits on others, than to forgive injuries " ſuſtained in your own perſon. Humanity and charitableneſs are, it muſt " be acknowledged, ſtrong evidences of a generous diſpoſition; but there " is no quality which gives ſuch luſtre to an exalted ſtation, as clemency; " particularly if that clemency is exerciſed in the forgiveneſs of injuries re- " ceived by the party himſelf. If, therefore, it be praiſe-worthy to pardon " the ſlighteſt faults, it muſt be little leſs than a divine benignity, which " can influence a perſon to reſtrain his reſentment of a material injury againſt " himſelf.

" It is not for our own ſafety that I am thus ſolicitous, but from a ſenſe " of the anxiety of a father for the loſs of a child: I can form a juſt con- " ception of the painful ſenſations ariſing from ſo unhappy a circumſtance, " having been a witneſs to the immoderate ſorrow of my father when he was " deprived of our dear brother Joſeph. Were it not for the fatal effects, " which we are certain our deſtruction would be productive of to our aged " father, we ſhould not think our own lives worth contending for; ſaving " that we are partly ambitious to become indebted to your virtue, and to " acknowledge ourſelves the monuments of your fame and kindneſs.

" It is not for ourſelves that we intreat, it is for an aged father, a man " worn down with years and troubles; and in his name, only, we implore " your pity on his children, who will all forfeit their lives by their conduct " on this day. He is, without diſpute, a virtuous man, and, if we are not " ſo likewiſe, the fault is not imputable to him. He is daily tormented " with griefs and fears, upon our account; and it were a pity, that a perſon " of ſo amiable a character ſhould be expoſed to ſo dreadful a calamity.

" When he ſhall hear of the manner and cauſe of our deaths, the news " will certainly put a period to his days. The infamy of the tranſaction, " nay, the very report of it, will aſſuredly produce this effect. We, never- " theleſs, admit the juſtice of your reſentment; but we preſume to hope, " that we may be permitted to ſolicit you not to ſuffer your vengeance to fall " upon our innocent father; and that, on his account you will be pleaſed to " ſhew us lenity.

" From the conſideration of his age and infirmities, you will naturally " be led to conclude, that, ſhould we be taken from him, he could not long " ſurvive. Make the caſe of our father that of yourſelf, and of fathers " in general. The very title of father conveys an idea of ſomething ſacred; " being an appellation which God himſelf deigns to aſſume: and the Al- " mighty Father will, indubitably, bleſs yourſelf and your offſpring, for the " reverence you ſhall ſhew to that univerſal title, in the perſon of a ſire who " muſt, otherwiſe, be left childleſs.

" Our lives are at your mercy, and you are at full liberty either to take " them or not; the one will be an act of clemency, the other of rigid juſtice; " and it is now in your power, in imitation of the Deity, to employ your pre- " rogative for the welfare and preſervation of mankind. The greater num- " ber of lives you ſave, the greater will be your reputation, and, in grant- " ing a pardon to our brother, you will preſerve us all; for our ſafety is " cloſely connected with his, and we muſt never return to our father without " him:

" him: whatever he ſuffers, therefore, we muſt, inevitably, undergo the " ſame.

" If, moſt illuſtrious governor, you ſhould not think proper to condeſcend " to our preſent requeſt, we have nothing further to aſk, than that we may " be all included in the puniſhment, as if we had been accomplices in the " fact; which would be much more deſirable to us, than to be compelled, " through mere deſperation, to put a period to our own exiſtence.

" I might plead, in favour of our brother, that he is young, and has had " little commerce with the world; and that it is very unuſual to proceed with " rigour againſt perſons thus circumſtanced. But, to conclude, if we ſhould " be condemned through the weakneſs of our defence, the blame muſt be " imputed to me; if, on the other hand, we ſhall be acquitted, we ſhall a- " ſcribe the honor to your generoſity and kindneſs; acknowledging, that, " in pardoning us, you grant us a new life, and determine more properly " for us than we could do for ourſelves.

" But, if it ſhould be deemed requiſite to make ſome atonement to " offended juſtice, I conjure you to permit me to ſuffer the puniſhment due " to my brother, and to conſent that he may return to his father. Or, if you " have, in your own mind, doomed him to ſlavery, I am, of the two, the " beſt qualified to render you ſervice; and I ſhall readily ſubmit to either " fate."

At the concluſion of this ſpeech, Judas, and the reſt of the brethren threw themſelves at Joſeph's feet, to ſolicit him in behalf of their brother, Benjamin.

The paſſions of tenderneſs and brotherly affection now became ſo powerful in the breaſt of Joſeph, that he could no longer ſupport the character he had aſſumed, but ordered his attendants to retire, that he might diſcover himſelf to his brethren without witneſſes; and, being alone with them, he addreſſed them in theſe words: " I am infinitely happy," ſaid he, " to ſee you thus " tenderly affected towards your brother; as, I muſt confeſs, I could not re- " frain from entertaining ſome doubts of your regard for him, when I re- " flected on certain circumſtances of your former conduct, with reſpect to myſelf. " In the whole of my late behaviour towards you, I propoſed only to put your " affection to the teſt; and, from the event, I am convinced that, in all your " proceedings relative to me, you were not in the leaſt actuated by malice or " ill-will; but that the providence of God interpoſed therein, making thoſe " actions the means of procuring for us the happineſs which we at this time " enjoy, and the proſpect of greater bleſſings in future.

" But, as I now find my father to be in ſuch a ſituation as I could rather " have wiſhed, than expected; and that you have all that affection in your " tempers, which is the true characteriſtic of brethren; all paſt injuries are " forgotten, and I ſhould rather return you my thanks, as the agents of Di- " vine providence, for our common benefit, than recall to your remem- " brance any tranſactions of ancient date, which might, perhaps, at the " time, appear to have an evil tendency. I deſire that you will forget all " theſe matters, and not render yourſelves uneaſy by the recollection of for-

" mer

" mer ill-deſigns, which never took effect; ſince it has pleaſed the Almighty, " thus to bring good out of evil.

" Return, therefore, to your father, with the happy tidings of the unex- " pected bleſſings which God hath conferred on you. Haſten your departure, " leſt his very ſorrows and fears ſhould bring any ill accident upon him; " which would utterly deſtroy all the comfort I propoſe to myſelf in ſeeing " him once again, and in participating with him the bleſſings which I now " enjoy. Be gone, therefore, and return with all poſſible diſpatch; and do " not neglect to bring with you, your wives, children, and all your kindred: " as, at this time in particular, when there are yet five years of the famine " unexpired, I ſhould be very unwilling that my deareſt friends ſhould re- " main at ſo great a diſtance from me." Joſeph then tenderly embraced his brethren, who, with many tears, acknowledged and lamented their baſe practices againſt ſo worthy a brother. He afterwards entertained them at ſupper.

When the news of the arrival of Joſeph's brethren was communicated to the king, he was exceedingly rejoiced thereat, and ordered ſeveral waggons laden with corn, gold and ſilver, and various other preſents to be ſent to their father; to which Joſeph added many others from himſelf; ſome being intended for the father, others for the brothers themſelves, but the moſt valuable portion was deſtined for Benjamin.

CHAP. VII.

Jacob, having learnt the ſplendid condition of his ſon Joſeph, in Ægypt, repairs thither, accompanied by his whole family.

WHEN the ſons of Jacob returned to their father, they acquainted him that Joſeph was ſtill living, and enjoying great authority and magnificence, and holding, next to Pharaoh, the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank in the Ægyptian dominions. Jacob readily credited what was told him; and theſe extraordinary incidents furniſhed him with many reflections on the infinity of God's grace and kindneſs to him; and, without any further delay, he began his journey to Ægypt.

When Jacob arrived at the *Well of the Oath*, he offered an oblation to God; yet fearing, leſt the plenteous ſtate of Ægypt ſhould ſeduce his ſons to ſettle there, and thus divert them from returning again to Canaan, the country which God had promiſed him for an inheritance. He was alſo partly apprehenſive, leſt God ſhould inflict ſome calamity on him and his followers, as a puniſhment for undertaking the preſent journey, without firſt imploring his advice and direction; or, leſt he ſhould die before his arrival in Ægypt. In the midſt of theſe reflections, he fell into a profound ſleep, during which the Almighty appeared to him in a viſion, and called him twice by his name. Jacob demanded, who it was that called him? and the Lord anſwered him thus: " Haſt thou, then, forgotten thy God, Jacob? The God of thy fore- " fathers, who never rejected the prayer either of them or their poſterity, in " the time of their need; that God, who placed thee at the head of thy " family,

" family, contrary to the inclination of thy father; and, when thou didſt " retire into Meſopotamia, being at that time unmarried, bleſſed thee with " an advantageous match, and brought thee back to thine own country, full " of riches, and with a numerous progeny; that God, who hath been the " perpetual protector and guardian of thy family, and hath preferred thy " ſon, Joſeph, to a ſtation in Ægypt next in honor to that of the king. I " am now come to be thy guide on the way, and to intimate to thee that " thou ſhalt finiſh thy life in the arms of thy ſon, Joſeph; that thy " deſcendants ſhall be powerful and renowned for many ages, and ſhall, at " length, poſſeſs the land which I have promiſed them."

This viſion gave Jacob freſh courage, and he continued his journey with his family, conſiſting of ſeventy perſons. The pronunciation of their names being rather inharmonious, I ſhould have omitted them, but for the ſake of convincing thoſe perſons of their error, who inſiſt that we are of Ægyptian, inſtead of Meſopotamian extraction.

The legitimate children of Jacob were eight ſons and a daughter; beſides which, his concubines, Zilpah and Bilhah, bore him each two ſons. Of the legitimate offspring of Jacob, ſix ſons, *viz.* Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judas, Iſſachar, and Zabulon, and one daughter, were born to him by Leah: and the remaining two ſons he had by Rachel.

Reuben had four ſons: Hanoch, Phallu, Aſſaron, and Charmi.

Simeon had ſix ſons; Jamuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zoar, and Shaul.

Levi had three ſons; Gerſhon, Chaath, and Merari.

The ſons of Judas were Salah, Phares, and Zarah: and to Phares were born Efron, and Amyr.

Iſſachar was the father of four ſons; viz. Thuas, Phuas, Samaron, and Job.

Zabulon had three ſons; Saran, Elon, and Jalel.

The name of the daughter of Jacob was Dinah.

Theſe perſons, amounting to thirty-three in number, were the children of Leah, and their progeny.

The children of Joſeph were Manaſſes, and Ephraim.

To Benjamin were born ten ſons; Bolau, Baccharis, Aſabel, Gera, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, and Arad.

Theſe fourteen perſons, the ſons of Rachel and their offspring, added to the foregoing thirty-three, make the number of forty-ſeven; and theſe are the legitimate deſcendants of Jacob.

By his concubine, Bilhah, Jacob had two ſons; Dan, and Nephthali.

To Dan was born only one ſon, whom he named Uſis.

Nephthali had four ſons; Jeſel, Guni, Iſſares, and Sellim.

Thus the iſſue of Bilhah, and their progeny, being ſeven in number, when joined with the aforementioned forty-ſeven perſons, amount to fifty-four.

By Zilpah, his other concubine, Jacob had alſo Gad, and Aſſer.

The ſons of Gad were ſeven in number; Saphonias, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, and Ariel.

Aſſer had one daughter, named Sarah, and ſix ſons, whoſe names were Jomnes, Iſus, Iſuis, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel.

Theſe ſixteen, added to the preceeding fifty-four, amount preciſely to ſeventy; the number of Jacob's family ſpecified above, excluſive of himſelf.

When Jacob and his company had travelled a part of the way, Judas was diſpatched to give notice of their approach to Joſeph, who immediately ſet out to meet his father, and they, accordingly met at a place called Heropolis. The joy of this interview affected Jacob ſo ſtrongly, that it was with difficulty the attendants could keep life in him; nor was the agitation of Joſeph much inferior to that of his father. He afterwards, accompanied by five of his brethren, haſted away to acquaint the king with his father's arrival, deſiring the reſt of the company to continue their journey at a moderate pace.

Pharaoh expreſſed great ſatisfaction on receiving the news, and queſtioned Joſeph what profeſſion his kindred chiefly followed. Joſeph replied, that they had been wholly accuſtomed to a paſtoral life. He anſwered thus for two reaſons: firſt, that they might, by this means, be kept together, and, thereby, be enabled to give the neceſſary attendance to their father; and, ſecondly, to obviate all cauſe of jealouſy between them and the Ægyptians, by any interference of the former in the employments to which the latter devoted their time. Jacob was introduced to the king, and met with a very gracious reception. Pharaoh, aſking him his age, and receiving for anſwer, that he was in his hundred and thirtieth year, manifeſted ſome ſurprize at the circumſtance; which being noticed by Jacob, he acquainted the king, that his anceſtors uſually lived to a much later period. Jacob and his family had a reſidence aſſigned them by the king, at Heliopolis, where the royal flocks were conſtantly kept.

At this time, the famine in Ægypt became daily more grievous. The waters of the Nile, that ſource of fertility to the country, were dried up; nor had they any rain, to ſupply the defect. The bulk of the people were, in conſequence, involved in the utmoſt miſery imaginable; being, through want of foreſight, totally deſtitute of ſuſtenance, which could not be obtained but for ready money; and, when that failed, they were obliged to barter their lands, cattle, ſlaves, and what other effects they chanced to have, in exchange for corn. Thus the poſſeſſions of the whole community came, by degrees, into the hands of the king; and the wretched people ſubmitted to every inconvenience and miſery, to preſerve themſelves from ſtarving. The prieſts were the only claſs of people, throughout the kingdom, who, in the general calamity, retained the poſſeſſion of their property and freedom.

In conſequence of the Nile's having reſumed its ancient ſtate, and the refreſhing ſhowers now again deſcending, to fertilize the ſoil, the famine began gradually to abate, and the face of the country once more put on its wonted appearance. Joſeph, hereupon, made a progreſs through all the principal towns and cities of the kingdom, and, ſummoning the inhabitants together, re-inſtated them in the poſſeſſion of their lands, which they had ſold to the king, on condition that they ſhould pay a fifth part of the produce thereof for the

advance the glory of his own nation; and would acquire immortal fame by his virtue and bravery. This intelligence gave such an alarm to the king, that, by the advice of the scribe, he commanded the Ægyptian midwives diligently to attend the delivery of every Hebrew woman; preserving each female infant, and casting every male into the river. He intrusted the execution of this order to the Ægyptian women, as being least likely to neglect the strict performance of it from any motive of pity, and enjoined them, upon pain of death to themselves and their families, not to secrete any child, or, in the least respect, to deviate from this command.

This decree was inhuman to an extreme; first, as it deprived so many parents of their children; secondly, as it rendered the parents themselves accessaries to the destruction of their own offspring; and, lastly, as it tended to the utter extinction of the whole race of the Hebrews. Their situation now seemed desperate; but the providence of God will ever be superior to all human cunning and violence; for this child, of whom the scribe had foretold, was born, and secretly and safely nurtured, in spite of all the methods put in practice to destroy him, and lived to verify the predictions concerning him. All this was effected in the following manner.

There was an Hebrew, named Amram, a man of high rank, and great reputation, whom this decree affected in a particular manner; both as it tended to the extirmination of the Jewish people, and also as it particularly regarded his own family, his wife being, at that time, pregnant. In this emergency, he prayed to God, that he would commiserate the present wretched condition of a people, who had never deviated from his worship; that he would be their director and preserver; and that he would, at a proper season, extricate them from a calamity, which threatened nothing less than the utter extirpation of the whole race. The Almighty listened to his prayer, and, appearing to him in a dream, told him that, as he had not forgotten the piety of his ancestors, neither would he neglect to reward him also, according to his merits; encouraging him to hope for a favourable change. "It was I," said the vision, "who, from such a small beginning, raised your nation to "its present populous state. It was I, who conducted Abraham, without a "single attendant, from Mesopotamia to Canaan, and, exclusive of other "blessings, bestowed on him a son, by a woman who, according to the com-"mon course of nature, was past child-bearing. He dying, left vast posses-"sions to his descendants: to Ishmael he left the country of Arabia; Trog-"lodytis became the portion of the children he had by Cheturah, and to "Isaac was given the land of Canaan. Nothing but the most extreme "wickedness and ingratitude can have obliterated from your mind the glo-"rious successes which attended your arms, while I fought on your side; "nor the numerous blessings which I conferred on Jacob and his posterity, "who, from seventy persons only, which was their number when they first "settled in Ægypt, are now increased to upwards of six hundred thousand. "Set your mind at rest, and be assured that I will provide for the welfare of "the Hebrew nation, and of yourself in particular; for the child, whose "predicted birth is so much dreaded by the Ægyptians, and on whose ac-

" count all the male infants of the Hebrews, newly-born, have been doomed " to death; that child, I ſay, ſhall be born to thee; ſhall eſcape all the " ſnares laid for his life; ſhall be educated in a manner totally unexpected; " and in due time, ſhall reſcue the Iſraelites from the yoke of the Ægyp- " tians, and render his name immortal by the glorious achievements he ſhall " perform: he ſhall have a brother, whom I will inveſt with the high-prieſt- " hood, which dignity I will confirm to him and his heirs, in perpetuity. " Take courage, therefore; for this, and much more, will I do for yourſelf " and your deſcendants."

When Amram awaked, he communicated his dream to his wife Jochabel, and they were greatly embarraſſed, not knowing what conſtruction to put upon this extraordinary viſion: they gave no credit to the fortunate events which had been predicted to Amram in his dream, but were exceedingly troubled concerning the fate of the expected child. Soon after this, the time of Jochabel's pregnancy expired, and ſhe was delivered with little pain, and in ſo ſhort a time that the child came into the world before the Ægyptian midwives could be called to her aſſiſtance: this circumſtance occaſioned them to put more confidence in what had been foretold to Amram in his dream.

The child having been kept for three months in the moſt ſecret manner, Amram became apprehenſive leſt a diſappointment of the prediction, and the deſtruction of father, mother and infant ſhould be the conſequence of a diſcovery, and therefore reſolved to leave the diſpoſal of events entirely to the direction of Providence. He revolved in his mind the difficulty and danger of a longer concealment, ſuggeſting that if the child ſhould be ſecreted from obſervation, yet many difficulties, and infinite hazard muſt attend himſelf and his family; but, he entertained not the leaſt doubt of the veracity of the Almighty, nor of his power to preſerve them from the dangers which appeared to hang over them at that period. They, accordingly, determined to expoſe the child. For this purpoſe, they framed a kind of baſket, of bulruſhes twiſted together, and, having pitched the joints, to keep out the water, put the child into it, and ſet it afloat; offering up, at the ſame time, the moſt fervent prayers to God, to interpoſe his providence for the preſervation of the infant. The daughter of Jochabel, named Mariam, was ordered by her mother to walk on the oppoſite bank of the river, and to obſerve what became of the child. The following inſtance may ſerve to convince mankind, that it is in vain for human wiſdom to oppoſe the will and pleaſure of the ſupreme Being; and that ſuch perſons as, from motives either of advantage or ſecurity, contrive the ruin of others, with whatever ſubtilty their deſigns may be concerted, will find their malicious intentions finally defeated: while thoſe, on the other hand, who calmly and patiently ſubmit to the Divine will, ſhall be extricated from their troubles, even by ſupernatural means.

It chanced that Thermuthis, the king's daughter, was, at this juncture, taking the air by the river's ſide, and, perceiving ſomething floating at a diſtance, ſhe ordered a ſwimmer to go into the water and bring it on ſhore; when the princeſs found it was a child which her attendant was bringing to her,

her, ſhe was highly delighted with the circumſtance. She inſtantly directed that ſome women ſhould be inſtantly ſought for, to ſuckle the infant. Several were, accordingly, brought and tried, but without effect, as the babe ſhewed the utmoſt averſion to take the breaſt. Mariam, who came to the ſpot at the time, apparently from mere curioſity, obſerved to the princeſs, that the method then taken would anſwer no purpoſe; "For," ſaid ſhe, "the "child being of one country and the nurſe of another, it is not likely that "the milk of the ſtranger ſhould be either wholeſome or palatable to him; "but, if any Hebrew woman could be procured, he may, perhaps, receive "her milk with readineſs and ſatisfaction." This propoſal appeared ſo reaſonable to the princeſs, that ſhe ordered Mariam to endeavour to find ſuch a nurſe without delay.

She returned, in a ſhort time, with the mother of the child, who was totally unknown to the princeſs and all preſent; and no ſooner did Jochabel offer the infant the breaſt, than he began to ſuck with the utmoſt eagerneſs: which being remarked by the king's daughter, ſhe deſired her to take charge of the infant. Thus, as a ſpecial inſtance of God's favour to Moſes, he was ſaved from impending death; and was nurtured and educated, by thoſe very perſons, who had devoted the whole race of the Hebrews to deſtruction, on his account alone.

The child was named Mo-Yſes, with reference to the circumſtance of his preſervation; Mo, in the Ægyptian language, denoting *Water*, and Yſes ſignifying *Preſerved**. This child became, in proceſs of time, beyond diſpute, the moſt accompliſhed perſon throughout the kingdom, as the Almighty had predicted to Amram. He was deſcended, in the ſixth generation, from Abraham; his father Amram being the ſon of Caath, the ſon of Levi, the ſon of Jacob, the ſon of Iſaac, who was the ſon of Abraham.

As he grew up, he manifeſted a maturity of underſtanding far ſuperior to his years. His childiſh amuſements partook of ſerioufneſs and were of ſuch a nature as even to convey inſtruction; all his actions being accompanied with ſuch a grace, as gave the world a ſpecimen of what might be expected from him in future. At three years of age, the beauty of his perſon created univerſal admiration, and rendered him pleaſing to men of the moſt cynical and moroſe diſpoſition.

Thermuthis, from a principle of pure affection to the child, and being herſelf unmarried, determined to adopt him. She introduced him to her father, whom ſhe addreſſed, on the occaſion, in theſe words: "This infant is "of the ſweeteſt and moſt tractable diſpoſition that can be imagined. I have "brought him up myſelf, and am indebted to the bounty of the Nile for the "precious gift. It is my intention to adopt him; and I now preſent him "to you, as a ſucceſſor to your throne." The king received the child from her hands with an affectionate tenderneſs, and, fondling him, to gratify his daughter's humour, took the crown from his own head, and placed it on that of the child; who, handling it in a wanton, careleſs manner, let it fall to the ground; after which he trampled on it.

This.

* This etymology of Moſes is confuted by Scaliger, in his notes upon the fragment of Beroſus, p. 48.

This incident was conſidered, by thoſe preſent as a bad omen, both to the king and the ſtate: inſomuch that the ſcribe, formerly mentioned, declared aloud, that the boy ought to be deſtroyed; "for this," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the king, "is the child, who, I predicted to you, would bring "deſtruction upon Ægypt; and he has, in the preſent inſtance, partly veri- "fied the prophecy, by the contempt he has manifeſted for your govern- "ment, in thus treading your crown under his feet. This is he, in ſhort, "from whoſe death alone you can hope for the peaceful enjoyment of your "authority: and, by adopting my advice, you will deprive the Hebrews "of all hope, and will remove every future cauſe of apprehenſion in the "Ægyptians." The king, however, gave no heed to this warning, but ſuffered his daughter to remove the child, without the leaſt oppoſition: a further inſtance of the eminent favour with which the Almighty conſtantly diſtinguiſhed Moſes. The liberal education, which the princeſs beſtowed on him, created an expectation in the Hebrews, that he would, in the courſe of time, effect their deliverance: while the Ægyptians, on the other hand, were equally apprehenſive of miſchief from the ſame cauſe; but, as they had no proſpect of a ſucceſſor to the throne, worthy of that dignity, the barbarous deſign, which had been concerted againſt Moſes, was ſuffered to drop.

CHAP. X.

The exploits of Moſes, in the war againſt the Æthiopians.

SUCH was the education which Moſes received; and, as he approached to manhood, he gave repeated proofs of his conduct and courage, and of the eminence which, it might be expected, he would acquire, in future, by his military achievements. He particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his ſkill in the ſcience of war, on the following occaſion.

The Æthiopians had made an incurſion upon the territories of Ægypt, and laid waſte a conſiderable tract of the country. This action highly incenſed the Ægyptians, who raiſed a numerous army, with the view of taking ample vengeance for the inſult and injury. A battle enſued, and the Ægyptians were defeated: a certain number were killed in the action, and the reſt ſhamefully repulſed, and driven back to their own home. The Æthiopians purſued their advantage ſo cloſely, that they over-run the whole country as far as Memphis, and from thence to the ſea; burning and deſtroying every thing wherever they came, without oppoſition on the part of the inhabitants. In this dilemma, the Ægyptians applied themſelves to their prieſts and oracles for advice. The anſwer they received was, that they muſt ſolicit the aſſiſtance of a certain Hebrew, to extricate them from th ir difficulties. The king, thereupon, acquainted his daughter, that he propoſed to ſend another army againſt the Æthiopians, and that he was very deſirous that Moſes ſhould take upon himſelf the command of his forces. The princeſs readily engaged to exert all her influence, to induce him to comply with the king's deſire; but ſhe previouſly bound her father, by a ſolemn oath, ſtrictly to prohibit every attempt againſt his perſonal ſafety; at the ſame time reproaching the prieſts

with the baſeneſs of imploring the aid of a perſon, whoſe deſtruction they had ſo lately meditated and adviſed.

Thermuthis and the king found little difficulty in prevailing on Moſes to accept of this commiſſion, and his compliance gave infinite ſatisfaction to thoſe inveſted with the ſacred function, of both nations. The joy of the Ægyptians aroſe, firſt, from the hopes of ſubduing their enemies under his conduct; and, next, from the proſpect of being able, after having obtained the ends for which he was advanced to the above poſt, to effect the deſtruction of Moſes. The Hebrews, on the other hand, were happy in the idea, that, under the direction of ſo expert a leader, they might probably, in a courſe of time, be enabled to throw off the yoke of the Ægyptians. Moſes deliberated on the propereſt method to attack the enemy unexpectedly in their quarters. The paſſage through the interior part of the country was much infeſted with ſerpents, both of the flying and creeping kinds, and all remarkably fierce and venomous. This rout was generally conſidered as being too dangerous to riſk the march of an army through it. Moſes, for this very reaſon, preferred it to the other road along the banks of the Nile; and the event juſtified his choice. To provide againſt the dangers of this perilous paſſage, he adopted the following ſtratagem. The Ibis is a mortal enemy to all kinds of ſerpents, who conſtantly fly from its preſence, with the utmoſt precipitation. Though this bird is deſtructive of thoſe reptiles, it is gentle and inoffenſive to all other creatures. But I need ſay no more reſpecting its qualities, as the Greeks are ſufficiently acquainted with the natural hiſtory of this bird. The method which Moſes adopted, to preſerve his troops from the attacks of theſe venomous animals was, to carry with him a number of the above-mentioned birds, confined in cages made of bulruſhes.

When Moſes had arrived at that part of the country which is infeſted by the above-mentioned noxious animals, he turned the birds looſe; and the ſerpents diſperſed, as from a natural enemy. He now haſted in purſuit of the Æthiopians, whom he ſurprized and defeated, and having effectually cut off a retreat into Ægypt, ſuch as eſcaped the fury of the battle, were under a neceſſity of returning home. After this he beſieged and laid waſte ſeveral towns and cities, and committed great ſlaughter upon the people.

This victory revived the drooping courage of the Ægyptians; while the Æthiopians, on the other hand, were reduced to deſpair; having no proſpect but death or ſlavery. They were, at length, compelled to retire to Saba, the capital of Æthiopia, to which city Cambyſes afterwards gave the name of Meroe, in compliment to his ſiſter. Moſes laid ſiege to this place, although nature and art ſeemed to have combined to render it impregnable; it being ſituated at the conflux of the rivers Aſtaphus and Aſtabora with the Nile: it is, moreover, ſeated on an iſland, encompaſſed with a ſtrong wall, and defended by ramparts, and other works, from the attacks of an enemy, and the inundations of the Nile.

Moſes was much diſſatisfied with his preſent ſtate of inactivity, the enemy keeping cloſe within their walls: but in the interim, an incident happened

of a very extraordinary nature. It chanced, on a certain day, that Tharbis, the daughter of the king of Æthiopia, obſerving Moſes, with his ſword in his hand, conducting himſelf with great bravery under the walls of the town, was ſo charmed with his behaviour, that ſhe fell paſſionately in love with him. Her affection ſtill increaſing, ſhe, at length, opened her mind on the ſubject to ſome of her moſt intimate friends, and commiſſioned them to make him a tender of her hand in marriage. Moſes accepted the propoſal, but, conditionally, that the city ſhould be ſurrendered previous to the celebration of the nuptials; and this agreement was ratified with an oath, and, almoſt in the ſame inſtant, carried into execution. A great ſlaughter, however, was made of the Æthiopians; and, after the ſolemnization of the marriage, the Ægyptians returned home, crowned with victory.

CHAP. XI.

The ingratitude of the Ægyptians towards Moſes, who, for the preſervation of his life, flies from Ægypt to Madian.

THE only return which thoſe ungrateful wretches made for all the benefits they had received from the preſerver of their nation was, to carry their envy and hatred of him to ſuch extremity, as to lay ſnares for his life. They were apprehenſive leſt the great reputation he had acquired by his military achievements, might inſpire him with the deſign of rendering himſelf independent; and, therefore, accuſed him to the king, of having murdered a native of the realm. The king was but too well inclined to liſten to the calumny, partly from a jealouſy of his fame for valour and wiſdom, and partly from the inſinuations of the prieſts and ſcribes, who never ceaſed their importunities, till they had prevailed on that prince to become a party in the combination againſt him. In ſhort, Moſes was doomed to death; and it was by a particular interpoſition of Providence that he was enabled to eſcape, in the very moment that his enemies had fixed on for the execution of their deſign.

Having learnt that the roads were way-laid, he directed his flight through a deſart; naturally concluding that no one would think of tracing him on that road. Throughout his whole journey he could not procure any kind of food. About noon, he arrived within a ſmall diſtance of Madian, a city on the coaſt of the Red-Sea, which was ſo named, from one of the ſons of Abraham, by Cheturah. Being come within ſight of the city, he ſat himſelf down by the ſide of a fountain. As he ſat here, an incident happened, which took its riſe, in ſome meaſure, from a cuſtom of the country; and it afforded him an opportunity, not only of ſignalizing his courage and regard for juſtice, but alſo of raiſing his fortune. Such is the ſcarcity of water in that country, that each ſhepherd ſtrives to be firſt at the fountain in the morning, before it be drawn dry, or not a ſufficiency left for his cattle. At this time, there came to the fountain ſeven virgin ſiſters, the daughters of Raguel, a prieſt, and a perſon held in much eſtimation in that part of the country.

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In the country of the Troglodytes, the women are commonly employed in tending the flocks; and the daughters of Raguel having brought their father's ſheep to the well, and drawn a ſufficiency of water, emptied it into troughs, the better to divide it amongſt them. In the interim, certain ſhepherds came to the ſpot, and obliged the virgins to retire, intending themſelves to make uſe of the water which had been drawn. The brutality of this behaviour greatly enraged Moſes, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the virgins, and compelled the ſhepherds to relinquiſh their deſign. The daughters of Raguel expreſſed a due ſenſe of the obligation which the ſtranger had conferred upon them; and, on their return to their father's houſe, acquainted him with all the particulars of what had paſſed: unanimouſly requeſting that he would make ſome kind of return for the kindneſs which had been ſhewn them. Raguel was charmed with the grateful diſpoſition of his daughters, and ordered them to bring the ſtranger to his houſe, that he might reward him according to his merit. Moſes being accordingly introduced to him, he, after complimenting him on his late conduct, aſſured him that he would give him ſpeedy conviction, that he had not conferred an obligation on a perſon deſtitute of gratitude. He afterwards received him into his family; adopted him; beſtowed one of his daughters on him in marriage; and appointed him to the ſuperintendency of all his cattle, which article, in thoſe days, conſtituted the whole wealth of the Troglodytes.

CHAP. XII.

God appears to Moſes in the burning buſh. The rod of Moſes converted into a ſerpent.

MOSES was now eſtabliſhed in the houſe of his father-in-law, Jethegleth, or Raguel, and had the ſole management of his flocks. Mount Sinai was famous for the excellency of its paſture, and exceeded all the other mountains of the country in height. A tradition prevailed among the neighbouring people, that this mountain was the reſidence of the Almighty; and, in this perſuaſion, they conſtantly forbore either to feed their ſheep, or even to walk thereon. It chanced that Moſes drove his ſheep hither on a certain day, and, while he was employed in tending them, a phænomenon appeared to him of a very extraordinary nature: he perceived a fire burning in a buſh, the flames of which were remarkably fierce, yet neither the leaves, flowers, nor branches received the leaſt damage therefrom. This ſight greatly ſurprized Moſes; but his aſtoniſhment was raiſed to the higheſt pitch, when he heard a voice from the midſt of the buſh, calling him by name, and addreſſing him in theſe words: "How durſt thou "preſume to ſet foot on this ſpot, where no mortal ever trod before, ſolely "on account of the univerſal reverence in which this place has ever been "held? Retire; and be contented with the privilege you have enjoyed, "in conſequence of your own virtues, and of thoſe of your anceſtors; nor "dare to puſh your curioſity any farther." The voice alſo predicted to him, that he ſhould acquire great reputation; and ordered him to return to Ægypt,

where he ſhould obtain an unlimited command over the nation of the Hebrews, and ſhould finally deliver them from their preſent bondage; "For," ſaid the voice, "they ſhall inherit the lands which Abraham poſſeſſed; and "to your wiſdom ſhall they be indebted for the acquiſition of all thoſe "bleſſings. But do not fail, when you ſhall have conducted the Hebrews "out of Ægypt, immediately to offer up a ſacrifice on this very ſpot."

When the voice had finiſhed ſpeaking, Moſes, in the utmoſt amazement, replied in the following terms: "I know thee, Lord, and, after the example "of all my anceſtors, have conſtantly adored thy power. It were madneſs, "therefore, in the extreme, to heſitate to obey thy mandates. Yet how ſhall "I, without abilities, and in an obſcure ſtation, be enabled to prevail on "ſuch a multitude, firſt, to abandon their preſent ſettlement; and, ſecondly, "to follow me, entirely under an uncertainty, whereſoever I ſhall be pleaſed "to conduct them? Nay, admitting that my intereſt with them ſhould be "ſufficient to induce them to conſtitute me their leader, who ſhall compel "Pharaoh to permit them to depart; ſeeing that the revenues of Ægypt "would be ſo much diminiſhed by the loſs of their labour?" The voice again ordered him to make himſelf eaſy, promiſing that he ſhould want for no aſſiſtance of which he ſhould ſtand in need. But, effectually to remove every doubt which he might ſtill entertain, the voice commanded him to caſt the rod which he held in his hand on the ground. This being done, the rod was inſtantly converted into a ſerpent, twining itſelf in folds, and threatening an attack: and in a ſhort time it returned to its former ſhape. Moſes was then ordered to put his hand into his boſom, which he did, and, upon drawing it out again, it appeared to be as white as chalk; preſently reſuming its native colour. He was further commanded to throw a ſmall quantity of fair water on the ground, where it appeared to have acquired the quality of blood. As Moſes expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at the ſight of theſe ſupernatural operations, God aſſured him that he would confer on him the power of working the like miracles, in order to evince to the Hebrews that he was inveſted with a commiſſion from the Deity, to take upon him the office of their leader.

The Lord then commanded Moſes to return immediately to Ægypt, and, for the greater diſpatch, to continue his journey night and day. Moſes could no longer, after what he had heard and ſeen, have any doubts remaining of God's power and juſtice; he, nevertheleſs, requeſted that he might retain the faculty of working miracles, when he ſhould arrive in Ægypt; and that God would condeſcend to communicate to him the name of that awful Being, of whoſe infinite power he had ſo lately received ſuch convincing proofs; in order that he might be enabled, on all occaſions, to invoke him by his proper appellation. The Almighty was pleaſed to grant this requeſt: but the name was, till then, never heard by any man, and I am withheld from mentioning it by a reverential awe. The gift of performing miracles, at all times, was alſo conferred on Moſes, who was now convinced that he ſhould live to be an eye-witneſs of the happy deliverance of the Hebrews, and of the confuſion of their enemies, the Ægyptians.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Upon the news of Pharaoh's death, Moſes and Aaron return to Ægypt.

MOSES, having now received intelligence of the death of the king of Ægypt, who had compelled him to abandon that country, requeſted permiſſion of Raguel to return thither to his friends and relations. His requeſt being complied with, he began his journey, accompanied by his wife Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, and the two children he had by her, Gerſhom, and Eleazar. Now Gerſhom, being interpreted, ſignifies a *Foreigner*; and by Eleazar is ſignified, *the Help of God*; becauſe it was through the intervention of the providence of the Almighty, that Moſes was preſerved from the ſnares laid for him by the Ægyptians.

When he had approached nearly to the borders of Ægypt, by the immediate direction of the Almighty, he was met by his brother Aaron, to whom he communicated the wonderful occurrences upon the mount, and the revelations, inſtructions and ordinances which God had delivered to him. Having made ſome farther progreſs on his journey, great numbers of the moſt conſiderable among the Hebrew people came forth to give him welcome. After ſome converſation, Moſes was convinced that the power of words was not alone ſufficient to obtain his point; and therefore, in ſupport of his commiſſion, authority and power, he had recourſe to miracles, appealing to the evidence of their ſenſes in regard to the wonders he performed, which they beheld with aſtoniſhment, and conſidered as an indiſputable token that God would relieve and provide for the ſafety of his people.

Moſes having ſo far prevailed upon the Hebrews, as to obtain a promiſe of obedience to him, repaired to the new king, and mentioned the toils he had ſuſtained and the dangers he had encountered in conducting the war of the Ægyptians againſt the Æthiopians, in the proſecution of which he had conſtantly obſerved as unremitting an attention for the advantage of the party to which he was attached, as he could have manifeſted in behalf of his own countrymen; and he remarked that the rewards he had received were inadequate to his ſervices. He circumſtantially related what the Almighty had communicated to him in his viſion upon Mount Sinai; adding that, to induce a confidence in his promiſes, the Deity had given him tokens by miracles and revelations; finally importuning Pharaoh not to betray a diſbelief of God, by oppoſing his divine pleaſure.

Pharaoh treated the above relation with contempt and ridicule; whereupon Moſes endeavoured to force conviction upon him by repeating, in his ſight, thoſe miracles which he had performed upon Mount Sinai: but this provoked Pharaoh to a violence of anger and opprobrious language. "Thou "contemptible runagate," ſaid he, "for the ſafety of your perſon you made "a ſcandalous retreat from Ægypt, and now return to delude the people by "the exhibition of your magical ſlights; and have the effrontery to aſſume "as much conſequence, as if you were the only man converſant in the di-

" vine myſtery; and ſo extravagant is your vanity, that you imagine yourſelf " an object worthy public adoration: but, notwithſtanding this oſtentation, " be informed, that my prieſts can rival your utmoſt dexterity." The prieſts being now called, were directed to throw down their rods, which were inſtantly changed into ſerpents. " I am not unacquainted with the addreſs " of the Ægyptians," ſaid Moſes, " nor do I hold them in contempt; " therefore this circumſtance does not affect me: but I may with confidence " declare, that their magic is as much inferior to the works I perform, as " human things are to thoſe of Divine origin: and I ſhall immediately con- " vince you that I mean not, under the ſemblance of truth, to impoſe il- " luſions upon the populace; but that I act under the authority of an omni- " potent Deity, who will puniſh the obſtinacy of thoſe who ſhall wilfully ſhut " their eyes againſt ſuch demonſtrative evidence." Thus ſaying, he threw his rod, alſo, upon the ground, which inſtantly aſſumed the appearance of a ſerpent, and ſwallowed up thoſe of the Magicians, one after another; after which it returned to its former ſhape.

This miracle, inſtead of convincing the king, ſerved only to incenſe him ſtill more. He, accordingly, reproved Moſes, and iſſued freſh orders to the officers appointed to overlook the Hebrews at their work, not only to keep them conſtantly employed, but alſo to make an addition to their ordinary taſks; and they were, in conſequence, deprived of their former indulgence, in having the ſtraw they uſed in making bricks brought to them, and were compelled to fetch it during the night, that their day-labour might not be interrupted.

But neither the king's diſpleaſure, nor the murmurings of his own people, who were very urgent with him to deſiſt from all further application in their behalf, could prevail on Moſes to recede from the plan he had adopted, to effect their deliverance. He, therefore, again waited on Pharaoh, to requeſt that he would permit the Hebrews to go to Mount Sinai, there to offer up an oblation to the Almighty, according as they had been commanded. " It " will be in vain," ſaid he, " to oppoſe the decrees of providence: there- " fore beware; leſt, by refuſing to let the people go, you bring upon your- " ſelf thoſe judgments, which will inevitably be the portion of thoſe who " contemn the commands of God. Should ſuch be your conduct, you will " find yourſelf diſappointed in all your undertakings; your women will be " afflicted with ſterility, and the very elements themſelves will conſpire to " avenge the cauſe of their Creator. Nor will you be leſs expoſed to theſe " calamities, even ſhould the Hebrews quit your dominions, unleſs they " have your licence and protection. And, rather than the deſign ſhall fail, " the Almighty will himſelf effect it, in the end, whether you conſent or " not."

CHAP. XIV.

The ten plagues inflicted on the Ægyptians, in conſequence of the obſtinacy of Pharaoh.

THE king would not pay the leaſt regard to the interceſſion of Moſes, and this obduracy proved the ſource of many miſeries to the Ægyptians: in ſpeaking of which, I ſhall be the more particularly explicit, both on account of the novelty of the ſubject, and alſo to ſhew that the predictions of our prophet were not the mere effuſions of a fanciful imagination. Theſe tranſactions, in ſhort, ought to be univerſally known, in order to guard mankind againſt the commiſſion of thoſe enormous crimes, which infallibly bring down upon them the ſevereſt judgments of heaven.

The firſt miracle which Moſes wrought for the puniſhment of the Ægyptians was, by converting the waters of the Nile, which were their only drink, into blood; and this alteration was not in point of colour only, but all thoſe of the natives who were neceſſitated to drink of it were afflicted with a violent cholic, while to the Hebrews it was perfectly wholeſome. The king, being apprehenſive of the total deſtruction of his ſubjects, conſented, at length, that the Hebrews ſhould depart: but, no ſooner had God, in conſequence of the above conceſſion, removed this terrible plague, than he immediately recalled his promiſe. This ingratitude and duplicity ſo highly enraged the Almighty, that he quickly viſited the land with a ſecond judgment; cauſing frogs to be produced in every quarter, in ſuch numbers, that the whole earth was covered with them, and the waters of the river became ſtagnant and corrupted. The bed-chambers, and tables were infeſted by theſe animals; no place, in ſhort, was free from them; and the inconvenience was heightened by the noiſome ſtench proceeding from them. Pharaoh, hereupon, again ſent for Moſes, and acquainted him that he might retire, with the Hebrews, whenever he ſhould think proper. This permiſſion was no ſooner granted, than the frogs totally diſappeared, and all things returned to their former ſtate.

But Pharaoh again refuſed to fulfill his promiſe, on the plea of its having been extorted from him by fear, and, conſequently, that he was under no obligation to comply with the terms thereof. This breach of faith, ſo derogatory to the character of a monarch, was ſucceeded by a farther manifeſtation of the vengeance of the Almighty. The natives were infected with a terrible and uncommon diſeaſe; being covered with lice, which eat into their bodies, and gave them the moſt excruciating pain; neither could any remedy be found for this diſorder, baths, ointments, and all other applications proving equally inefficacious. Pharaoh, therefore, once more conſented that the Hebrews ſhould retire; but, when he perceived that God had freed his ſubjects from the above calamity, he declared that they (the Hebrews) muſt leave their wives and children in his hands, as pledges for their return.

This circumſtance enraged the Almighty more than all the reſt of that prince's conduct; as it ſeemed to denote a deſign of deceiving providence, and an opinion that it was not God, but his ſervant Moſes, who had

inflicted

inflicted theſe puniſhments on the Ægyptians, for their injurious and oppreſſive treatment of the Hebrews. God, therefore, filled the whole country with numberleſs ſwarms of flies and inſects, many of them of ſuch ſpecies as the inhabitants were totally unacquainted with. They lay on the ground in ſuch abundance, as to put a ſtop to all tillage; and ſo venomous were they, that multitudes of the people were deſtroyed by them; ſome being ſuddenly taken off, while others fell a prey to lingering diſeaſes, which were generated from the putrefaction of theſe inſects. But even this was not ſufficient to induce him to deſiſt from his oppoſition to the will of God; he would not ſuffer the Iſraelites to go, but on the terms of their leaving ſome of their women, and all the children behind them.

The next judgment, which the Lord inflicted on the Ægyptians, in conſequence of the incorrigible obſtinacy of their ſovereign, was a kind of inward ulcer, of which vaſt numbers of the people died.

Pharaoh ſtill perſiſting in his contempt of the Divine Will, God was pleaſed to viſit the Ægyptians with a plague of hail, which utterly deſtroyed the fruits and vegetables in the bud. This hail, excluſive of its being a phænomenon in Ægypt, far excelled in ſize whatever had been hitherto ſeen of the kind in the coldeſt climates; and what eſcaped the hail fell a prey to a devouring ſwarm of locuſts, and in this manner was the whole produce of that year utterly conſumed. It will naturally be ſuppoſed that, had not this prince been equally infatuated as wicked, theſe judgments would have awakened him to a due ſenſe of his danger; but the truth is, that Pharaoh had impiouſly determined to conteſt the matter with the Almighty, even at the riſk of the deſtruction of himſelf and his people. He, at length, yielded that the Hebrews ſhould be at liberty to depart with their wives and children, having only their effects behind them, to compenſate the Ægyptians for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. But Moſes objected to this propoſal, as being unreaſonable; becauſe, in that caſe, they ſhould be totally unprovided for a ſacrifice.

This point was debated ſo long between the king and Moſes, that, in the interval, God ſpread a thick darkneſs over the land, during the continuance of which many perſons periſhed; whilſt not a few were apprehenſive of being ſwallowed up in one general abyſs. At the expiration of three days and nights, light re-appeared; and, Pharaoh ſtill continuing obſtinate, Moſes once more preſented himſelf before him, and addreſſed him in theſe terms: "How far will you ſet your will in competition with that of the Almighty! "He enjoins you, by me, to diſmiſs his people, the Hebrews; and nothing "but a compliance with his pleaſure in this reſpect, can preſerve you from "the impending deſtruction." The freedom of this expoſtulation ſo incenſed the king, that he ordered Moſes, at the peril of his life, never to mention another ſyllable to him on the ſubject. Moſes replied, that he had now fully executed his commiſſion; but that he was perfectly convinced that, in a very ſhort time, both the king and his nobles would, of their own accord, urge the Iſraelites to haſten their departure: and, with theſe words, he retired.

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The Almighty ſtill retained one plague in ſtore, to puniſh the impious obſtinacy of Pharaoh. He commanded Moſes to give notice to the Hebrews to make ready on the thirteenth, the ſacrifice which they were accuſtomed to offer on the fourteenth day of the month Xanticus. This month, which the Macedonians term Xanthicus, is called, by the Hebrews, Niſan; and Pharmuthi by the Ægyptians. Moſes, in obedience to the command, convened all the Hebrews in one place; dividing them into tribes and companies. The aſſigned day being arrived, and all the neceſſary preparations made, early in the morning they offered up a ſacrifice, ſprinkling their houſes with the blood of the victims, for the purpoſe of purifying them. The fleſh which was not eaten, they burnt; being upon the point of entering upon their journey. Such are the ceremonies, which we obſerve to this day, in the celebration of the Paſcha, which ſignifies *paſſing over*; becauſe God paſſed over the Hebrews without doing them the leaſt hurt, when the Ægyptians were ſtruck dead by the peſtilence; which, in the courſe of one night, made ſuch devaſtation among the firſt-born of Ægpt, that multitudes of people of all ranks, beſet the palace, loudly importuning the king to diſmiſs the Hebrews without any further delay. That prince, thereupon, ſent for Moſes, and ordered him to aſſemble his countrymen, and to retire with them out of the land; being ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed, that the deliverance of Ægypt could never be effected while they ſhould remain in the country. At their departure, many of the Ægyptians preſented them with valuable gifts; ſome merely with the view of haſtening them away, others from motives of friendſhip; nor could they refrain from tears at parting from the Hebrews; many feeling a ſincere compunction for the barbarities they had been guilty of towards them.

CHAP. XV.

The Hebrews depart from Ægypt, under the conduct of Moſes.

THE rout which the Iſraelites took was by Letopolis, a city at that time uninhabited; and on the ſcite of which Cambyſes, in his expedition againſt Ægypt, built the city of Babylon. They marched with great expedition, and, on the third day after their departure, arrived at Beelzephon, on the borders of the Red-Sea. As they could obtain no proviſions in their paſſage through the wilderneſs, they ſubſiſted, for the ſpace of thirty days, on no other food than meal kneaded with water, and made into cakes. They had now exhauſted all the food they had brought out of Ægypt, although they had uſed it with all poſſible parſimony. It is in commemoration of that ſcarcity, that the feſtival of *eight-days* is held, which we call that of *Unleavened Bread*. But the number of the Hebrews was prodigious: there being ſixty thouſand men capable of bearing arms, excluſive of the women and children.

It was on the fifteenth day of the month Xanticus that the Hebrews departed out of Ægypt; Moſes being, at that time, in the eightieth year of

his age, and Aaron, his brother, in his eighty-third. A period of two hundred and fifty years had elapſed from the time of Jacob's arrival in Ægypt; and of four-hundred and fifteen years from the æra of the entrance of Abraham into Canaan. They carried with them the bones of Joſeph, as he had enjoined his ſons, ſome time previous to his death.

The Ægyptians quickly repented of the permiſſion they had granted to the Hebrews to withdraw themſelves; the king in particular, who imputed all the misfortunes which had befallen the nation, to the enchantments of Moſes. They determined, therefore, to purſue them; believing that they ſhould eaſily ſubdue and compel them to return in their wearied and defenceleſs ſituation, if they ſhould but be able to overtake them; but this they doubted, the road which they had taken, being replete with difficulties even to a ſingle traveller, but much more to ſo large a number of perſons marching in one body.

But the motives which induced Moſes to prefer this road to any other, were various: firſt, he hoped that the very length of the way would deter the Ægyptians from purſuing him, even if they ſhould incline to that meaſure. Another reaſon was, that he wiſhed to avoid paſſing near Palæſtine, leſt the people of that place, between whom and the Hebrews an enmity ſubſiſted of ancient date, ſhould gain intelligence of their march, and take that opportunity to fall upon, and deſtroy them. He was further induced to paſs by the way of the wilderneſs, though inconvenient and round about, from a deſire of performing the vow, which he had formerly made, to ſacrifice on mount Sinai as God had commanded him; intending from thence to direct his courſe to Canaan.

When they arrived on the coaſt of the Red-Sea, they were overtaken and hemmed in by the Ægyptian army, which conſiſted of ſix hundred chariots, fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot; the main body being drawn up in battle array. The Ægyptians had ſecured all the paſſes, and ſo effectually ſhut up the Hebrews between impaſſable mountains, and the ſea, that they had not the leaſt proſpect whatever of eſcaping. To fly or fight with ſucceſs was equally impracticable: and thus they were reduced to the wretched alternative, either to ſtarve or yield themſelves ſlaves to the Ægyptians. In this deſperate ſituation, they imputed the blame of all their misfortunes to Moſes. The many wonders which God had wrought for their deliverance, and for the confirmation of their faith, were now obliterated. The clamours and cries of the women and children, who conſidered themſelves as being utterly loſt, incenſed the people ſo much, that they were on the point of ſtoning their falſe prophet, as they now ſuppoſed Moſes to be, and of reſigning themſelves once more to the abject ſlavery from which they had ſo lately been delivered.

Moſes was not to be moved either by the threats or outrages of this headſtrong multitude: he placed the firmeſt confidence in the power of God, who, he was convinced, after having afforded them ſo fair a proſpect of obtaining their liberty, would not ſuffer his people to return under the yoke of their enemies. "Suppoſe," ſaid Moſes, addreſſing himſelf to the people, "that you had depoſited a valuable truſt in the hands of a perſon, who

" had hitherto conducted himself in a manner perfectly to your satisfaction; " would not this embolden you to rely upon him, in the same case, at any " future time? Is it not the height of madness, then, to despond; seeing " that God himself hath promised to be your protector! Nay, the very di- " lemma to which you are now reduced, ought to raise rather than to de- " press your expectations. He has suffered this distress to come upon you, " merely to convince you of his power, and of his predilection for our na- " tion, by extricating you therefrom, in a manner equally to the admiration " of yourselves and your enemies. The interposition of God's providence is " not to be expected in matters of small importance; but in extraordinary " cases which surpass our weak comprehension, and admit not of human as- " sistance, and in circumstances of a judicial nature, it is that the Almighty " will rescue those who rest their hope of deliverance upon his unbounded " goodness: therefore despair not of success while you have a protector who " is able to exalt the lowly, and level the honour of their oppressors with " the dust. Because you are now encompassed by the sea and mountains, " without a prospect of avoiding your enemies, imagine not that your safety " is at the mercy of the Ægyptian troops; for the God whom you worship " has power to dry up the waters of the ocean, and reduce the mountains to " a level with the plains. Let his will be done."

CHAP. XVI.

The Red-Sea divides, affording a passage for Moses and his followers: the whole Ægyptian army being in pursuit, is drowned by a sudden return of the waters.

MOSES having uttered these words, led the Hebrews towards the sea, in sight of the Ægyptians, who, being fatigued with the pursuit, had resolved to take some refreshment, and defer giving battle till the next day. Having arrived at the sea-side, Moses, taking out his rod, addressed himself in prayer to the following purpose. " Almighty God! It is not by " human means that thy servants can be delivered from their present de- " plorable situation. To thy people, who, in obedience to thy commands, " have departed from Ægypt, O God! be merciful; for we rely on thee " alone for succour, and thou only art able to secure us against the cruelty " of our oppressors. Deign, O God! to give new life and confidence to " thy faithful servants by a speedy assistance in their present afflictions. It " is in thy gracious promises that we rest our only hope: for though we are " encompassed with the sea and mountains, all obstructions to our passage " will be removed if it shall please thee to interpose in our behalf: at thy " command the waters will retreat, and the mountains be levelled with the " plains." Having concluded this prayer, Moses struck the sea with his rod (which was the ensign of his commission for performing miracles), and the waters instantly divided; upon which, putting himself at the head of his men, he instructed them to offer thanksgivings to heaven for the remarkable providence manifested in their favour, and, in the name of the Almighty, called upon them to follow him. The Ægyptians observing them

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to proceed on the way which had been formed for their eſcape by the miraculous retreat of the waters, conſidered them as poſſeſſed of inſanity, and judged that they were on the verge of inevitable deſtruction; but ſeeing them continue their courſe without impediment, they prepared to purſue them, flattering themſelves in the vain imagination that they might paſs the ſame road with as little danger and interruption. While the Ægyptians were arming themſelves and making other preparations for their attempt, the Hebrews reached the oppoſite ſhore. The Ægyptians did not apprehend that the paſſage had been opened ſolely for the preſervation of the people of God, and ruin of their perſecutors, but upon being witneſs to the ſucceſs of Moſes and his followers, they became more eagerly determined upon a purſuit, and more confident of ſucceſs in their intended enterprize. They proceeded on their deſign, and when they had got within the bed of the river, the waters returned to their former courſe, and the whole army periſhed. This ſignal judgment was attended with ſtorms of thunder, lightning, rain, and other violent contentions of the elements, ſo that nothing can be conceived more dreadful than the calamity of theſe infatuated people, who fell victims to the diſpleaſure of an offended God.

It is not in the power of language to deſcribe the joy of the Hebrews for this unexpected deliverance. Seeing their cruel enemies utterly deſtroyed, and themſelves in the ſecure poſſeſſion of liberty, gave riſe to the moſt ſincere gratitude towards the Divine Being, whoſe providence had indiſputably directed theſe ſingular events; and they employed the whole night in hymns, thankſgivings, and prayer; and, on the occaſion, Moſes compoſed a ſong in hexameter verſe, which he dedicated to the honor of God.

The dividing of the ſea for the preſervation of the Hebrews, is not to be diſputed; by a reference to ancient records, it will be found that a previous circumſtance of the ſame wonderful kind has occured. The ſeveral hiſtorians who have given the life of Alexander, atteſt that when the Macedonians, under the command of that prince, were at a loſs for a paſſage, the Pamphylian-Sea divided; Alexander being appointed the inſtrument of God's providence for the deſtruction of the Perſian empire.

On the day following that of the above-mentioned judgment, the arms of the Ægyptians were driven on ſhore, near to the ſpot where the Hebrews had pitched their tents; and this was conſidered by Moſes as an additional inſtance of God's providence, the people being greatly diſtreſſed for want of arms, which were thus provided for their uſe. In obedience to the will of God, Moſes now led his followers to Mount Sinai, there to offer ſacrifice and oblation to God.

End of the Second Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK III.

Containing the hiſtory of ſuch incidents as happened from the year of the world 2454, to 2455.

CHAP. I.

Journey of the Iſraelites from Ægypt to Mount Sinai. The difficulties they encounter on the way. They murmur againſt Moſes. The extremities to which they are reduced by hunger and thirſt. They are relieved by a miracle.

THE extreme hardſhips which the Hebrews ſuffered on their journey through the wilderneſs of Mount Sinai, did not a little abate the joy they felt, on occaſion of their late miraculous and unexpected deliverance. They could procure no food; and the water they chanced to meet with, was in ſmall quantities, and of ſo bad a taſte and quality, that the very cattle would not drink of it. At the inſtigation of their guides, they carried with them a ſupply of water when they firſt entered into the wilderneſs; and, that being exhauſted, they were neceſſitated to ſink pits; which, on account of the rocky quality of the ground, was not effected without great labour and fatigue.

In the evening they arrived at a place called Marah, which ſignifies, in the Hebrew, *Bitterneſs*; this name it acquired from the taſte of its waters. They were much wearied; and, their proviſions having fallen ſhort, they now began to feel the cravings of hunger. But they agreed to make a ſhort ſtay at this place, having fortunately diſcovered a pit of water, on the ſpot. This pit, it is true, could not afford a ſufficient ſupply for ſo numerous a company; yet, when they conſidered the general ſtate of the country, and that this was the laſt place where they could expect to find any water till they ſhould arrive at Mount Sinai, the above diſcovery gave them no ſmall ſatisfaction. But this water was equally bitter with the reſt, and was utterly unwholeſome, both for the people and their cattle.

Moſes ſaw that the ſpirits of the Iſraelites were much depreſſed; neither was he capable of affording them the leaſt comfort, as their preſent foes were not to be vanquiſhed either by ſkill or valour. The whole community partook of the danger, and unanimouſly importuned Moſes for relief in their diſtreſs. He again had recourſe to ſupplications, praying that God would be pleaſed to correct the bitterneſs of the water, and to render it fit for uſe. The Almighty inſtantly complied; and Moſes took from the ground a piece of wood, which chanced to lay near at hand, and cleaving it in the middle, threw it into the water; acquainting the Hebrews that God had liſtened to their prayers, and had engaged to provide them with ſuch water as ſhould be fit for drinking; conditionally, that they ſhould yield the moſt implicit obedience to all his commands. This they promiſed; and Moſes ordered them to empty the well of half the water which it contained; aſſuring them that the remainder would, in that caſe, be pure and agreeable. This was accordingly done; and the effect was conſonant to what Moſes had predicted.

They removed from thence to a place called Helim. At a diſtance, this place bore a very flattering appearance, being planted with palm-trees; but upon a nearer approach, the face of things became totally changed; for theſe palm-trees conſiſted of ſeventy only in number, and thoſe too of the dwarf ſpecies; nothing which grew there arriving at maturity, through the mere want of moiſture. Nay, though there were twelve ſprings on this ſpot, neither the trees, plants, nor herbage were in the leaſt benefitted by them, as they never roſe to a ſufficient height to refreſh the earth with their waters. The ſoil was naturally ſandy, and if a vein of water made its appearance by accident, its foulneſs rendered it totally unfit for ſervice.

The ſtock of proviſions, with which the people had furniſhed themſelves for their ſuſtenance for the ſpace of thirty days, was now exhauſted, and no means appeared of obtaining a further ſupply. The reflections ſuggeſted by theſe various calamities plunged the people in abſolute deſpondency; and the impulſe of their preſent wants and miſeries obliterated from their minds the remembrance of all the former mercies of God towards them; whether proceeding directly from him, or whether communicated to them through the medium of his ſervant Moſes, whom they accuſed as the cauſe of all their misfortunes, and threatened with immediate death. In the midſt of this furious tumult, while the people, with ſtones in their hands, were preparing

paring to put their threats in execution, Moſes appeared among them, with that firmneſs and confidence which a faith in God, and conſcious integrity will ever inſpire; and, with a force of elocution peculiar to himſelf, addreſſed them in words to this effect: "You muſt not imagine that the difficulties in "which you are now involved can juſtify your forgetfulneſs of the former "unexampled bounty and mercies of God towards you. And may not pro-"vidence again interpoſe in your favour? It is highly probable that your "preſent afflictions are intended as a trial of your reſignation and gratitude. "Beware, leſt you render yourſelves unworthy of God's favour, by an un-"becoming impatience under misfortunes, by ingratitude for paſt benefits, "and by raiſing a fruitleſs oppoſition to the Divine will; for it is with the "Lord God, who brought you out of the land of Ægypt, that you now "contend. And, with reſpect to your enmity to me, it ariſes ſolely from "my having ſtrictly adhered to the commands of the Almighty. I have "done nothing without his authority, and you cannot charge me with having "deceived you in any one inſtance whatſoever." He then proceeded to remind them of various inſtances of God's kindneſs to them: ſuch as their redemption from the bondage of Ægypt, with the attendant circumſtances; their ſafe paſſage through the Red-Sea, the deſtruction of the Ægyptians, who were drowned in the attempt to follow them; and the miraculous manner in which it pleaſed God to furniſh them with arms, of which they were before utterly deſtitute; with many other particulars of a like kind. "Put "your truſt, therefore," ſaid he, "in the omnipotency of God, which is "incapable of diminution, and ſubmit with patience to every reverſe of for-"tune, in the firm perſuaſion that the Almighty will in due time, extricate "you from all your difficulties. You muſt not, in the preſent caſe, con-"ſider yourſelves as being either forſaken or neglected by Providence; but "it is God's pleaſure hereby to put your reſolution and attachment to free-"dom to the teſt, and to make trial whether you will ſubmit to a temporary "want of food and drink, or whether you are rather determined again to return "to that ignominious ſlavery, from which you have ſo lately been delivered. "I am totally indifferent with regard to whatever may befall myſelf; and "therefore contemn your threats of violence againſt my perſon: but you "will recollect that your own ſecurity is cloſely connected with mine, and "that, ſhould you put me to death, the action would import no leſs than a "reprobation of the decrees even of the Almighty himſelf."

This ſpeech reſtored the moſt violent among the multitude to a degree of reaſon; Moſes himſelf palliating their late unruly conduct, which he modeſtly imputed to the peculiarity of their ſituation. He then withdrew to an adjacent rock, where he offered up ſupplications to God; humbly petitioning him to commiſerate the condition of this unfortunate people; to pardon their intemperate paſſions, and to charge the whole blame of their conduct on the weakneſs of their nature. To this prayer God returned for anſwer, that he would ſpeedily relieve the neceſſities of the people.

Moſes, having obtained this promiſe, returned to the people with joy depicted in his face, which they conſtrued into a good omen; and, forgetting their late ſadneſs, began to aſſume an air of chearfulneſs. He acquainted

them

them with the declaration of the Almighty, that he would quickly take compaſſion on them; which was ſoon afterwards fully verified: for a numerous flight of quails, being over-wearied in their paſſage acroſs the Arabian Gulph, in the neighbourhood of which they are found in great abundance, dropt into the camp of the Hebrews, their ſtrength being totally exhauſted. The people conſidered this circumſtance as an evident interpoſition of Providence in their behalf; and each man eagerly exerted himſelf to procure as large a ſhare as poſſible of this unexpected bounty.

The Almighty, in a ſhort time afterwards, furniſhed them with a ſecond ſupply of food, of a different kind; for it chanced, as Moſes was at his devotions, with his hands ſtretched out towards heaven, a ſort of dew fell on them, and ſticking to them, quickly acquired a conſiderable degree of conſiſtence: Moſes immediately conceived an opinion that this was intended as food for the people, and, taſting it, found to his infinite ſatisfaction that he had not formed a wrong judgment. The populace entertained a notion that, it being now the winter ſeaſon of the year, this dew was nothing more than a kind of ſnow. Moſes ſoon convinced them of their error, and, firſt taſting it himſelf, and then giving it to them to make an experiment, proved to them that it would be found to be a certain preſervative againſt famine: it had ſomething of the flavour of honey, was nearly the ſize of a coriander ſeed, and in its appearance was not unlike bedellium.

The gathering of it cauſed, at firſt, much confuſion and ſtrife among the people, till the matter was regulated by an edict; enjoining all perſons to gather each day an equal quantity, which was limited to the meaſure of an omer; Moſes, at the ſame time, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that they ſhould have a conſtant ſupply of that food. This regulation was made to prevent the ſtronger from gathering a larger portion than ſhould fall to their ſhare, to the prejudice of the weaker part of the community. To enſure obedience to the edict in queſtion, God ordained, that whatever ſhould be gathered by any perſon, over and above the ſpecified quantity, ſhould, on the next day, become putrid, and unfit for food. This dew poſſeſſed one incredible and miraculous property, which was, that all who eat of it preferred it to every other kind of ſuſtenance. To the preſent time, certain dews and rains are common in that country, which nearly reſemble this which Moſes procured by his interceſſion with God. It is ſtyled, by the Hebrews, Manna: the term *Man* ſignifying an interrogation; as if we ſhould ſay, *What is this?* The people expreſſed the utmoſt joy on the occaſion; conſidering this relief as coming immediately from heaven; and this was their ſole ſubſiſtence for the term of forty years, during which they remained in the wilderneſs.

They departed from hence to Rephidim, where they were again greatly diſtreſſed for want of water, not having been able to procure any for the ſpace of ſeveral days. They once more began to reproach Moſes, but he withdrew to a diſtance from them, and offered up prayers to God; beſeeching him that, as he had ſo lately preſerved them from periſhing by hunger, he would now be pleaſed to avert the danger which threatened them, through the want of water. The anſwer which he received was, that God would

grant them a ſupply of water where they ſhould leaſt expect it; ordering him with his rod to ſtrike an adjacent rock, which, in conſequence, ſhould produce a ſufficiency to ſerve their purpoſe. Moſes, hereupon, returned to the people, who were become impatient of his ſtay, and intently gazing on his countenance, to try if they could diſcover the ſucceſs of his ſupplications. He acquainted them that God would relieve them from this calamity alſo, by cauſing a river to flow from that rock. They imagined that they were to have dug a channel for the water through the rock; which to perſons in their exhauſted condition, would have been a work of infinite labour and toil. But they were preſently undeceived; for, Moſes ſtriking his rod upon the rock, a conſiderable ſtream of water guſhed forth, which was equal to chryſtal in clearneſs. It would have been difficult to have decided, whether the people were more aſtoniſhed at the performance of this miracle, or overjoyed at the unexpected relief, the water being perfectly ſweet and palatable. Perceiving by this event that Moſes ſtood highly in favour with the Almighty, the people were now extravagant in their praiſes of him, and offered ſacrifices to God, in token of their gratitude.

There is a paſſage in the holy ſcripture, which is preſerved in the temple at Jeruſalem, mentioning that God had predicted to Moſes all the circumſtances of this miracle, ſome time before it was carried into execution.

CHAP. II.

Five kings enter into a confederacy againſt the Hebrews. Joſhua defeats the Amalekites. The Hebrews arrive at Mount Sinai.

THE whole adjacent country now rang with the fame of the Hebrews; and the rulers of the various provinces entertained ſo ſtrong a dread of their proweſs, that they formed a confederacy among themſelves, the object of which was, either to compel them to retire to a greater diſtance, or otherwiſe, utterly deſtroy them: and, with this view, they ſent ambaſſadors to each other, to concert the neceſſary meaſures. The principal contrivers of this deſign were the Gobolians, and the inhabitants of Petra; theſe were the moſt martial people of thoſe parts, and paſſed under the denomination of Amalekites.

Five kings embarked in this enterprize againſt the Hebrews, and as many of their neighbours as they could prevail upon, they engaged to favour their deſign. "Theſe people," ſaid they, "are a company of vagabonds, who "fled from the ſlavery which they ſuffered in Ægypt, to eſtabliſh themſelves "elſewhere, by forcing others out of their poſſeſſions. The beſt method of "counteracting them will be to attack them immediately, while their army "is yet in an undiſciplined ſtate, and totally unprovided with neceſſaries; "and not to wait till they ſhall have the audacity to invade us. We have "only to fall upon them in their preſent defenceleſs condition, before they "have poſſeſſed themſelves of any places of ſtrength, and we ſhall find them "an eaſy conqueſt." The opinions in the confederate council were various; but

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but, at length, it was determined to commence a war againſt the Hebrews, for the purpoſe of driving them from the borders of their territories.

This determination gave no ſmall alarm to Moſes, and the people were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, by the proſpect of ſo unexpected a war with an enemy who were amply provided with every neceſſary, of which themſelves were totally deſtitute. Moſes, to remove their deſpondency, reminded them of the many proofs they had received of God's favour, and encouraged them to confide in his omnipotence and mercy for an aſſured victory over their enemies. "Deſpiſe," ſaid he, "the advantages of arms, "money, and men; on which your enemies ſo much depend, and rely on "the protection of the Almighty, who has ſo often fought your battles. "Hath he not conſtantly manifeſted himſelf the friend of our nation, and "the foe of the Ægyptians? Finally, remember that the acquiſition of this "victory will put you in poſſeſſion of all the bleſſings of this life: therefore "take courage, and exert yourſelves like men."

This ſpeech revived the drooping ſpirits of the people, and Moſes, convening the leaders and chief perſons of the ſeveral tribes, exhorted the younger part of the aſſembly to pay due attention to the advice of thoſe whom age had rendered more experienced than themſelves, and recommended to the reſt an implicit obedience to the orders of their commander. Their late apprehenſions were now totally diſpelled, inſomuch that they expreſſed the utmoſt contempt of every kind of danger, and manifeſted a vehement deſire of coming to action, in full confidence of obtaining ſuch a victory, as ſhould at once deliver them from all their troubles. They, therefore, earneſtly ſolicited Moſes to lead them inſtantly againſt the enemy, whilſt the ſoldiers continued in ſo favourable a diſpoſition towards an engagement. Moſes, thereupon, ſelected from the multitude a number of men, whom he deemed the beſt qualified for the ſervice they were to go upon, and, forming them into one body, appointed Joſhua, the ſon of Nun, and of the tribe of Ephraim, to be their leader, who was equally famous for his valour and prudence; he was of exemplary piety, a diſciple of Moſes, and one who did honor to the inſtructions of ſo great a maſter. He detached ſeveral parties; ſome to ſecure their water, others to guard their camp, and others to defend the women and children. All the neceſſary preparations were now made for an engagement: the troops lay upon their arms during the night, whilſt Moſes, Joſhua, and the other principal officers of the army, ſat in council, regulating the operations of the enſuing day. When the dawn began to appear, Moſes recommended it to Joſhua and the other commanders of the Hebrews, and alſo to the ſoldiers in general, to fulfill, by their conduct on that day, the expectations which the world had conceived of them, and thereby to acquire immortal fame.

Having thus impreſſed their minds with a due ſenſe of piety, and an eager deſire of glory, Moſes recommended them to the divine protection, and retired to the top of the mountain. The two armies immediately joined battle, and the conteſt was carried on with great obſtinacy on both ſides. Whilſt Moſes held up his hands, the battle went in favour of the Iſraelites; but when, through fatigue, he was incapable of holding them up any longer, the

the Amalekites had the advantage. When Moſes noticed this circumſtance, he deſired Aaron and Hur, the huſband of his ſiſter Mariam, to place themſelves by his ſide, and ſupport his hands; with a ſtrict caution not to ſuffer them to drop again. The Amalekites were utterly routed, and not a man would have eſcaped, had not the darkneſs of the night favoured the flight of the wretched remains of their army.

This victory ſtands unparalleled in the whole hiſtory of our anceſtors; both for the glory of the action, and for the beneficial conſequences with which it was attended; it being a deciſive conqueſt obtained over an invading enemy, the fame of which ſpread terror throughout all the adjacent provinces; and which was, moreover, attended with an immenſe booty. The plunder conſiſted of gold and ſilver plate, veſſels of braſs curiouſly wrought, money, ſplendid arms and habits, horſes, baggage, and other valuable articles. Such was the event of this battle. On the next day, Moſes gave orders to ſtrip the bodies of the dead, and to collect their ſcattered arms: he alſo conferred rewards on thoſe who had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour. Nor did he neglect to aſcribe due praiſe to the merit of the general; giving him public thanks for his conduct on the occaſion, which were confirmed by the ſhouts and acclamations of the whole army. The number of the ſlain of the Amalekites, was ſo great as to baffle all computation; whilſt the Hebrews loſt not a ſingle man in the action. Moſes erected an altar on the ſpot, which he dedicated and inſcribed to *God the Conqueror*, and ſacrificed thereon; predicting, at the ſame time, the total deſtruction of the Amalekites, in conſequence of their treacherous conduct towards the Hebrews, when they were on the verge of periſhing in the wilderneſs. The ſolemnity concluded with feaſtings and rejoicings; Joſhua and the other officers, with the whole army, being entertained by Moſes in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion.

This was the firſt action in which the Hebrews were engaged, from the time of their departure from Ægypt. After having refreſhed themſelves for a few days, they proceeded forwards, with a better regulated and more numerous army than before: the plunder which they took from the Amalekites having enabled them to ſupply a great number of the people with arms. Continuing their progreſs thus, by ſhort marches, they arrived at Mount Sinai, where, as we have already obſerved, God appeared to Moſes in the burning buſh. This was the third month from the time of their leaving Ægypt.

CHAP. III.

Raguel repairs to Mount Sinai, to felicitate his ſon-in-law Moſes on his late ſucceſſes.

WHEN the news of the miraculous ſucceſs which Moſes had experienced was communicated to Raguel, he immediately determined to pay his ſon-in-law a viſit, with the view of congratulating him on the occaſion, and of meeting with his daughter Zipporah and their children. Moſes received him with the greateſt joy imaginable, and, offering up a ſacriſice

crifice to God, feaſted all the people, diſtinguiſhing them according to their tribes and families, on a ſpot not far diſtant from the burning buſh already mentioned. In the midſt of their feſtivity, Aaron, Raguel and the reſt, ſung hymns in honor of the Omnipotent author of their late deliverance: nor did they omit to pay the due tribute of praiſe to the army, and to their preſerver, by whoſe authority and guidance ſo many wiſe and brave men were directed in their proceedings, which were attended with ſuch aſtoniſhing ſucceſs.

CHAP. IV.

The advice of Raguel to Moſes on the ſubject of religion, government, and the management of the troops under his command.

AT a time when Moſes was attending to the judicial appeals of the public, it was obſerved by his father-in-law, that he muſt be greatly embarraſſed by the diverſity of buſineſs in which he was engaged: but, conſcious that the people held his authority in ſo high a reverence as to ſubmit more chearfully to the ſentence of ruin from him, than obtain a partial deciſion in their favour from another tribunal, he judged it not prudent to interrupt the courſe of public juſtice: but when the buſineſs of the day was concluded, he delivered his ſentiments to the following effect: "The matters which occupy "your attention are too numerous and important to be diſpatched by one "man, and as a conſiderable portion of your time is engaged in attending to "the perſonal appeals of individuals, I would recommend to you the ap- "pointment of perſons qualified to act in that department; but it muſt be "your particular function to attend to matters of religion and government; "for there is no man to whom the temporal and eternal welfare of ſo numer- "ous a body of people can be entruſted with ſo much ſafety as with yourſelf.

"The great advantage the people will derive from your aſſiſtance and ad- "vice; the benefits experienced by thoſe whom you relieved in the time of "danger; the ſuperiority of your talents, and the power you poſſeſs of render- "ing yourſelf ſtill more extenſively uſeful, you cannot be unacquainted with. "Now it is my advice that your particular province ſhall be to attend the "offices of divine worſhip, as in that department you will be afforded the "opportunity of promoting your own as well as the public welfare in the "moſt effectual manner; and that the determination of private controverſies "be referred to officers, whom you may appoint. I would farther adviſe "you to a general muſter of the people under your command, and to divide "them into companies, conſiſting each of a thouſand men, and that officers "be inveſted with proper authority for the government and regulation of the "ſeveral companies; then to ſubdivide them into bodies, conſiſting of five "hundred, fifty, thirty, twenty, and ten men each, with officers over each "party, bearing denominations correſpondent to the number under their "command; each company having perſons of approved integrity reſpec- "tively appointed to judge and determine controverſies. But in caſes of in-

" tricacy and importance reſerve to the people the right of appealing for your " final deciſion: and thus you will ſecure to yourſelf the opportunity of diſ- " charging your duty in divine worſhip, both for your own benefit and that " of the people under your command, to whom theſe regulations will ſecure " the due adminiſtration of public juſtice."

This propoſal was highly agreeable to Moſes; and he gave directions for immediately adopting the ſeveral regulations which Raguel had ſuggeſted; and before an aſſembly of the people, acknowledged them to be the production of his father-in-law. In his writings he has warmly diſapproved of arrogating to ourſelves a reputation due to the merit of others; but particular mention will be made of this matter in the progreſs of the preſent work.

CHAP. V.

The law of God is communicated to Moſes upon the Mount Sinai. The ten commandments.

MOSES called an aſſembly of the people, and informed them of his intention of repairing to the mount for the purpoſe of addreſſing himſelf to the Lord, adding, that he entertained the hope of returning with comfortable aſſurances. Having directed them to pitch their tents at the foot of the mount, he aſcended.

Ancient tradition has repreſented the habitation of God to be upon this mount, on the credit of which, the place is held in ſacred veneration: from its extreme height and the craggy diſpoſition of the rocks, it becomes fatiguing to the eye, and appears to be inacceſſible. As Moſes had directed, the Hebrews ſtationed themſelves at the foot of the mountain, where they humbled themſelves before the Lord, and ruminated on the agreeable information promiſed them on the return of their leader During his abſence they obſerved the appointed feſtivals, frequently purified themſelves, and lived in the moſt rigid continence, in obedience to the command impoſed upon them, hourly ſupplicating God to extend his gracious favour to Moſes, and through him, to beſtow upon them what might be deemed expedient towards their happineſs. They feaſted on this occaſion, and their wives and children were dreſſed with more than ordinary pomp. Before ſun-riſe, on the third day, a cloud appeared, covering the whole camp of the Hebrews, every other part of the hemiſphere being remarkably clear; this was the firſt prodigy known of the kind. A violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, wind and rain enſued, intimating that God was preſent. Of this the world will judge; but I muſt obſerve, that it does not come within my province to make the leaſt innovation upon the authority of the holy ſcriptures. So greatly alarmed were the Hebrews by this circumſtance that, with marks of the greateſt conſternation, they cloſely confined themſelves to their tents, admitting the belief that God, in his diſpleaſure, had taken away Moſes, and that they would experience a ſimilar fate. While they were under this terrible apprehenſion Moſes return-

ed, but with ſuch expreſſions of joy and dignity in his countenance, that their fears were removed: the air now recovered its former ſerenity.

Moſes ſummoned the people to attend to what the Lord had commiſſioned him to deliver to them, and having repaired to an eminence for the advantage of being better heard and ſeen, he addreſſed them to the following purpoſe: "As the Divine Being has hitherto proved indulgent to your prayers, "ſo am I now, ye Hebrew men, and brethren, to inform you, that on the "preſent occaſion your meſſenger was received with gracious benignity. Be "aſſured that God will protect your army, and beſtow ſuch directions for the "conduct of life, that you cannot form an idea of greater happineſs than a "punctual obſervance of his commands will enſure to you. If you revere "the Lord for the wonders he hath performed in your favour, diſregard not, "I beſeech you, what I am about to relate. Slight not the commiſſion for "the inſignificancy of the bearer; for, though by the voice of man, it is God "who ſpeaks to you at this moment. Conſider the excellency and advan-"tage of the commiſſion I am charged with, and adore the perſon of that "Being who, for promoting your happineſs, hath deputed me to ſignify his "Divine pleaſure. Do not conſider me as Moſes, the ſon of Amram and "Jochabel, but as the inſtrument of God, by whom the waters of the Nile "were changed into blood, and the Ægyptians diſcomfited by a diverſity of "plagues; who procured a ſafe paſſage through the ſea; obtained food for "you from heaven, and cauſed water to burſt from the rock; inſtituted "Adam lord of the earth; preſerved Noah in the deluge; gave the land of "Canaan into poſſeſſion of our progenitor Abraham; cauſed Sarah to con-"ceive and bring forth Iſaac at the very advanced age of his parents; be-"ſtowed upon Jacob the bleſſing of twelve wonderful ſons, and exalted Jo-"ſeph to the government of Ægypt: you are to conſider me only as the "meſſenger of heaven; for the God who performed the above wonders ho-"nors you with the precepts which I ſhall deliver in obedience to his com-"mands. Preſerve theſe injunctions inviolate, and hold them dearer than "either your wives or children; and your obedience ſhall enſure to you the "bleſſings of a happy life, a numerous offspring, a fertility of the earth, and "an untroubled ſea, and you ſhall be ſo formidable to your enemies that "that they ſhall not preſume to diſpute your ſuperiority; for I have ſpoken "with the Almighty in perſon; I have heard his Divine voice, and am en-"joined to aſſure you that he will ever extend his fatherly protection both to "yourſelves and your progeny."

Having finiſhed this ſpeech, he led the people to a ſpot where they diſtinctly heard the immediate voice of God giving them inſtructions concerning the performance of their duty. To this he was induced by the conſideration, that theſe inſtructions would come with far greater weight from the Deity himſelf, than from the lips of any mortal, however he might be reſpected by them. The voice was diſtinctly heard and underſtood by every one preſent; but, with regard to the commandments, which were comprized in the two tables left by Moſes, we are reſtricted from giving the identical words thereof, but the purport of them is as follows.

1. We are taught, that there is no more than one God, and that he alone is entitled to our adoration.

2. That we are not to worſhip the image, or other repreſentation of any living creature.

3. That every man is bound to abſtain from ſwearing raſhly.

4. That due reverence is to be paid to the ſeventh day, on which we are to deſiſt from all our uſual avocations.

5. That our parents have the ſtrongeſt claim to our obedience and reſpect.

6. That we muſt do no murder.

7. That we are prohibited from committing adultery.

8. That we are not to ſteal the property of another.

9. That we muſt not, in any manner, calumniate the character of others.

And, 10. That it is not allowable, even to wiſh for the poſſeſſion of any thing which belongs to our neighbour.

The people expreſſed great ſatisfaction in hearing from the mouth of the Almighty thoſe particulars which had been before communicated to them by Moſes. A few days only had elapſed, however, when they began to importune Moſes to obtain for them a code of laws, for the regulation of their civil concerns; with which he complied. But I refer my readers, for a more particular account of theſe laws, to a tract which I have written expreſly on the ſubject.

Nearly about this period, Moſes again repaired to the mount, having previouſly acquainted the people with his deſign, that a ſufficient number might be preſent at the time of his retiring thither. As he continued there longer than they had expected, forty days being elapſed before his return, the people began to be apprehenſive for his ſafety; and, in the midſt of their misfortunes, they dreaded nothing ſo much as the being deprived of him by any ſiniſter accident. They were much divided in their ſentiments on the occaſion: ſome, who were not very favourably diſpoſed towards him, inſiſted that he had certainly been devoured by wild beaſts; others, more charitably inclined, fancied that the Almighty had taken him to himſelf; but thoſe of moſt prudence among them, conſidered the matter in both points of view.

"If," ſaid they, "he has in reality been torn in pieces by wild beaſts, it "can only be regarded as one of thoſe caſualties, to which mankind are "continually expoſed. And, with reſpect to the opinion of his being tran- "ſlated to heaven, it is a mere conjecture, ſtrictly conformable to the ex- "alted idea which was univerſally entertained of his virtues." Their grief, however, aroſe rather from their conviction that the loſs of ſuch a leader was totally irreparable, than from any particular affection which they bore him. They, at length, gave up all hopes of his return, and abandoned themſelves, in conſequence, to utter deſpair: nay, they durſt not even remove their camp; having been ordered by him to continue where he left them till he ſhould come back.

At the expiration of forty days, during which he taſted neither food nor drink, Moſes returned to the army, by whom he was received with inconceivable joy. He acquainted them that, as a proof of the Divine favour to them, the Almighty had communicated to him, for their uſe, a ſet of inſtructions

inſtructions which would render their lives virtuous and happy. He further informed them, that it was God's pleaſure that they ſhould build a tabernacle, for his occaſional reſidence among them; whereby the neceſſity of any future journies to Mount Sinai would be precluded, as this tabernacle was ſtill to accompany the army wherever it went. With reſpect to the form and dimenſions of the building, he told them, that he was already provided with full inſtructions; and concluded with producing to them the two tables, on which were inſcribed, by the hand of God himſelf, the ten commandments, five on each table.

CHAP. VI.

By the appointment of God, Moſes erects a ſuperb tabernacle for the Divine worſhip.

THE return of Moſes, and the diſcourſe he held, greatly elevated the affections of the people, who became emulous to ſurpaſs each other in contributions towards the intended ſtructure. Gold, ſilver, copper, ſcarce and valuable wood, that was not ſubject to injury from the worm; precious ſtones ſet in gold, rich perfumes of various kinds; ſcarlet, purple, white and blue ſheep-ſkins; wool of the ſame colours, and cattle for ſacrifices were preſented in great abundance. Some of the people gave in proportion to their poſſeſſions, and others conſiderably more than they could afford without inconvenience. The public contribution being made, Moſes ſelected certain ſkilful architects, and ordered them to forward the building with all poſſible diſpatch, according to the commands he had received from the Almighty. Theſe architects are mentioned in the ſacred Scriptures; one was named Bezaleel, and he was the ſon of Uri of the tribe of Judah, and the other was Aholiab, the ſon of Aheſamath of the tribe of Dan; and of ſo high a reputation were they for proficiency in the art they profeſſed, that they would have been appointed to the employment had the election depended on the voice of the public.

Moſes judging it expedient to put a check upon the extenſive liberality of the people, iſſued a proclamation ſetting forth, that what had been collected was fully ſufficient for the uſe and ſervice of the tabernacle; which was to be ſo contrived as to admit of removal as occaſion might require. In due obſervance of the commands he received from God upon the mount, Moſes gave inſtructions concerning the magnitude and proportion of the building, and the conſtruction of the ſacrificing and other veſſels and utenſils neceſſary in the worſhip of God. In forming the ſacerdotal veſtments the women diſplayed great zeal in the pompous ornaments they provided; and in other reſpects they employed their attention in contributing to the magnificence of the ſtructure, and ſupporting the dignity of the ſacred function.

The materials being prepared, Moſes appointed a feſtival, enjoining every man to attend and offer ſacrifice according to his ability: and when this ceremony was performed, he began to conſtruct the tabernacle, which we ſhall endeavour to deſcribe with all poſſible accuracy.

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In the outward court, which was an hundred cubits in length, and fifty in breadth, were twenty pillars of braſs, placed at equal diſtances, ten pillars being ranged along and ten acroſs the building; each pillar was five cubits high, and decorated with borders and rings of ſilver: the baſes of theſe were of braſs curiouſly wrought and gilt, and were affixed to the earth by means of pins, each of a cubit in length. Cords being paſſed through the rings, bound the ſeveral parts together in ſo compact a manner, as to give it ſufficient firmneſs to withſtand the moſt violent guſts of wind: and, from the cornices, a veil of the fineſt linen wrought with great ingenuity, depended to the very baſes of the ſtructure.

Such were the dimenſions of three of the ſides of this edifice; the front of which was fifty cubits in width. The entrance was twenty cubits wide, with two pillars of wood on each ſide the paſſage. The baſes of theſe were overlaid with braſs, and all the remaining part with ſilver. There were ſix other pillars, three on each ſide, which, for the ſake of ſtrength, were let into each other, and concealed from view by a curtain of exquiſite workmanſhip. The entrance, which, as it has been already obſerved, was twenty cubits wide, was alſo five cubits in depth; and before it hung a veil of fine linen, curiouſly wrought with flowers and figures, in colours of violet, ſcarlet, and purple, but the repreſentation of animated creatures was avoided.

A laver, being a large veſſel of braſs, with a foot of the ſame metal, was placed within the gate of the court, for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet therein.

The tabernacle ſtood in the midſt of the court, with its front to the Eaſt, for the benefit of receiving the rays of the ſun at its riſing. Its length was thirty cubits, its breadth twelve, and its height equal to the breadth. Of its two ſides, one faced the South, and the other the North; and the proſpect from the back-front was towards the Weſt. Each of theſe ſides was formed of twenty planks, of a quadrangular ſhape, a cubit and a half in breadth, and of the thickneſs of four fingers: theſe planks were overlaid with gold; with two tenons, let into as many mortiſes, to each plank, and two baſes of ſilver. The Weſt-front was compoſed of ſix planks, of the ſame kind with the foregoing, which were alſo covered with gold, and were inſerted into each other with ſo much art, that they appeared to be one entire piece. Theſe ſix planks meaſured but nine cubits; but two others, of the ſame dimenſions with reſpect to length and breadth, but much thicker than the reſt, were added to them, and placed in the ſame poſition, one at each end, for the purpoſe of connecting more firmly the two ends and the Weſt-front of the tabernacle together.

Golden rings, or ſtaples, were faſtened to all theſe planks, and they were placed in regular order; anſwering in a direct line to each other. Several bars, plated with gold, and of the length of five cubits, were paſſed thro theſe rings, and, extending from one end to the other, were deſigned to ſtrengthen that diviſion of the building, by compacting its various parts as cloſely as poſſible. The back part of this edifice was furniſhed, in like manner, with bars and rings; the bars being diſpoſed in ſuch order as to

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anſwer to each other. Bolts and ſtaples were alſo fixed at the corners, and theſe, with the aſſiſtance of mortiſes, to bind the different parts together, ſerved to ſecure the tabernacle from the injuries of the weather.

The inner part of this tabernacle conſiſted of three diviſions, each of the length of ten cubits. At the above diſtance from the bottom ſtood four pillars, with equal ſpaces between them; reaching from one ſide of the tabernacle to the other: theſe pillars, and their baſes, were conſtructed on the ſame plan, and with the like materials, as thoſe mentioned before. Beyond theſe pillars, was the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or *Holy of Holies*, into which even the prieſts, to whom all the other parts of the tabernacle were open, were prohibited entrance.

The tabernacle, being thus divided into three parts, appears to bear ſome analogy to the plan of the univerſe. The firſt diviſion, to which the very prieſts were denied acceſs, may be admitted, in ſome meaſure, to reſemble the heavens, as being the reſidence of the Deity: and the two other diviſions, which were free to the prieſts alone, may be conſidered as no unapt emblems of the earth and ſea. Five gilded columns, the baſes of which were braſs, ſtood at the entrance of this tabernacle, with curtains of fine yarn, which were dyed blue, purple, and ſcarlet, and interwoven with each other.

The firſt curtain, which ſerved to ſeparate the *Holy of Holies*, or the ſpace within the four pillars mentioned above, from the *Holy*, by which title the whole remaining part of the tabernacle is diſtinguiſhed, was ten cubits ſquare, and was richly ornamented with flowers, and various other figures; from which, however, thoſe of living creatures were totally excluded. A ſecond curtain, of equal ſize and workmanſhip overſpread the five columns at the entrance of the building, being faſtened with hooks and eyes to the top, and hanging down as low as the middle of the columns; the remaining part being left open for the entrance of the prieſts. This curtain was commonly concealed from view by another of the ſame ſize, placed at a ſmall diſtance from it, but leſs coſtly in its materials and workmanſhip. A number of rings were tacked to the outer curtain, with ſtrings paſſed through them, to draw it up at pleaſure; and, on particular occaſions, to expoſe the inner one to the view of the people. The outer one ſerved at ordinary times, and in bad weather eſpecially, as a kind of fence to that within, from the rain or any other injury. To this day, the ſame ſort of curtain is uſed at the door of the temple.

The tabernacle was covered, both at the top and ſides, with ten pieces of hanging, which reached within a foot of the floor. Theſe hangings were each twenty-eight cubits in length, and of the breadth of four cubits, and were joined together with golden loops, in ſo artificial a manner, that they ſeemed to form one whole piece. Eleven other pieces of the ſame breadth, but longer by two cubits each, than the former; and which were made of goat's hair, inſtead of wool, of which the others were compoſed, ſerved as coverings to the ten abovementioned: and the eleventh was hung againſt the door of the tabernacle, to which office it was particularly deſtined on account of its being the odd number. Over theſe coverings of goat's hair was another of ſkins, to preſerve them from the bad effects of the heat and the rain.

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This ſpectacle, at a diſtance, from its ſky-coloured appearance, ſeemed to many to be an exact repreſentation of the heavens.

The tabernacle being thus compleated; they next began to conſtruct the ark, for which purpoſe they made uſe of a certain wood, which is called Heron by the Hebrews, the extreme hardneſs of which enables it, in a particular manner, to reſiſt either rottenneſs or the worm. The figure and dimenſions of the ark were as follow: The length of it was two cubits and a half, and the breadth and depth one and a half; the whole being overlaid with the fineſt gold, and contrived with ſuch ſkill, both within and without, that not the leaſt part of the wood could be ſeen. A number of golden hooks were employed to cramp together the different parts of the cover, all of which were highly poliſhed and ſo firm as to preclude all danger of their grating againſt each other.

Four golden rings were faſtened to the frame, one at each corner: and through theſe were paſſed two bars of gilt iron, one on either ſide, for the purpoſe of removing the ark from place to place; for the ſole mode of conveyance uſed was that of carrying it on men's ſhoulders, which office was performed by the prieſts and Levites alone. On this cover were placed two winged figures, called by the Hebrews, cherubims; and which correſponded with the deſcription given by Moſes of thoſe beings which he ſaw ſurrounding the throne of God; the like of which no mortal had ever ſeen before. The two tables of the decalogue were depoſited in the ark, which was appointed to be placed in the ſanctuary.

A table, to which that at Delphos bore no ſmall reſemblance, was fixed in this tabernacle; the length being two cubits, the breadth one, and the height a cubit and a half. The feet of this table were round, from the bottom upwards to the middle; but ſquare from thence to the top; with a border projecting from them, of the thickneſs of four fingers, and a crown of gold encompaſſing it on every ſide: theſe feet, in ſhort, exactly reſembled thoſe which the Dorians make uſe of for their beds. Four rings of gold were faſtened beneath this border, into the upper parts of the feet, one to each corner; with gilt bars made of the moſt ſolid wood, to ſerve as handles for removing it as occaſion ſhould require. This table was placed on the North-ſide of the temple, at a ſmall diſtance only from the ſanctuary. Twelve loaves of unleavened bread, ſix on each ſide, continually ſtood on the table, piled regularly one above another. Each loaf contained the quantity of two aſſars, or ſeven attic cotylas, equal to two omers, according to the Hebrew meaſure, of the fineſt flour: and above each pile of loaves was placed a golden diſh filled with incenſe. Theſe loaves were removed at the end of every ſeven days, and the table ſupplied with freſh ones. The ſeventh day is that which we term our *ſabbath*. But of this we ſhall ſpeak more at large in a ſubſequent part of the work.

On the South-ſide, directly oppoſite to the tabernacle, ſtood a candleſtick, caſt in gold, and hollowed throughout; the weight thereof being one hundred mines, called by the Hebrews, cincharas, and by the Greeks, a talent. The ornaments of this candleſtick conſiſted of bowls, lillies, pomgranates, and ſmall cups, amounting to ſeventy pieces, and were ſpread over the ſeven branches,

branches, anſwering to the number of the planets, of which the candleſtick was compoſed. Each branch was ſurmounted with a lamp, and, as the candleſtick ſtood in an oblique poſition, all theſe lamps fronted towards the Eaſt and South.

In the ſpace between the aforeſaid candleſtick and table, a ſmall altar of incenſe was placed, which was conſtructed with the ſame impenetrable kind of wood with the ark. The length and breadth of this altar were each one ſquare cubit, and the height two cubits; with a golden fire-hearth, encompaſſed with a border of the ſame metal, and rings and ſtaves, for the convenience of removing it.

In the front of the tabernacle, another altar was erected, of the ſame kind of wood with the former; being five cubits ſquare, and three in height. It was framed upon the ſame model with that before-mentioned, with this diſtinction only, that every part of it was overlaid with braſs, and that a grate, formed of a kind of net-work, was fixed in the middle ſpace between the top and bottom, to admit the paſſage of the aſhes. A number of funnels, phials, cenſers, cups, pans, and other inſtruments were alſo provided for the ſervice of the altar, all which were made of fine gold. Theſe are the ſole particulars worthy notice, relative to the conſtruction of the tabernacle, and to the various inſtruments appertaining to the uſe thereof.

CHAP. VII.

Reſpecting the garments of the prieſts, high-prieſts; the purifications and feſtivals.

WE ſhall now give a deſcription of the garments worn by the inferior prieſts, ſtyled, by the Hebrews, Chaanæans, and alſo by the high-prieſt, whom they diſtinguiſh by the title of Anarabaches: and it will be proper to begin with the former. Every prieſt was prohibited from exerciſing the office, till he had firſt been purified, in the uſual forms preſcribed by our law. The under garment which he wore was made of fine linen, twined in folds, and is called a manachaſe, or binder, by the Hebrews, and in ſhape much reſembles our trowſers, or drawers. The prieſt, in putting it on, drew it over his feet, and it was open from the top downwards, and cloſely tied upon the hips.

Over this was a coat of very fine linen, called chethemene, ſignifying a linen cloth; chethon being the term uſed for flax, of which linen is made. It ſat very cloſe to the body, having narrow ſleeves, reaching to the ground. This garment was faſtened about the waiſt with a linen girdle, of the breadth of four fingers, and ornamented with needle-work of divers colours, ſo ingeniouſly executed, as to reſemble, in a conſiderable degree, the ſkin of a ſnake. Various flowers and figures, in blue, purple, and ſcarlet, were embroidered on this girdle, which paſſed twice round the body of the prieſt, and, for ornament ſake, was ſuffered to hang down to his feet, except on thoſe occaſions when he was engaged in the duties of his office, at which times he threw it back over his left ſhoulder, that he might have his hands the more at liberty. This girdle was called abaneth by Moſes; but

we now term it emian; a word which we have borrowed from the Babylonians. There was neither plait nor fold in this garment, which was made wide at the neck, and was held together with a buckle, both before and behind: the Hebrews have given it the name of maſſabaanzes.

The prieſts alſo wore a ſort of mitre or cap, called maſnaemphthes, which reſembled a ſmall helmet, and covered little more than one half of the head. This cap was made of linen, and being bound about the head with a filler, covered with another of finer texture, and this came ſo low, as totally to conceal the under one, and to ſecure it from all danger of falling off, while the prieſt was performing ſacrifice. What has been ſaid will ſuffice, on the ſubject of the habits of the inferior prieſts in general.

Excluſive of the habits and ornaments above-mentioned, the high-prieſt was accuſtomed to wear certain others, to which he was entitled by his office: ſuch as the methir, which is a purple robe reaching to his ancles, and is faſtened round him with a girdle, nearly reſembling that already deſcribed, except that the ornaments were variegated with gold. A fringe went round the bottom of this veſt, which was alſo ornamented with curious pomgranates and bells of gold, placed interchangeably, and at equal diſtances. This robe was without ſeam, and had two openings in it, both lengthways; the one reaching a little below the ſhoulders, and the other to the middle of the breaſt, with a border to conceal thoſe openings, and another to cover the parts through which the arms were to paſs into the ſleeves.

The prieſt wore over this garment another, which greatly reſembled the epomis of the Greeks, according to the deſcription which has been given us of the latter, and was named the ephod. The length of it was a cubit, and it was embroidered in every part with gold and a great variety of the moſt beautiful colours: it had alſo ſleeves to it; and thus was in reality nothing more than a ſhort coat.

Upon the middle of the breaſt of this robe was left a vacancy for receiving the eſſen, which by the Greeks is called logion, ſignifying the *Oracle*, or in the Latin, *Rationale*. To the corners of the eſſen were affixed rings of gold, through which purple ribbons were paſſed for the purpoſe of faſtening the eſſen and the ephod together. The ſeams and ſpaces were concealed by ſtrings of a colour correſpondent to the veſtment, being wrought over them. On each ſhoulder, the high-prieſt wore a ſardonyx ſet in gold, and theſe ſtones anſwered the purpoſe of claſps by cloſing the parts of the ephod. The names of Jacob's twelve ſons were engraven upon the above-mentioned ſtones in Hebrew characters; that worn on the right ſhoulder bearing the names of the ſix elder, and the other thoſe of the younger brethren. The eſſen was enriched by twelve ſtones of beautiful appearance and ineſtimable value; on theſe twelve ſtones the names of Jacob's twelve ſons were reſpectively engraven, according to the order of their births; and this diſtinction was given on account of their being eſteemed the ſuperiors of our ſeveral tribes. They were made faſt by ſmall partitions of gold, and diſpoſed into four rows; the firſt conſiſting of a ſardonyx, a topaz and an emerald; the ſecond a ruby, a jaſper and a ſapphire; the third a lygryus, an amethyſt and an agat; and the fourth a chryſolite, an onyx and a beryl. As a farther ſupport to the weight of theſe precious ſtones, two other faſtenings were con-

veyed to the upper part of the eſſen, and to them were joined two gold chains, worked in wreaths, and reaching to the ſhoulder-piece; the upper ends of the chains were carried about the back and hooked behind the border of the ephod. A girdle of the colour of the robe was alſo joined to the eſſen, and this paſſing twice round the body, was formed in a knot before, where the ends, depending from the waſte, were terminated by taſſels of gold fringe, curiouſly wrought.

The tiara, or mitre of the high-prieſt, differed no otherwiſe from that of the inferior prieſts, than in being covered with another, of a purple or violet colour, and ſurmounted with a triple crown of gold. A kind of cup, much reſembling the bud of a plant which is called, by the Hebrews, ſaccharus, and hyoſcyamos by the Greeks, was placed over this crown. But, for the information of thoſe to whom this plant is utterly unknown, or known by name only, it may not be amiſs to ſubjoin a ſhort deſcription of it. The plant in queſtion, grows uſually to the height of ſomething more than two ſpans; the root of it bearing ſome reſemblance to that of a turnip, and its leaf to mint. The bud is ſhaped like a round knob, and is encloſed in a coat, which cracks and falls off, in proportion as the fruit grows ripe. This cup which, as I before obſerved, was placed over the golden crown, was much about the ſize of the joint of a man's little finger, and round and hollow, like the inſide of a gobler; but, for the benefit of the reader, I will explain myſelf a little more fully on the ſubject. It was partly of a hemiſpherical figure, narrow towards the top, and widening itſelf towards the brims, like a pomgranate cut in two: nature had furniſhed it with a cover, ſo curiouſly rounded, that it ſeemed to have been turned for the purpoſe, and from this there aroſe a number of ſharp points, reſembling the prickles of a pomgranate: and within this cup was the fruit contained. Its ſeed was ſhaped like that of the plant ſideritis, or wall-ſage, and it bore a flower which differed very little in its appearance from that of plantane. Such was the figure of the ornaments on that part of the mitre which reached from the neck round to the temples; but on that part which covered the forehead, was fixed a golden plate, on which was inſcribed the holy name of God. It is unneceſſary to add any thing further, reſpecting the habits of the high-prieſt.

But here I cannot refrain from expreſſing my ſurprize at the effrontery of thoſe who pretend to condemn us, as being guilty of blaſphemy, and of contemning the worſhip of the Deity. Every one who pays due attention to the foregoing particulars reſpecting the ſtructure of the tabernacle, the ſacerdotal garments, and the various veſſels and inſtruments appertaining to the ſervice of the altar, muſt neceſſarily be convinced that our legiſlator was a pious man, and that thoſe accuſations have no other baſis than the malice of our enemies. For, to any man who deliberately and candidly examines the matter, it will plainly appear, that the whole bears a ſtrict analogy to the ſtructure of the univerſe. The three diviſions of the tabernacle may be, with great propriety, compared to the earth, the ſea, and the heavens; the two firſt of which diviſions were open to the prieſts in general, whilſt every perſon was forbid to enter into the laſt; it being peculiarly appropriated to the reſidence of the Almighty. The twelve months of the year are ſignified by the ſame number of loaves of ſhew-bread, which were placed

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on the table mentioned above. The ſeven lamps over the branches of the golden candleſtick, refer to the ſeven planets; and the ſeventy pieces of which the candleſtick is compoſed, denote the twelve ſigns of the zodiac. The four colours which are wrought into the curtains, as well as the curtains themſelves, are intended to repreſent the four elements. The earth, from which the flax is produced, may be conſidered as being typified by the fine linen. The ſea is repreſented by the purple colour, which derives its origin from the blood of the fiſh murex. The violet colour is an emblem of the air, as the ſcarlet is of the fire. With reſpect to the garment of the high-prieſt, the linen of which it is compoſed repreſents the whole earth, and its violet colour the heavens. The pomgranates refer to the lightning, and the noiſe of the bells to the thunder. The ephod, with its four ſeveral colours, has a reference to the very nature of the univerſe; and the intermixture of gold, which we obſerve in it, may, in my opinion, be conſidered as regarding the rays of the ſun. The eſſen, or rationale, which is placed in the middle of the garment, denotes the ſituation of the earth in the center of the univerſe. The girdle which paſſes round the body of the prieſt, is a ſymbol of the ſea, environing the earth. The ſun and moon may be ſuppoſed to be expreſſed by the two ſardonyx ſtones; and either the twelve months, or the ſigns of the zodiac, by the twelve other ſtones. The violet colour of the tiara reſembles heaven; and it would have manifeſted a great want of reverence to the Deity to have inſcribed his ſacred name on any other colour. The ſplendor and majeſty of the ſupreme Being are ſignified by the triple crown, and the plate of gold.

Thus have I illuſtrated the ſubject with all neceſſary perſpicuity: nor would I, on this or any other occaſion, let ſlip an opportunity of doing all poſſible honor and juſtice to the character of our incomparable legiſlator.

CHAP. VIII.

Aaron conſtituted a high-prieſt by Moſes.

THE Almighty appeared to Moſes, and commanded him to appoint his brother Aaron to the prieſt-hood, ſaying that, of all men, he was moſt worthy of the exaltation. Hereupon Moſes aſſembled the people, and in a moſt pathetic manner repreſented to them the great virtues of his brother Aaron, mentioning that he had repeatedly expoſed his life to imminent danger for the public welfare, for which he entertained the moſt zealous attachment. They admitted the propriety and juſtice of the recommendation, and Moſes proceeded in the following manner: "We have now, ye good peo-
"ple of Iſrael, executed the work which the Almighty enjoined us to, ac-
"cording to our beſt abilities. But as it remains now to be conſecrated,
"and as the ſupreme Being will vouchſafe to honor the ſtructure with his
"ſacred preſence, the nomination of a high-prieſt, qualified for the exerciſe
"of the ſacerdotal function, is a matter claiming our moſt ſerious conſidera-
"tion. As men have naturally a partiality to themſelves, I freely acknow-
"ledge that I ſhould aſſume this honourable diſtinction with a high degree

" of ſatisfaction, and, indeed, conſider myſelf as being in ſome meaſure " entitled to it, on account of the perils and hardſhips I have encountered in " the cauſe of the people. But, in the preſent inſtance, it ſo happens, that " the Almighty, whoſe ſervant the high-prieſt peculiarly is, has already " ordained Aaron to the office, as being the moſt deſerving of that dignity. " From this time, therefore, Aaron is to officiate at the altar, and to offer " up his prayers to God in your favour; which muſt, doubtleſs, prove the " more effectual, as coming from a mediator appointed by the Almighty " himſelf."

The people unanimouſly coincided in the appointment of Aaron; than whom no man had a better claim to the prieſt-hood, either with regard to the high rank of his family, or the gift of prophecy with which he was endued. Superadded to theſe conſiderations, the public were greatly influenced in his favour on account of his relationſhip to Moſes, whoſe extraordinary qualities had procured him a high degree of veneration. At this period, Aaron had four ſons, whoſe names were Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.

The ſurplus of what had been collected towards building the tabernacle Moſes ordered to be expended in veils and coverings for the edifice in queſtion, the golden candleſtick, the altar of incenſe, and the other ſacred veſſels, in order to ſecure them from damage, in caſe of removal. He afterwards aſſembled the people, and laid a tax on them of half a ſhekel each perſon, to defray the expences of the work; computing four Attic drachmas to the Hebrew ſhekel: and to this they ſubmitted with all imaginable chearfulneſs. The number of thoſe upon whom this tax was levied was 605,550; who were all denizens, and from twenty to fifty years of age. The money thus raiſed was wholly appropriated to the ſervice of the tabernacle.

The next buſineſs which engaged the attention of Moſes was that of purifying the tabernacle, and the prieſts who were ordained to offer ſacrifice; and this was performed in the following manner: he mixed five hundred ſhekels-worth of the fineſt myrrh with an equal quantity of iris, to which he added half that quantity of cinnamon and balſam, both articles remarkable for their fragrancy. Theſe ingredients, being firſt pounded together, and ſteeped in a hin, equal to two Attic choas, of the beſt olive oil, were ſet over the fire, and melted down into an ointment of the moſt pleaſing odour conceivable. The ceremony of purification conſiſted in anointing the prieſts and the tabernacle with this ointment, and in offering up certain ſacrifices, of different kinds, in the tabernacle.

I will not tire the patience of the reader with the relation of all the particulars relative to the golden altar of perfumes, and the oblations made thereon; but ſhall briefly obſerve, that incenſe was offered upon it twice a day, a ſhort time before ſun-riſe, and about the hour of its ſetting; and that the lamps of the holy candleſtick were conſtantly ſupplied with purifying oil; three alone being kept burning during the day, and the reſt were lighted up in the evening. The names of the two principal artizans, who were employed to ſuperintend the conſtruction of this edifice were Bezaleel and Aholiab; but the moſt expert workman was Bezaleel. The whole work was compleat-

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ed in the courſe of ſeven months, and within the term of one year from their departure from Ægypt.

The dedication of the tabernacle, and of all the veſſels belonging thereto, took place in the year following, on the new moon of the month Xanthicus, or Niſan. The Almighty, on this occaſion, gave the Hebrews a convincing proof of his gracious acceptance of their zeal for his ſervice, by deſcending to take poſſeſſion of the building which they had erected for his reſidence. The circumſtances attending this miraculous event were as follow: The ſky was totally clear, ſave juſt over the tabernacle, which was covered as well as partly environed, with a cloud, neither ſo thick as to indicate the approach of bad weather, yet ſufficiently opaque to intercept the ſight. From this cloud iſſued ſo gentle and refreſhing a dew, as convinced all true believers that God himſelf had deigned to viſit them in perſon on the occaſion.

Moſes, after having rewarded the various artizans who had been employed in erecting and ornamenting the edifice, according to their reſpective merits, offered up, in the door-way of the tabernacle, a bullock, a ram, and a kid, as an atonement for the ſins of the people, in obedience to the orders which he had received from the Almighty on that ſubject. When the beaſts were killed, Moſes took a part of the blood of each animal, and ſprinkled Aaron and his ſons therewith; after this, he purified them with water of the fountain, and anointed them with oil; and thus were they conſecrated prieſts of the Lord. This ceremony was performed for ſeven ſucceſſive days, on each day an oblation or ſacrifice being made to heaven. Moſes appointed the celebration of a feſtival on the eighth day, and on this occaſion, enjoined the people to provide ſuch ſacrifices as their circumſtances would permit. They not only acquieſced in this order with chearfulneſs, but with an emulative piety ſtrove to excel each other in the value of their offerings. No fire had been carried to the altar; but when the ſacrifices were prepared and laid thereon, a flame, reſembling a flaſh of lightning, burſt forth and conſumed them, to the amazement of the ſpectators.

Had not Aaron been perfectly reſigned to the will of the Almighty, his ſorrow muſt have been extreme and inconſolable on account of the judgment of heaven upon Nadab and Abihu, the two eldeſt of his four ſons. Diſregarding the injunction of Moſes, they were preparing to ſacrifice, according to the ancient manner, when they were ſtruck to death by a judicial fire from heaven. Moſes directed their father and brothers to convey their remains out of the camp, and cauſe them to be interred in a proper manner. The people gave way to the moſt immoderate grief for the loſs of theſe brothers: but Moſes exhorted Aaron and his remaining ſons to bear the ſhock of this dreadful circumſtance with a becoming fortitude, obſerving that it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the prieſt-hood to indulge the weakneſſes and private paſſions of humanity, in prejudice of the glory of the univerſal Creator.

Moſes paid no regard to the acclamations of the multitude, but entirely reſigned himſelf to the worſhip and ſervice of God, conducting himſelf as a private individual, excepting only that he continued to perform the duties of

his holy function. Inſtead of repairing to Mount Sinai, he now retired to the tabernacle for inſtructions to regulate his conduct for the public advantage. He delivered to the people written laws and precepts for rendering them acceptable in the ſight of the Almighty, and for the preſervation of peace and unanimity. Of theſe laws, which were imparted to him by God, further will be ſaid in the progreſs of the work.

I ſhall here obſerve, that to preclude the poſſibility of impoſition upon the world, by aſſuming the ſemblance of the holy veſtments, and a vain pretention to the gift of prophecy, when the Almighty condeſcended to honor the ſacrifices with his preſence, ſome ſignal evidence was given indiſputably proving the divine viſitation. For example; the ſardonyx, which the high-prieſt wore on his right ſhoulder (with the nature of which ſtone every one is ſufficiently acquainted) diſplayed a ſupernatural brilliancy whenever the Almighty approved the oblations which were offered up to him; nor has the fact ever been doubted by any, except ſuch as endeavour to acquire a reputation for wiſdom, by affecting a thorough contempt of our religion. But I ſhall mention one other inſtance, which is ſtill more extraordinary than the former. When God was, at any time, in conſequence of our ſupplications, diſpoſed to grant us a victory, the twelve precious ſtones in the eſſen, or rationale, emitted ſo dazzling a luſtre, as gave the people the moſt perfect aſſurance of the ſucceſs of their prayers. From hence it ariſes that thoſe among the Greeks who view our religious ceremonies with a favourable eye, and have themſelves been witneſſes to the above miracle, have given to the eſſen the title of logion, ſignifying, in their language, an *oracle*. But both the ſardonyx and the eſſen have loſt this ſupernatural quality for upwards of two hundred years paſt, on account of the violent diſpleaſure which the Almighty has conceived againſt us for our ſins. I ſhall now reſume my narrative, leaving what I may have further to ſay on the foregoing ſubject, to another opportunity.

The conſecration of the tabernacle, and of all thoſe things which were deſtined to its ſervice, being now compleated, the people gave an unbounded looſe to their joy, which they expreſſed in continual hymns and ſacrifices; flattering themſelves that, as the Almighty had now condeſcended to take up his reſidence among them, all their difficulties would be at an end, and that they ſhould for the reſt of their lives enjoy an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity. All the tribes offered ſacrifice, both jointly, and ſeparately; and the leaders and princes of the different tribes brought each ſix waggons, drawn by two horſes, to aſſiſt in removing the tabernacle, in caſe of need: to theſe they added a charger weighing one hundred and thirty ſhekels, and a ſilver bowl of ſeventy ſhekels, both filled with fine flour mixed with olive-oil, and intended for the oblations; with an incenſe-cup, filled with perfumes, and eſtimated at the value of ten darieks. Their burnt-offering conſiſted of a young bullock, a ram, and a lamb of a year old; and, for their ſin-offering, they ſacrificed a he-goat. They alſo ſacrificed each day two bullocks, five rams, as many lambs of the firſt year, and a like number of he-goats, for their peace-offerings: and theſe ſacrifices were continued at the rate of one each day, for the term of twelve days.

Moſes

Moſes now, as I have already obſerved, conſtantly repaired to the tabernacle inſtead of Mount Sinai, to receive inſtructions from the Deity, relative to the laws which were to be eſtabliſhed for the government of the Hebrews; which, being of divine origin, and far above all human comprehenſion, were entitled to an implicit and perpetual obedience from thoſe for whoſe benefit they were promulgated. But I ſhall ſpeak more fully to the point in a tract which I ſhall devote wholly to that ſubject.

CHAP. IX.

Of ſacrifices and purifications.

SACRIFICES are either public or private, and there are two modes of celebration. One is called a burnt-offering, or holocauſt, ſignifying that *the whole ſacrifice is to be burnt*. The burnt-offering of a private man conſiſts of a bullock, a lamb, and a goat: they muſt be males, and the two latter not more than a year old, though the firſt may ſomewhat exceed that age. Being killed, the prieſt ſprinkles the blood of the animal about the altar, and after being divided, ſalt is thrown upon the parts, and they are laid upon the wood, which is previouſly kindled to conſume them. The entrails and feet being waſhed by the prieſt, he caſts them into the flames, to be entirely conſumed with the other parts of the offering. The ſkins are the property of the prieſt.

For peace-offerings, or offerings of thankſgivings, the ſame ſpecies of creatures, being male and female, upwards of a year old, and free from blemiſh, are ſacrificed. The prieſt ſprinkles the altar with blood, and lays thereon the kidneys, caul, fillets of the liver, and the rump of the lamb. The breaſt and right ſhoulder belong to the prieſt. The perſons who offer the ſacrifices are allowed to eat of what remains for the ſpace of two days, but what is not conſumed in that time muſt be burnt.

The ſin-offering is performed in the ſame manner; but ſuch as cannot provide the above ſacrifices are allowed to ſubſtitute two young pigeons, or two turtles; one as a burnt-offering and the other as a due to the prieſt.

A lamb, or young ſhe-goat, is the offering for the ſin of ignorance: and in this ceremony the prieſt only ſprinkles the corners of the altar with blood; after which he places upon the altar the kidneys, the caul and the fibres of the livers of the ſacrifices. The fleſh and the ſkin belong to the prieſts, in virtue of their office, and our law expreſſly orders that the whole of the fleſh ſhall be eaten on the day of ſacrifice.

If a man is guilty of a wilful ſin, of which no legal evidence can be adduced againſt him, he ſhall offer a ram, as an atonement; the fleſh of which ſhall be given to the prieſts; conditionally, that it be eaten in the tabernacle, and on the ſame day. The ſole difference between the ſin-offering of a private perſon and that of one of the heads of the tribes was, that the oblation of the latter conſiſted of a bull and a he-goat, inſtead of a ram, which was required from the former.

It

It was alſo ordained that in all ſacrifices, whether private or public, a certain quantity of fine flour ſhould be brought with each victim: the proportion being one aſſar to a lamb, two for a ram, and three to a bullock; and this was to be mixed with oil previous to its conſecration. The proportion of oil uſed on theſe occaſions was, half a hin to a bullock; a third part of one of thoſe meaſures to a ram, and a fourth part to a lamb. A like quantity of wine was alſo provided for the ſame purpoſe, and was by the law ordered to be poured upon the altar. The method of offering fine flour, without ſacrificing, for the performance of a vow, was to ſpread a handful of it upon the altar, and to deliver the reſt to the prieſt, to be eaten either boiled, or being kneaded with oil, or made into cakes; the perſon ſacrificing, at the ſame time, reſerving ſuch a quantity as he deemed requiſite for burnt-offerings. It is prohibited by the law to ſacrifice the young with the dam, unleſs the former be at leaſt eight days old. Divers ſacrifices are appointed for the recovery of health, and in other caſes; on all ſuch occaſions, cakes are eaten with the fleſh of the victims, and the prieſts are admitted to take their ſhare; but no part of it is allowed to be left till the next day.

CHAP. X.

Abſtract of the laws relating to the prieſts, the ſacrifices, ſolemn days, and other matters, as well civil as religious.

IT is alſo ordained by the law, that a lamb of the firſt year ſhall be ſacrificed every morning and evening, the charge to be defrayed out of the public treaſury, and on the ſeventh day, or ſabbath, two are to be offered up in like manner. At the beginning alſo of every month, excluſive of the cuſtomary oblations, ſeven lambs, each one year old, and a ram were ſacrificed; likewiſe a he-goat, as a propitiation for ſin, leſt any offence ſhould, perchance, remain unexpiated.

At the commencement of the ſeventh month, called Hyperberetæus, the offering conſiſted of a bullock, a ram, ſeven lambs, and a he-goat, for a ſin-offering.

The tenth day of the ſame month was obſerved as a faſt till night; and the offerings were a young bullock, two rams, ſeven lambs, and a he-goat for a propitiation, excluſive of two other goats; one of which was preſented alive at the altar, and afterwards ſuffered to go looſe into the wilderneſs, as a ſcape-goat, to atone for the ſins of the people: the other goat and the bullock were conveyed to a clean ſpot, at a ſmall diſtance from the camp, and there totally conſumed to aſhes. The high-prieſt afterwards returned to the temple, with the blood of the two animals, which he ſprinkled with his finger, ſeven times, on the cover of the tabernacle, the golden altar, the great altar which ſtands before the door, the floor, and, in general, the whole edifice: the bullock was provided on the occaſion by the high-prieſt. The extremities, together with the kidneys, the fat, and part of the liver, were placed on the altar; and, with a ram, which was

alſo furniſhed by the high-prieſt, were all ſacrificed to the Almighty, as a burnt-offering.

The people received orders to put their tents in ſuch a condition, by the fifteenth day of the ſame month, as to reſiſt the rigour of the approaching winter; and they were further enjoined, immediately upon their entrance into the promiſed land, to repair to the capital, as being the place deſtined for the ſeat of the holy temple, and there to ſolemnize a feſtival of eight days, with burnt-offerings, oblations, and peace-offerings; carrying in their hands branches of myrtle, willow and palms, with ſmall ſprigs of the peach-tree.

The firſt of the eight days was ſet apart for the burnt-offering, which was to conſiſt of thirteen young bullocks, fourteen lambs, two rams, and a goat, for a propitiatory ſacrifice. A like number of the lambs and rams were daily offered up for the ſpace of ſix days; but of the bullocks, one was abated in the ſacrifice of each day, till they amounted to no more than ſeven. The eighth was to be kept as a day of reſt and relaxation; and the people offered up, as I have already obſerved, a calf, a ram, ſeven lambs, and a goat, for an atonement. In commemoration of this incident of the Hebrews erecting their tents, was the feaſt of tabernacles inſtituted; and it is to this day obſerved by our people with all imaginable ſtrictneſs. On the fourteenth of the moon, of the month Xanthicus, or Niſan, which is conſidered as the beginning of the year, we celebrate the feaſt of the paſſover, as did our anceſtors at the time of their deliverance from the yoke of the Ægyptians: in the celebration of this feſtival, we are enjoined by our laws to take eſpecial care not to leave any part of the oblation till the next day.

The feaſt of unleavened-bread, which continues ſeven days, commences on the fifteenth of the ſame month, and is next in ſucceſſion to that of the paſſover. The oblations directed to be made on this occaſion are, two bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs, for a burnt-offering, and a goat each day, for a ſin-offering, for the benefit of the prieſts. The people, on the ſecond day of the feaſt, and the ſixteenth of the month, offer up an oblation to God of the firſt fruits of their grain, before they preſume to taſte of it themſelves. The mode of the oblation is as follows: they parch a quantity of corn in the ear on a clean hearth, and having bruiſed it well, they take the quantity of an aſſar, and place it upon the altar, where one handful of it is ſuffered to remain, and the reſt falls to the ſhare of the prieſt. The people are then permitted to reap their corn as they pleaſe; and the oblation uſual in this caſe, is a lamb for a holocauſt, or burnt-offering.

The feaſt of pentecoſt was celebrated on the fiftieth day, that is at the concluſion of ſeven weeks, or forty-nine days, ſubſequent to that of the paſſover: the term pentecoſt ſignifies in the Greek tongue, *fifty*; which number is denoted in the Hebrew, by the term aſſartha, by which title the above feaſt is diſtinguiſhed by the Jews. The ſacrifice appointed for this day was two wheaten loaves of leavened-bread, containing two aſſars of flour, and the ſame number of lambs, which were to be eaten in the evening by the prieſts: but no part thereof was to be reſerved till the next day. The burnt-offerings were three calves, two ſheep, fourteen lambs, and two goats,

for an atonement for ſin. There were alſo various other ordinances, regulating the number and quality of the burnt-offerings, and the times in which they were allowed a relaxation from labour, in their ſeveral feaſts; together with certain rules, preſcribing which of the ſacrifices might be eaten.

The quantity of twenty-four aſſars of fine flour was alſo appointed to be taken out of the public ſtock, and to be made into loaves of leavened-bread, each loaf to contain two aſſars. It was further ordered that this bread ſhould be baked on the eve of the ſabbath, and placed the next morning on the holy table, forming two piles, each conſiſting of ſix loaves, which were to be placed oppoſite each other, with a golden cup of incenſe on the top of each pile: and theſe loaves were to remain till the next ſabbath-day, when they were to be given to the prieſt, and their places ſupplied with others. The incenſe was to be renewed in the like manner; and that which was taken away was ordered to be thrown into the holy-fire, in which the burnt-offerings were conſumed. The quantity of an aſſar of fine flour ſteeped in oil, and ſlightly baked, was offered by the high-prieſt twice a day; the one half in the morning, and the remainder in the evening. But I ſhall add nothing further on the ſubject at preſent; as I ſhall be under the neceſſity of ſpeaking more amply thereon in another part of the work.

CHAP. XI.

The Levites are ſelected to perform the ſervice of the altar. Particulars reſpecting thoſe meats and perſons which are deemed clean and unclean. The laws relating to women in child-bed, and to caſes of adultery and jealouſy.

MOSES, having ſeparated the tribe of Levi from the reſt of the people, to officiate at the altar, purified them with water from the ſpring; and, after they had ſacrificed in the manner preſcribed by our law, committed to their care the tabernacle, the holy veſſels, and all things elſe thereunto appertaining, under the controul of the prieſts; and they were from this time conſidered as being conſecrated to the ſervice of the Deity.

At the ſame time Moſes inſtructed the people in thoſe points which conſtituted the difference between meats clean and unclean; or thoſe which were allowed and thoſe which were prohibited from being eaten: but we ſhall ſpeak further with reſpect to this matter as opportunity ſhall offer. They were ſtrictly enjoined to abſtain from the blood of every kind of creature whatever, upon a ſuppoſition that the very being of the animal was inherent therein: nor is the fleſh of any creature that hath died of itſelf; or the fat either of goats, ſheep, or oxen to be eaten under any pretext whatever.

All lepers and ſuch as were infected with a gonorrhæa, were obliged to retire from the city; and, in like manner, women, during the time of their courſes, were enjoined to withdraw themſelves from all communication with the other ſex for the ſpace of ſeven days, at the expiration of which they were conſidered as being purified, and were allowed to return to their families.

milies. Thoſe who had aſſiſted at the interment of a corpſe were alſo deemed unclean for the ſeven ſucceeding days. But when the term of the pollution extends beyond ſeven days, the party muſt offer two lambs; one of which muſt be ſacrificed, and the other given to the prieſts. The ſame oblation muſt be made by thoſe who are ſubject to nocturnal pollutions; and they muſt beſides, bathe themſelves in cold water, as men uſually do after having been carnally connected with their lawful wives. Leprous perſons are totally baniſhed the city, and excluded from all human converſation. But if it ſo happens that God is graciouſly pleaſed to free any perſon from this dreadful diſtemper, and to re-inſtate him in his former health, the party on whom ſuch bleſſing is conferred, is bound to offer various ſacrifices, in gratitude for the benefit beſtowed: but of this I ſhall ſpeak more amply hereafter. This, however, is ſufficient to expoſe the falſity of that ſtory, in which it is aſſerted that Moſes was expelled from Ægypt as a Leper, and that all his followers were infected with the ſame diſorder, in a greater or leſs degree. For, had this been the caſe, a regard for his own honor would have induced him, inſtead of enacting a ſimilar law, to have oppoſed every attempt towards its eſtabliſhment, with all his influence; eſpecially as, in many parts of the world, lepers, inſtead of being held in contempt and abhorrence, were often preferred to poſts of truſt and profit, both in the military, eccleſiaſtical, and civil departments of the ſtate. If Moſes and the bulk of the people were in reality tainted with this diſeaſe, how happens it that he did not rather make regulations in favour of thoſe afflicted with it? And it is now fully apparent that this degrading report is utterly devoid of truth, and has been propagated merely with the malevolent deſign of caſting an odium on ourſelves and our religion. But Moſes, who was free from blemiſh in his own perſon, and was aſſociated with thoſe who were equally untainted with himſelf, enacted this law for the ſole purpoſe of advancing the glory of God. Every man, however, is at liberty to form what opinion he pleaſes on the matter in queſtion.

A woman, who has lately brought forth a child, is reſtricted, if it be a male, both from entering the temple, and from attending on public worſhip, for the ſpace of forty days; or, if it be a female, for double that term. But, at the expiration of that time, ſhe is admitted to make the oblations preſcribed in ſuch caſes; part of which are offered up to the Almighty, and the remainder falls to the ſhare of the prieſts.

If a man entertains a ſuſpicion of his wife's chaſtity, he muſt bring with him an oblation of an aſſar of barley-meal; ſpreading a handful of it on the altar, and delivering the reſt to the prieſts to be eaten. One of them, having placed the woman at the gate of the temple, which faces the tabernacle, takes off her veil, and, having inſcribed the ſacred name of God on a piece of parchment, orders her to declare upon her oath, whether ſhe had ever defiled her huſband's bed. To this ſhe replies with the following imprecation: "If I am guilty of the crime laid to my charge, may my "thigh rot from my body; may my belly burſt, and let the laſt hours of "my life be ſpent in torture: but if, on the other hand, it ſhall appear that "the accuſation againſt me is founded ſolely on the unreaſonable jealouſy of

" my huſband, I beſeech thee, Lord, to grant me a ſon within the ſpace of " ten months from the preſent day." The prieſt then waſhed the writing out of the parchment with fair water, into which, after having ſtrained it into an earthen veſſel, he caſt ſome of the duſt from the floor and walls of the temple, and preſented it to the woman to drink. In caſe ſhe proved innocent of the crime alledged againſt her, ſhe quickly afterwards conceived, and was, in due time, ſafely and happily delivered of her burthen; but, if to the crime of incontinence ſhe added that alſo of perjury, her death was attended with all the circumſtances of horror and ignominy already mentioned. Theſe are the particulars of the ordinances which Moſes delivered to his countrymen, reſpecting the ſacrifices and purifications: the account of ſome other laws which he enacted for their uſe will be found in the following chapter.

CHAP. XII.

Laws prohibiting adultery and inceſt, and for regulating the marriages of the prieſts. The ſabbath of the ſeventh year, and the year of jubilee. Laws and ordinances of war. Moſes numbers the people. The ſilver trumpets.

MUTUAL confidence between man and wife was conſidered by Moſes as indiſpenſably neceſſary towards connubial happineſs, and he was convinced that the intereſt of the government, as well as of private families materially depended on the propagation of mankind under the ſanction of the marriage inſtitutes. Inceſt, either with the mother, mother-in-law, aunt, either on the ſide of father or mother, ſiſter, or daughter-in law, he pronounced to be an abominable ſin. He forbad the cohabitation of man and wife during the periodical ſtate of purgation. He proclaimed an intercourſe with boys and creatures of the brute creation to be wickedneſs moſt enormouſly heinous. And the above offences he pronounced to be puniſhable by death.

Beſides an obſervance of the general laws of matrimony, particular ordinations were made in reſpect to the prieſts. They were prohibited contracting marriage with maid-ſervants, ſlaves, women being divorced, or ſuch as came under the denomination of public hoſteſſes. A prieſt was permitted to marry a widow, but that liberty was not granted to a high-prieſt, who was enjoined to marry only a virgin. The high-prieſt was not allowed to approach the dead, but the inferior perſons inveſted with the ſacerdotal function were permitted to ſhew the uſual forms of reſpect towards their deceaſed fathers, mothers, brothers or children. A prieſt having any diſeaſe or bodily imperfection, was excluded from performing ceremonies at the altar, and even denied admiſſion to the temple, but he was allowed his full proportion of the oblations. Moſes judged that the exerciſe of the ſacred function required a purity of manners in the common concerns of life, and therefore deemed thoſe unworthy the ſacerdotal robe, who were not free from imputation on the ſcore of moral rectitude. The prieſts were not allowed the uſe of wine at the time of wearing the veſtments of their office; and the ſacrifices

crifices they made were appointed to be perfect in form, undivided, and free from impurity.

Theſe laws Moſes promulgated in the deſart, and he cauſed them to be duly obſerved. He eſtabliſhed ordinances for the regulation of the people, when the promiſe reſpecting their poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan ſhould be fulfilled. With reference to the keeping holy the ſabbath, he directed that every ſeventh year the earth ſhould not be cultivated, but be allowed what was called a year of reſt; and that the produce of each ſeventh year ſhould not be put in ſtore, but be the common property of mankind, ſtrangers and Hebrews having an equal right of poſſeſſion. It was alſo determined that a year of reſt ſhould take place after every ſeven times ſeven years. The ſubſequent year, being the fiftieth, was called the year of the Hebrew's jubilee, and in this, debtors and ſervants were reſtored to liberty, as were ſlaves, who had accepted the ſentence of ſervitude in exchange for that of death.

At the approach of this year of jubilee, which, being interpreted, ſignifies *Liberty*, all lands, having been alienated, returned to the original proprietors: and the reſtitution was made in the following manner. An exact computation was formed of the produce of the land, from the time of the ſale thereof, and alſo of the charges which had accrued upon it, and, if the former were found to exceed the latter, the ground was reſtored to the ſeller, without any kind of condition whatever: but, if the expences amounted to more than the produce, the purchaſer received the difference, and relinquiſhed the poſſeſſion to the firſt owner: if the produce and the expences chanced to be equal, the land in that caſe alſo, again became the property of the ſeller. The ſame rule was alſo obſerved with reſpect to the ſale of houſes ſituated in villages; but a different mode was adopted in regard to thoſe in towns encloſed with walls.

In this latter inſtance, if the ſeller refunded the purchaſe-money before the expiration of the twelve-month, he was entitled to reſume the poſſeſſion; but, if he ſuffered that period to elapſe, he was deprived thereby of all claim to this privilege till the year of jubilee. Theſe laws were delivered to Moſes by the Almighty in perſon, on Mount Sinai, for the uſe of the Hebrews, who were at that time encamped in the valley, at the foot of the mountain; and he cauſed them to be fairly tranſcribed for the benefit of their deſcendants.

Theſe neceſſary regulations being made for the religious and civil government of the ſtate, Moſes now directed his attention to the forming of certain ordinances relating to the military department. He, accordingly, iſſued orders to the heads of the ſeveral tribes (that of Levi only excepted) to form exact liſts of thoſe perſons in each tribe who were qualified to bear arms: the Levites, being conſecrated to the ſervice of God, were, conſequently exempted from every other kind of duty. The number of thoſe thus qualified was found upon the review, to be 603,650, from the age of twenty years to fifty. And Moſes advanced Manaſſeh and Ephraim, the ſons of Joſeph, to the rank of princes of the tribes; the firſt in the room of Levi, and the other in that of Joſeph, his father, in compliance with the requeſt which

Jacob made to Joſeph, when he adopted the ſons of the latter, as we have already obſerved.

When the Hebrews, at any time, pitched their tents, the tabernacle was erected in the center of the camp, three tribes being ſtationed on each ſide thereof, with wide ſtreets and intervals between; and with a market-place, in which were ſhops of various trades arranged with ſuch regularity, as to reſemble a well-conſtructed city. The quarter next the tabernacle was aſſigned to the prieſts and levites; the latter of whom were numbered apart from the reſt of the people, and were found to amount to 23,880 males, from the age of thirty days and upwards.

While the cloud, formerly mentioned, continued to hover over the tabernacle, the people, conſidering it as an intimation of the preſence of the Almighty amongſt them, remained in camp; but ſtruck their tents, and proceeded on their march, whenever it was removed.

Two ſilver trumpets were made, by the direction of Moſes, of the following ſhape and ſize. Their length was nearly a cubit; the circumference of the tube was nearly equal to that of a flute, being juſt of a ſufficient width at the mouth to admit the breath of the perſon ſounding it, and it was curving at the end like a bell, or a common trumpet. This inſtrument is named by the Hebrews an aſophra. The uſe of one of theſe trumpets was to convene an aſſembly of the people, and the other was to ſummon the heads of the tribes to council; and, when they were both ſounded together, it was conſidered as a ſignal for the convention of a general aſſembly. But theſe trumpets were likewiſe uſed in their ſacrifices, on their ſabbaths, and on various other occaſions. The removal of the tabernacle from place to place was performed in the following manner: on the firſt ſounding of the trumpets, the three tribes which were ſtationed on the eaſt-ſide thereof began to put themſelves in motion, as did thoſe on the ſouth-ſide upon the ſecond ſounding. The tabernacle was then taken to pieces, and the ſeveral parts of it were laid upon the carriages; ſix of the tribes preceeding, and the remaining ſix following it; while the Levites cloſely environed it, to prevent the approach of all unqualified perſons. The three tribes which were poſted on the weſt-ſide of the camp began their march on the third ſounding of the trumpets; and the fourth ſounding was the ſignal for thoſe to move which were placed on the north-ſide. At this period Moſes and the Hebrews celebrated the paſchal-ſacrifice, being the ſecond return of that ſolemnity from the time of its inſtitution previous to their departure from Ægypt.

CHAP. XIII.

A mutiny againſt Moſes in conſequence of a deficiency of proviſions. The miracle of the quails.

THE army now departed from Mount Sinai, and after ſojourning at different places, repaired to Jeremoth, where an inſurrection took place, the people violently upbraiding Moſes of having prevailed upon them

them to evacuate one of the moſt eligible parts of the globe, and under pretence of procuring the bleſſings of plenty and happineſs for them, deluding them into a ſtate of the moſt preſſing neceſſity; alledging that they already were in the greateſt extremity from a deficiency of water, and if they ſhould be no longer ſupplied with manna, inevitable ruin muſt enſue. The popular clamour againſt Moſes having arrived to a great height, one of the people addreſſed himſelf to the deſperate multitude, reminding them of the hazards, fatigue and toil which he had encountered in the cauſe of the public, and adviſed them to depend upon the Almighty for relieving their neceſſities: but this, inſtead of appeaſing, aggravated the mutiny to a more violent degree of deſperation. Notwithſtanding the inſult and indignity which had been caſt upon Moſes, he appealed to them in terms of the moſt gentle perſuaſion, and aſſured them that they ſhould be ſpeedily ſupplied with meat ſufficient for their ſuſtenance for ſeveral days. They paid no regard to what Moſes ſaid, but gave vent to inſulting and opprobrious language, ſcornfully aſking him by what means he could provide maintenance for ſo many thouſand people. He replied, that the Lord and his ſervant would ſpeedily ſupply them. Upon his pronouncing theſe words an immenſe number of quails fell into the camp, and were taken up by the people: but ſoon after this circumſtance, God judged it proper to execute vengeance upon the Hebrews for the iniquity of their conduct, and afflicted them with a terrible plague, to which great numbers fell a ſacrifice. The place where this puniſhment was inflicted upon the Hebrews, was called Cabrothaba, or the *graves of luſt*.

CHAP. XIV.

Moſes ſends ſpies into the land of Canaan. They are equally delighted and alarmed at the account they receive of the ſtate of the country, and its inhabitants. A conſpiracy is formed againſt Moſes, which is defeated by Joſhua and Caleb. Moſes and Aaron ſolicit pardon for the people, and ſucceed in their application.

WHEN the Hebrews had arrived at a place called the Streights, which lies on the borders of Canaan, and is remarkable for the inconveniencies of its ſituation, Moſes addreſſed himſelf to the people in theſe words: "It pleaſed the Almighty to promiſe us two ſignal bleſſings; liberty and "the poſſeſſion of a fruitful land. The firſt of theſe his bounty hath already "beſtowed on us, and you will, e'er long, be eſtabliſhed in the enjoyment "of the other. We are now upon the borders of Canaan, and it will be "in vain for the princes of the country, even with their united force, to "oppoſe our progreſs. Yet muſt we not expect to effect a conqueſt over "this country without great difficulty and danger. Let us, therefore, ſend "proper perſons ſecretly to examine into the ſtate of the country, and of "its inhabitants: but, principally, let us act in concert, and let us aſcribe "the glory of all our actions to God alone, who will be conſtantly preſent "amongſt us, and in all our battles will be our guard and defender."

This propoſal was highly approved by the people, who, at the inſtigation of Moſes, immediately made choice of twelve of the moſt eminent perſons

for courage and prudence, one out of each tribe, to be diſpatched before, in queſt of intelligence. They travelled through the whole country from Ægypt and the parts adjacent, as far as the city of Amathe, and to Mount Libanus. Having made ſtrict obſervations on the nature of the ſoil, the condition of the country, and the manners of the natives, they returned; having compleated the undertaking in forty days. The account they gave of the amazing fecundity of the land, together with the ſight of the fruits which they had brought with them, in confirmation of their aſſertions, inſpired the people with the moſt eager deſire of rendering themſelves maſters of ſo deſirable a country.

But when the ſpies had repreſented to them the difficulties and dangers of the enterprize, the rapid and impaſſable rivers, the inacceſſible mountains, the numerous ſtrong holds, and impregnable cities, and a gigantic race of men, dwelling in Hebron, of ſuch enormous ſtature and ſtrength that, from the time of their leaving Ægypt to that day, they had never ſeen any thing ſimilar;—all theſe conſiderations, I ſay, which had already filled their minds with fears and apprehenſions, through their inſinuations, produced the ſame effect upon the multitude.

Theſe ſuggeſtions diſcouraged the people to ſuch a degree, that they quitted the aſſembly in the utmoſt confuſion, and gave themſelves up, during the whole night, to deſpondency and lamentations; loudly venting their complaints both againſt the Almighty, and againſt Moſes. "God," ſaid they, "gives us the moſt flattering promiſes, but he performs nothing which he "has promiſed." They next directed their reſentment againſt Moſes and Aaron, and having thus ſpent the night in imprecations on their leader and blaſphemy againſt God; they early in the morning entered into a combination to put Moſes and Aaron to death without delay, and to return to Ægypt.

In the midſt of this dangerous tumult, Joſhua, the ſon of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb, of the tribe of Judah (who diſſented in opinion from their aſſociates in the late expedition to the land of Canaan) fearing the conſequences which might attend the tumult, addreſſed the people to this effect: "Can you poſſibly, good people, entertain the leaſt doubt of "the veracity and goodneſs of the Almighty, yet, at the ſame time, give "ear to idle ſtories concerning the land of Canaan, which are calculated "and promulgated merely to impoſe on your credulity! Ought you not "rather to confide in thoſe, who have exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to "eſtabliſh you in the poſſeſſion of thoſe bleſſings? The height of moun-"tains, and the depth of rivers, are feeble obſtacles to check the progreſs "of men of unſhaken reſolution, engaged in a glorious cauſe; eſpecially "when God himſelf has promiſed to be their protector and defender. Let "us advance, therefore, to the attack without heſitation, nor harbour the "leaſt doubt of ſucceſs. You have only to follow us where we ſhall lead "you, and truſt to the power of the Almighty for the event." This was the method they took to allay the fury of the people: but Moſes and Aaron proſtrated themſelves before the Lord, and beſought him, not for their own ſakes, but for the ſake of thoſe who were committed to their guidance and care,

care to calm the troubled minds of the multitude, and to deliver them from the effects of their impotent rage. Their ſupplications were attended with ſucceſs; and the cloud appeared as uſual, over the tabernacle, denoting the preſence of the Deity.

CHAP. XV.

By direction of the Almighty, Moſes informs the people that they ſhall not enter the land of Canaan, which is deſtined to be the inheritance of their deſcendants. Their repentance and humiliation. The reputation and authority of Moſes. A famine in the days of Claudius.

A Confidence in the above viſion induced Moſes to inform the populace that God would ſubject them to a ſevere judgment; ſaying, that it was not intended as a puniſhment adequate to their guilt, but as a ſalutary correction of a father to his refractory offſpring. "Upon my entering the "tabernacle of the Lord," ſaid he, "to avert the vengeance of heaven by "tears and ſupplications, and to implore that, in his infinite mercy, God "would not extirpate you from the earth, the Almighty condeſcended to "communicate that you had betrayed ſhocking inſtances of ingratitude for "the bleſſings he had beſtowed, in rejecting the confidence due to the pro-"miſes he had made, and depending on the falſities and miſrepreſentations "which had been propagated by the ſpies. Be aſſured that God will not "utterly deſtroy his choſen people; but the land of Canaan you muſt not "expect to obtain; for you are irrevocably doomed, for the term of forty "years to wander in the wilderneſs. This ſentence, however, is not meant "to extend to your children, to whom God, in his own good time, will be-"ſtow the ſovereignty of that auſpicious country, which the obſtinate infide-"lity of their progenitors has rendered them unworthy to poſſeſs."

The people now in amazement and terror, applied to Moſes, imploring him to intercede with God in their favour, and obtain a remiſſion of the puniſhment denounced againſt them for their iniquities, and a deliverance from the wilderneſs. He gave them to underſtand, that the proceedings of the Almighty being founded in wiſdom and equity, it was folly to imagine that the puniſhments he was pleaſed to denounce againſt mankind might be averted by their importunate and unjuſtifiable ſolicitations. It may, perhaps, appear a matter of wonder to ſome, that Moſes ſhould alone be capable of quelling the turbulent ſpirit of ſo numerous a body of people, and of reducing them to reaſon: but, the Almighty granting him aſſiſtance, the multitude were prepared to yield to the force of his eloquence. In the ſeveral tumults which they had raiſed, they conſtantly experienced the inefficacy of controverting his will: and thus it often happens in calamities of other kinds.

This man was greatly famed for his piety and courage, and likewiſe for the reputation which his aſſertions had obtained with the world, and which to this day are received with the ſame deference as they were during his life;

for the Hebrews yield as implicit an obedience at the preſent time to the ordinances he eſtabliſhed, as if he were ſtill alive to puniſh the breach of them, and, in caſes of tranſgreſſion, they need no other witneſſes to accuſe them than their own conſciences. Many inſtances might be quoted of the peculiar reverence which all men manifeſted for him, as a perſon veſted with an authority more than human. Among various others take the following. A number of perſons came on a certain occaſion from the further ſide of the Euphrates, a journey of four months, at a great expence and the imminent riſk of their lives, merely out of a particular regard for our manner of worſhip. They were permitted to ſacrifice, but were not ſuffered to partake of their own offering; that indulgence being in ſome caſes prohibited by the law of Moſes: ſome were utterly refuſed the liberty of ſacrificing, while others were obliged to deſiſt when the ceremony was half performed: others, in ſhort, could not even obtain admiſſion into the temple; readily ſubmitting to the diſappointment, rather than infringe on the ordinances of Moſes; and this ſolely from conſcientious motives: for conſidering the laws themſelves as of divine original, they ſhewed the greater reſpect to the perſon appointed to promulge them.

In the reign of Claudius, and during the pontificate of Iſhmael, a ſhort time before the commencement of the war between the Romans and the Jews, ſo ſevere a famine aroſe in Judæa, that an aſſar of flour was valued at the rate of four drachmas. At that period there were brought to the feaſt of unleavened-bread a quantity of that article, amounting to ſeventy choruſſes, which are equal to thirty-one Sicilian, and forty-one Attic medimni. Although the prieſts were almoſt famiſhed for want of bread, yet their reverence for the laws, and their apprehenſions of the diſpleaſure of the Almighty, even for their moſt ſecret ſins, ſo effectually preponderated againſt their ſenſe of hunger, that not a ſingle perſon amongſt them attempted to purloin the leaſt morſel of this proviſion. Who, therefore, ſhall any longer heſitate to believe the extraordinary actions which were performed by Moſes, when even the enemies of our religion are compelled to admit the divine authority of the writings which he hath left us; and to confeſs that the founder of our republic acted under the immediate influence of the power of God himſelf? But on this matter every man is at liberty to adopt whatever ſentiments he ſhall judge moſt conformable to reaſon.

End of the Third Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK IV.

Containing the hiſtory of ſuch tranſactions as happened from the year of the world 2455, to 2493.

CHAP. I.

The Hebrews, in direct contradiction to the advice of Moſes, attack the Canaanites, and are ſhamefully defeated.

AMONG all the troubles and mortifications which the Hebrews experienced in the wilderneſs, nothing affected them more ſenſibly than the reſtriction which God had lain them under from attempting the conqueſt of the land of Canaan. This meaſure, in ſhort, they were determined, at all events, to carry into execution; and, as Moſes from time to time earneſtly diſſuaded them therefrom, they acquainted him, in plain terms, that they would no longer ſubmit to be directed by him, but would follow the dictates of their own judgment: adding, that they were convinced he had no other motive in withholding his conſent, than to make himſelf neceſſary to them, by detaining them as long as poſſible in their preſent diſtreſſful ſituation. Under the influence of this notion, they raſhly entered upon the war, in a full perſuaſion that God would afford them his aſſiſtance therein; not ſo much from any peculiar regard for Moſes, as from the fatherly affec-

tion which he had conſtantly expreſſed for their nation, and their pious anceſtors. They doubted not, if they conducted themſelves couragiouſly, that he who had formerly conferred on them the bleſſings of liberty, would now grant them victory: and even admitting that Moſes ſhould exert all his endeavours to render the Almighty unfavourable to their cauſe, they imagined they ſhould ſtill be an over-match for the Canaanites. "Where is the difference," ſaid they, "whether we are ſubjected to the tyranny of Pharaoh or of Moſes? We change our maſter, it is true, but our condition muſt ſtill continue the ſame, as long as we ſubmit to be deluded by the artifices of this vain, ambitious man. Mark what a boaſt he makes of his private converſations with the Deity, and of his revelations from heaven, as if the knowledge of the ſecret intentions of the Almighty had been communicated to him alone! Are we not all equally the deſcendants of Abraham with himſelf? Whence ariſes it, then, that Moſes ſhould excluſively poſſeſs this privilege of foretelling future events? Is not this the land, of which God has promiſed us the poſſeſſion? Why, therefore, do we heſitate to make ourſelves maſters of it? Without ſuffering ourſelves to be longer deluded with the idle pretence of ſeeking God, and ſubmitting to the arrogance and inſolence of an individual, we have no means left to extricate ourſelves from the inconveniencies of our preſent ſituation, and to avert thoſe with which we are threatened, than, putting ourſelves under the guidance of the Almighty, to march immediately againſt the Canaanites, without waiting any longer for the concurrence of our legiſlator."

Such were the ſentiments of the people in general; and, under the influence of this impetuoſity, they marched with the utmoſt reſolution and confidence to the attack. But the Canaanites, though inferior in force to the Hebrews, received their ſhock with firmneſs, and put the aſſailants to the rout, killing a conſiderable number of them on the ſpot, and purſuing the reſt even to their camp. The Hebrews were totally diſpirited by this defeat, which they apprehended, might prove ſtill more fatal to them in its conſequences; and they were ſo conſcious of the imprudence of having joined in battle with the enemy before they had received God's direction on the ſubject, that they readily imputed this ſhameful repulſe to their raſhneſs and diſobedience.

The Canaanites were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that Moſes, fearing leſt they ſhould attempt to puſh their advantage further, conſidered it as the moſt adviſeable ſtep he could take in the preſent dilemma, to withdraw again into the wilderneſs. Having propoſed this meaſure to the people, who were now convinced of their abſolute dependance on him, they willingly aſſented thereto, with a full determination to attempt nothing further againſt the Canaanites, till they ſhould be duly authorized by the commands of the Almighty

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Corah and his aſſociates raiſe a faction againſt Moſes and Aaron, relative to the appointment of the latter to the office of high-prieſt.

AS it is cuſtomary, among numerous bodies of people, when their affairs are in an unproſperous ſtate, for murmurings and tumults to ariſe; the like befell the Jews in the preſent inſtance. They amounted to ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, and were, at beſt, rather impatient of controul; but if any inſortuitous event happened, the violence of their tempers became ungovernable, as well to each other as to their leaders. This propenſity to diſſention gave riſe to the moſt dangerous ſedition that ever happened, either among themſelves, the Greeks, or in any other nation; and it muſt have involved them in irremediable ruin, had not Moſes, generouſly forgetful of all their former ingratitude, interpoſed for their preſervation: and it pleaſed God, notwithſtanding all the contempt they had ſhewn both of his commands and of himſelf, in the perſon of his ſervant Moſes, again to extend his mercy towards them, and to deliver them from the impending deſtruction. The particulars of this ſedition, and of the conduct of Moſes conſequent thereon, are as follow.

Corah, a man of conſiderable reputation among the Hebrews, both on account of his rank and wealth, and thoroughly verſed in the arts of acquiring popularity, entertained a ſtrong jealouſy of the extenſive power which Moſes had obtained over the people. This man, being of the ſame tribe and family with Moſes, and his poſſeſſions being more ample than thoſe of the other, loudly exclaimed againſt the injuſtice which had been done to himſelf by the advancement of Moſes to the ſupreme authority; and his complaints made a ſtrong impreſſion on the Levites and thoſe of his own family. "It is ſcandalous and inſufferable," ſaid he, "that Moſes, under the guiſe of piety and devotion, ſhould thus purſue the dictates of his ambition to the prejudice of others; as an inſtance of which, he has recently conferred the office of high-prieſt and other honors, on his brother Aaron, without aſking the conſent of the people, and merely of his own arbitrary will and authority. And what renders this man's conduct ſtill more dangerous is, the ſpecious manner in which he inſinuates himſelf into power; utterly depriving the people of their liberty before they can be aware of his treacherous deſigns. The conſcientious man, who perceives in himſelf ſuch qualities as render him eligible to the ſupreme government, will ſubmit his pretenſions to the judgment of the people, without making uſe of violent or unfair practices to carry his point. Nay, it often happens that men, finding they ſhall not be able to compaſs their deſigns by honeſt means, will affect the appearance of integrity. But fraud may ſometimes ſucceed where force fails, and ſuch dark proceedings ought to be expoſed before the ſtate becomes endangered thereby. What apology can Moſes offer for beſtowing the high-prieſthood on Aaron and his family? If the Almighty has decreed

" creed that the office ſhall be hereditary in the tribe of Levi, I myſelf, who,
" excluſive of my being of the ſame lineage with Moſes, ſurpaſs him both in
" wealth and years, might claim a preference: or, if that dignity be to go
" by ſeniority, Dathan, Abiram, and Phala, who are the heads of the tribe
" of Reuben, and men of unblemiſhed reputation, have a more equitable
" claim."

Although Corah's pretext was a regard for the public welfare, yet the real deſign he had in view was to diſpoſſeſs Aaron of that dignity, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in his room. The plauſibility of theſe ſuggeſtions won ſo much on the minds of the people, that no leſs than two hundred and fifty of the chief men among them united in a plot, to deprive Aaron of the high-prieſthood, and to beſtow it on Corah.

The people were now thrown into a great ferment, and ran in the moſt tumultuous manner to the tabernacle, crying out, " Stone him! ſtone him!" (meaning Moſes.) " Take away this tyrant; and relieve us from the in-
" ſupportable burdens with which he has loaded us. If the choice had been
" of God's appointment, he certainly would not have fixed on a perſon ſo
" unworthy of the honor, or, if he had intended the poſt for Aaron, he
" ought to have obtained it regularly by the ſuffrages of the people, and not
" through the favour of his brother."

Moſes was well informed of the proceedings of Corah, and of the effects which they had produced on the multitude. But, depending on his integrity, and conſcious that the advancement of his brother to the prieſthood had been ordained expreſly by God himſelf, and had not been effected through any ſiniſter views of his own, he made no ſcruple, being ſkilled in the arts of ingratiating himſelf with the people, to appear before the whole multitude aſſembled: and he addreſſed himſelf to Corah in theſe words.

" I conſider you Corah, and the ſeveral perſons who have eſpouſed your
" cauſe (pointing to the two hundred and fifty principal men who had join-
" ed the faction) as perſons deſerving an honourable diſtinction: but ſtill
" ſome conſideration is due to the reſt of the people, notwithſtanding their
" inferiority in wealth and other qualities. Aaron was not conſtituted high-
" prieſt on account of his riches, in which point you exceed him in the
" proportion of one half; nor was it from a ſuperiority of birth, for in that
" reſpect we are all upon terms of equality, being of one family, and de-
" riving our origin from the ſame progenitor. In electing my brother to
" the office, I deprived no man of his rightful poſſeſſion. Had I acted on
" a ſelf-intereſted motive, I ſhould have taken poſſeſſion of the place myſelf,
" but I was guided by principles of honor and juſtice. Is it not impro-
" bable that I ſhould be guilty of treachery towards another without any
" view to my own private advantage? But far be from me ſuch iniquity
" of conduct. The Lord would not have permitted ſuch an affront to his
" divine will, nor you to remain in ignorance of what would prove moſt ac-
" ceptable to him. It was the Almighty himſelf who appointed Aaron to
" the prieſthood, and that act of the Divinity diſcharges me of every crimi-
" nal imputation. Suppoſing Aaron to be inveſted with the ſacred function
" in conformity to the Divine pleaſure, excluding the idea of my partial in-

" terference in the cauſe, he ſhall ſtill depend upon a repetition of your ſuf-
" frages, without availing himſelf of any advantage on the ſcore of his for-
" mer election.

" Hence it will be evident that he is not actuated by motives of ambition,
" and that he will readily relinquiſh every private advantage for the ſake of
" your tranquility and happineſs. It would ſurely have manifeſted a high
" degree of impiety to have rejected the offer which the Almighty was gra-
" ciouſly pleaſed to make us. It is indiſputably requiſite that we ſhould
" afford our beneficent Patron an opportunity of confirming to us the poſ-
" ſeſſion of his promiſed bounty: I therefore adviſe that the matter in queſ-
" tion be ſubmitted to the determination of God, and that you oppoſe not
" whomſoever he ſhall appoint to the holy office.

" Your preſumption, Corah, in contending againſt the liberty of the
" Almighty to ſelect a prieſt to ſerve at his altar, is an inſtance of impiety
" which muſt be looked upon with aſtoniſhment and horror. But another
" day will put a period to this controverſy. Let the candidates for this holy
" office aſſemble to-morrow in the morning with fire and incenſe in their
" cenſers. And, Corah, I enjoin you, in particular, to curb your ambi-
" tious views, and not to attempt exalting your own power and authority
" above that of the Deity. In the diſcharge of his ſacred office, the conduct
" of Aaron having been unexceptionable, to his preſence on this occaſion
" no reaſonable objection can be formed. Being aſſembled, let the candi-
" dates offer up incenſe in the preſence of the multitude, and the ſacrifice
" proving moſt acceptable to the Lord ſhall diſtinguiſh the man to be conſti-
" tuted high-prieſt, and the poſſeſſion of the ſacred office ſhall be ratified and
" confirmed to him by the authority with which I am inveſted. Thus will
" all contentions ſubſide, and I ſhall be no longer ſubject to the accuſation
" of partiality to my brother Aaron."

CHAP. III.

The judgment of God upon Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. The prieſthood given to Aaron and his poſterity.

THE multitude were appeaſed by the above addreſs, which removed the unfavourable impreſſions they had entertained againſt Moſes, whom they acknowledged to be a man of ſagacity and virtue: and the council was now diſſolved.

The people attended the ſacrifice on the following morning, and were divided in the intereſts of the contending parties, ſome being deſirous of expoſing Moſes as a man acting on partial and intereſted motives, and the more moderate endeavouring to preſerve tranquility, from a conſideration that government and the public welfare would be greatly endangered if the commonalty were ſuffered to obtain the aſcendency. The lower ranks of mankind are naturally diſpoſed to be envious of ſuperiority, to be ſwayed by and propagate popular reports and calumnies.

Dathan

Dathan and Abiram were ſummoned to attend in ſupport of their pretenſions; but upon the return of the meſſengers, Moſes was informed that they poſitively determined not to abide by the propoſed deciſion, on the plea that by means of ſiniſter and indirect practices he had obtained an unwarrantable power; and that they had reſolved no longer to ſubmit to the authority he had uſurped. Moſes now called to certain elders, and commanding them to follow him, repaired towards the ſpot where the mal-contents had aſſembled. Upon receiving intelligence of his approach, Dathan and his adherents, with their women and children quitted their tents, and attended by the guards, to reſiſt any attack which might be made, waited the event of this unexpected proceeding. Moſes deliberately approached Dathan, and then with up-lifted hands thus appealed to heaven in a voice ſufficiently audible to be underſtood by the ſurrounding multitude.

"Divine Creator and bleſſed Lord of the univerſe, thou art the irrefragable witneſs that my conduct has been wholly regulated in due conformity to thy ſacred and eſpecial commands: thou who didſt look down with pity upon the Hebrews, graciouſly affording them the means of eſcaping their cruel oppreſſors, relieved their diſtreſſes, and, in my perſon, haſt extended thy powerful ſupport to their leader: thou, O God! to whom all things are known, I beſeech thee to hear my prayer; bear witneſs to the integrity of my life againſt the malicious accuſations of my ungodly enemies. Thou knoweſt, O God! that happy in the bleſſings which attended my induſtry and the favour of my father-in-law, Raguel, I relinquiſhed all the conveniencies of a private life, and, in behalf of the liberties of the people, engaged in perilous and fatiguing commiſſions, and am even now ſtriving againſt hardſhips and dangers in the cauſe of this ungrateful people. But ſince I have repeatedly preſerved them from impending ruin, and they make ſuch returns for the benefits they have received as to conſider me as an object of diſpleaſure and jealouſy, do thou, O Lord, who didſt condeſcend to appear from the fire upon Mount Sinai, permitting thy ſervant to hear thy voice, and making him a witneſs to thy wonderful prodigies; thou who didſt confer on him the honor of an ambaſſy into Ægypt, lowering the arrogance and pride of the people of that country, and redeeming the Hebrews from their oppreſſion; thou who reduced the powerful Pharaoh and humbled him at my feet; who formed a dry paſſage through the ſea, and changed that paſſage into ſea again, for the preſervation of thy people and the deſtruction of the Ægyptians; provided us with arms when in a defenceleſs ſtate; gave ſweetneſs to corrupt waters, and commanded ſtreams to burſt from the rocks when we were in danger of periſhing from extreme thirſt; afforded us food from the ſea, and ſupplied us with nouriſhment from heaven; thou, by whoſe direction our laws were framed and our government eſtabliſhed; who art the righteous judge and infallible witneſs of all things in the creation; do thou eſpouſe my cauſe, and bear teſtimony, that in the appeals ſubmitted to my deciſion I have diſtributed juſtice equally, and never ſhewn partiality towards the rich man, or been corrupted to oppreſs the poor.

"I am

" I am now accuſed of having raiſed my brother to the high-prieſthood " without the ſanction of thy divine will and eſpecial appointment, but ſolely " from a motive of private affection. I now beſeech thee, O Lord, to " afford a proof that things are not governed by chance, but that all is re- " gulated by thy pleaſure and divine providence. I pray thee, O God, out " of the favour thou haſt, in numerous inſtances, ſhewn to thy people, that " thou wilt be pleaſed to execute a ſignal judgment upon Dathan and Abi- " ram, who have inſolently dared to aſſert, that my impoſitions have ren- " dered the deſigns of heaven abortive, thereby impiouſly reflecting upon " the Deity as a paſſive and inſignificant Being. Vindicate, O Lord, thy " power and glory to future ages, by an exemplary puniſhment upon " theſe blaſphemous detractors. Let them not meet the fate of common " men, but as an example, teaching generations yet unborn, to hold thy " divinity and power in due reverence, and as they are unworthy to inhabit " the earth, let that earth ſwallow them with their families and all their " deareſt poſſeſſions. If I am guilty of the crimes imputed to me, may the " lot of my accuſers, be happineſs and freedom, and may the imprecations " I invoke upon them be directed to fall a juſt puniſhment upon myſelf. " But when thou, O God, ſhalt direct thy vengeance againſt the oppreſſors " of thy people, diſtinguiſh, I beſeech thee, the guilty from the unoffend- " ing; involve not ſuch as have lived in a due reverence of thy honor and " glory in a common fate with thoſe who have dared to violate thy divine " commandments."

Having delivered this appeal, which was frequently interrupted by tears, the earth became violently agitated, reſembling the billows of an enraged ſea; a general conſternation prevailed among the people, who confuſedly traverſed the camp with expreſſions of the utmoſt terror and amazement. At length, the ground on which they ſtood opened, with a horrible ſound, and ſwallowed up the whole faction, together with their families, their tents, and all their poſſeſſions; the fiſſure cloſing again immediately, with ſuch exactneſs that not the leaſt mark of it could poſſibly be perceived.

Such was the miſerable end of theſe mutineers; and in this manner did God at once vindicate both his juſtice and his power. Nor was the fate of theſe perſons in the leaſt commiſerated by their friends or relations; nay, the whole multitude, on the contrary, expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction on the occaſion, conſidering them in no other light than as the peſt of their nation, and as men who were undeſerving even of human compaſſion. Moſes afterwards aſſembled all thoſe who had offered themſelves as candidates for the high-prieſthood; again referring the choice to God himſelf, that he, among thoſe who pretended to that dignity, might be elected, whoſe oblation ſhould be found to be moſt acceptable in the ſight of the Almighty. The number of thoſe perſons was two hundred and fifty; all men of great reputation with the people, both on account of their high rank, and of their perſonal qualifications; and with them came Aaron and Corah. The whole company placed themſelves before the tabernacle, and began to offer up the incenſe they had brought with them. At this inſtant a fire ſuddenly appeared, to

which that of volcanos, or of whole foreſts involved in flame, bore no kind of proportion; and its brightneſs and intenſity plainly demonſtrated that it came from heaven alone. This fire ſo effectually conſumed the bodies of Corah and his aſſociates, that not the ſmalleſt remains whatever of their carcaſes could be found; yet, as a convincing proof that this was effected by a ſupernatural agency, Aaron received no kind of injury from it. In order to perpetuate the memory of this tremendous judgment, Moſes ordered Eleazar, the ſon of Aaron, to affix the cenſers of Corah and the reſt to a brazen altar, which was erected for that purpoſe. It was now incontrovertibly proved that Aaron had not been advanced to the pontificate by any unfair means, but by the appointment of God himſelf; in virtue of which evidence he continued to hold it for the remainder of his life.

CHAP. IV.

Various incidents which befel the Hebrews for the term of thirty-eight years, during which they continued in the wilderneſs.

THIS ſeditious diſpoſition of the people ſtill predominated, notwithſtanding the late calamities of which it had been productive; and another tumult aroſe which was more fatal, if poſſible, in its effects than the former; as the cauſes which gave birth to it were of a nature not eaſily to be removed. The Hebrews had conceived a notion that the puniſhments which God was pleaſed, from time to time, to inflict upon them, were the reſult of the applications of Moſes to the Almighty for that purpoſe. "For what "crime," ſaid they, "did thoſe noble and eminent perſons loſe their lives, "in conſequence of the prayers of Moſes, but the too great zeal for the wor"ſhip of their Creator? The deſtruction of thoſe perſons has enabled Moſes "to confirm his brother in the pontificate, as no one will dare to diſpute the "poſſeſſion of it with him, when they conſider how ſeverely thoſe who before "conteſted it with him have ſuffered for their imprudence." The relations of the deceaſed embraced this opportunity of incenſing the multitude againſt Moſes, by repreſenting to them the neceſſity of giving a timely check to his arrogance and luſt of power, which, they obſerved, might be very eaſily effected.

Moſes foreſaw the approaching ſtorm, and with great prudence, in order to avert the danger which was greatly to be apprehended from the preſent tumultuous conduct and diſpoſition of the people, convened an aſſembly, in which he patiently liſtened to their complaints, and, that he might not encreaſe the popular ferment, ordered the heads of the reſpective tribes each man to bring his rod, with the name of his tribe inſcribed thereon; and that the poſt ſhould be conferred on him, whoſe rod ſhould bear upon it any peculiar mark of the favour of God towards him. This propoſal was agreed to, and Aaron brought his rod with the reſt, on which he had inſcribed the title of the tribe of Levi. Moſes placed them in the tabernacle for the preſent, and, on the following day, re-produced them to their reſpective owners in the

preſence of all the people. All the rods were found to be in the ſame ſtate in which they were left the day before, ſave that of Aaron, which appeared not only covered with branches and buds, but, to increaſe the wonder, bearing a ripe almond alſo; the rod having been taken from a tree of that ſpecies. This extraordinary ſpectacle threw the people into the greateſt conſternation imaginable; and, although they could not diveſt themſelves entirely of their reſentment againſt Moſes and Aaron, the rancour of their enmity having in a great meaſure ſubſided, they acquieſced in the determination of the Almighty, with reſpect to the election of Aaron, who was thus a third time confirmed by God himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the office of high-prieſt, in which he continued, without any further interruption, to the time of his death. This incident, in ſhort, happily concluded thoſe commotions in which the Hebrews had been unfortunately engaged, at different periods, for ſo long a courſe of time.

Moſes exempted the Levites, who, as we have before obſerved, were dedicated to the immediate ſervice of God, from all military duty and charges; and, that they might not be prevented from attending properly to the duties of their function by the care of providing a maintenance for themſelves, he directed that, as ſoon as the Hebrews ſhould, with the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, have acquired poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, the revenues of forty-eight of the moſt flouriſhing cities throughout the country, together with the land round each, to the extent of two thouſand cubits, ſhould be appropriated to the uſe of the prieſts and Levites; granting them, beſides, a tenth part of the annual produce of the earth, which duty was to be paid by all the poſſeſſors of land in general; and this ordinance is obſerved, with the ſtricteſt punctuality, even to the preſent time. Having ſpoke ſufficiently reſpecting the revenues of this tribe, I ſhall now advert to thoſe particulars which relate to the prieſts alone.

Of the forty-eight cities above-mentioned, Moſes ordered that thirteen ſhould be aſſigned to the maintenance of the prieſts, and the tenth part of the amount of the tythes, and the firſt-fruits of all the productions of the earth, as oblations to God. The firſtling of every four-footed animal offered in ſacrifice, if a male, was delivered to the prieſts to offer up, and afterwards to be eaten by the owners and their families in the city; ſave only ſuch as, by our laws, are prohibited to be eaten, in which caſe the owner ſhall preſent a ſhekel and a half to the prieſt, in lieu of the animal, and the firſt-born of a man is to be redeemed with the ſum of five ſhekels: a duty is paid alſo upon wool and corn, as in the caſe of thoſe who bake bread, who are obliged to deliver a cake to the prieſt.

With reſpect to the Nazarenes, who oblige themſelves by a ſolemn vow to ſuffer their hair to grow for a certain time, and during that period to abſtain from wine; when they repair to the temple, to conſecrate their hair, the time expreſſed in their vow being expired, whatever ſacrifices they offer, fall to the ſhare of the prieſts: and the ſame rule is obſerved with regard the ſect, who ſtile themſelves Corban, which, ſignifies *a gift*. Theſe perſons, at the time they appear before the prieſts, and requeſt to be releaſed from their vow and engagements, are obligated to pay a certain ſum, which is fixed at fifty ſhekels

ſhekels for a man, and thirty for a woman; and thoſe who are unable to pay this tax are obliged to ſubmit themſelves to the direction of the prieſt.

The breaſt and the right ſhoulder of every beaſt that is killed for private uſe belongs alſo to the prieſt. Such was the proviſion which Moſes made for the maintenance of the prieſts, excluſive of the ſin-offerings, of which we have already ſpoken in the foregoing book. The wives, children, and ſervants of the prieſts were alſo allowed to partake of all oblations, ſave in the caſe of ſin-offerings, which were to be eaten only by the prieſts officiating at the time, and that on the ſame day, and without quitting the temple.

Theſe regulations being made, and the public tranquility being now fully reſtored, Moſes marched his troops to the frontiers of Idumæa, previouſly diſpatching his ambaſſadors to the king of that country, to requeſt a free paſſage for the Hebrews through his territories; engaging that his troops ſhould be guilty of no irregularity on their march, and ſhould pay for whatever neceſſaries they might ſtand in need of. The king, however, refuſed to grant his requeſt, and raiſing a numerous army, prepared to oppoſe him, in caſe he ſhould attempt to force a paſſage. Moſes, on this occaſion, applied to God for his direction how to act, and received for anſwer, that he muſt carefully avoid being the aggreſſor: whereupon he determined to purſue his rout by the way of the wilderneſs.

At this period, Mariam, the ſiſter of Moſes died, in the commencement of the month Xanthecus, forty years having now expired from the time of evacuating Ægypt. She was publicly interred, with great magnificence, upon the mountain called Sin; and after thirty days, which was the time appointed for mourning, Moſes performed the ceremony of purification upon the people. A red heifer which had not been ſubjected to the yoke, was brought by the prieſt to a clean ſpot at a ſmall diſtance from the camp, and there ſlaughtered, after which, dipping his fingers in the blood, he ſeven times ſprinkled it upon the tabernacle of the Lord; and the whole carcaſs was then put upon the fire, with a ſmall branch of cedar, ſome hyſſop, and ſcarlet wool. The whole being conſumed, the aſhes were gathered and conveyed to the cleaneſt adjacent part, by a goat of unblemiſhed chaſtity. Such as required to be purified in conſequence of having rendered themſelves unclean either by touching a corpſe, or attending the ceremony of interment, was to caſt a part of theſe aſhes into a fountain, and on the third and ſeventh day, with a bunch of hyſſop to ſprinkle himſelf with the water. This ceremony of purification Moſes enjoined to be practiced when the Hebrews ſhould poſſeſs the land promiſed them by the Almighty.

The purification for the death of Mariam being performed, Moſes marched his army to Arabia, directing his road through the deſert, and upon his arrival at the principal city, which was called Arce, but now bears the name of Petra, Aaron aſcended an high mountain, and it having been predicted to him that the period of his life was near approaching, he diſrobed himſelf of the pontifical ſtole, and reſigned it to his ſon Eleazar, as the rightful ſucceſſor to the dignity. In the firſt moon of the month called by the Athenians Hecatombæon, by the Romans Auguſtus, and by the Hebrews Sabba; he died upon this mountain in the preſence of the whole army, being in the hundred

hundred and twenty-third year of his age. Thus in the ſame year Moſes loſt his brother and ſiſter.

CHAP. V.

Moſes ſubdues Sehon and Og, and divides their kingdoms, by lot, between two tribes and a half tribe of the Hebrews.

THE time alloted for the mourning for Aaron (which was thirty days) being now expired, Moſes advanced with his troops to the banks of the Arnon, which takes its riſe among the mountains of Arabia, and, traverſing the whole deſert, finally diſcharges itſelf into the lake Aſphaltitis; ſeparating the country of the Moabites from that of the Amorites, both which were remarkable for their fertility. The king of the Amorites was named Sehon, to whom Moſes ſent a very reſpectful meſſage, deſiring his permiſſion to march through his country, and giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that his ſubjects ſhould not ſuſtain the leaſt damage whatever. Sehon would not grant him a paſſage; but poſſeſſed himſelf of all the fords, to prevent his croſſing the river.

This refuſal, and the conſequent conduct of the Amorites, incenſed Moſes to a high degree, and he determined to diſappoint their meditated attack upon him, by carrying the war into their own country; being apprehenſive leſt the Hebrews, through inaction and the want of proviſions, ſhould again fall into their former irregularities. But, to avoid the imputation of raſhneſs, he firſt applied himſelf to God, to know whether he might attempt to force a paſſage with the ſword; and the Almighty not only granted him permiſſion, but promiſed alſo victory in the conteſt. Thus encouraged, Moſes led his troops to the attack, having previouſly inſpired them with the fulleſt confidence of ſucceſs, by communicating to them the declaration of the ſupreme Being in their favour. Immediately upon the firſt onſet, Sehon and his army fled with the utmoſt precipitation; being ſeized with a terror which rendered them incapable of oppoſing the Hebrews. They flattered themſelves that they ſhould ſecure a retreat in ſome of their fortified cities: but the Iſraelites, who were lightly armed and very ſwift of foot, purſued them ſo cloſely, that their flight availed them little; Sehon the king and great numbers of his followers being ſlain on the banks of the river, where they halted to quench their thirſt. The victory, in ſhort, was compleat, and the Hebrews obtained a prodigious booty on the occaſion; the moſt valuable part of which was a plenteous crop of corn, ſtill unreaped, of which they had long been in great want. The whole country, in fact, was now become their own, through which they ranged without controul; very few of the inhabitants having ſurvived the late defeat.

The Amorites manifeſted on this occaſion an equal deficiency of conduct and of courage; having neither prudence to avert the danger, nor firmneſs to ſuſtain it. The ſpot which the Hebrews had now acquired the poſſeſſion of formed a kind of peninſula, being ſituated between the rivers, *viz.* the Arnon

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on the ſouth, the Jaboc, which empties itſelf into the river Jordan, on the north, and the river Jordan on the weſt.

But the Iſraelites had ſtill another formidable enemy to encounter, in the perſon of Og, the king of Galadene and of Gaulonitis, who was haſtening to the aſſiſtance of Sehon, his friend and ally, at the head of a numerous and powerful army. He received intelligence on his way of the defeat of Sehon; but this did not in the leaſt diſcourage him from purſuing his deſign; and he continued his march, with a firm reſolution to riſk the event of a battle with the Hebrews. This temerity, however, coſt him dear; himſelf and his whole army being utterly deſtroyed. Moſes, in conſequence of this ſecond victory, croſſed the river Jaboc, penetrated into the territories of Og, razing the cities, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword. Theſe people were renowned for their wealth and power, and the king himſelf was a man of great valour. He was of remarkable ſtature, as was evident from the dimenſions of a bed which was found in his palace at Rabatha. It was conſtructed of iron, and meaſured four cubits in breadth, and nine in length. This laſt victory not only eſtabliſhed the Iſraelites in ſecurity for the preſent, but proved of ſtill more conſiderable advantage to them afterwards; for they acquired no leſs than ſixty fortified towns of great ſtrength, and each individual of the army became enriched by the plunder which he obtained on the occaſion.

CHAP. VI.

Moſes invades the country of the Madianites. Particulars relative to Balaam and Balaak. Zimri oppoſes Moſes. Phinehas, from motives of zeal, puts Zimri and Coſbi to death.

THE Hebrews ſoon afterwards removed their camp to an extenſive plain, in the neighbourhood of Jericho; a city famous for its opulence, and abounding in palm-trees and balſam. Theſe people were ſo elevated with their late ſucceſſes, that they eagerly wiſhed for further opportunities of ſignalizing their valour; and Moſes deemed it highly impolitic to ſuffer this martial diſpoſition to be depreſſed through the want of exerciſe. He, therefore, after having ſpent ſome time in offering oblations to God, and in rejoicings and entertainments, detached a body of his troops to ravage and deſtroy the country of the Madianites. The motives which induced him to commence this war were theſe:

The growing power of the Iſraelites had of late given great umbrage to Balaak, king of Moab, and an ally of the Madianites; inſomuch that he began to be apprehenſive for the ſafety of himſelf and his dominions: for he was ignorant that God had reſtricted the Hebrews from attempting the conqueſt of any other country than that of Canaan. He durſt not openly attack a people whom repeated victories had rendered ſo confident of ſucceſs; but being deſirous to give ſome check to their further progreſs, he ſent ambaſſadors to the Madianites, to conſult with them on the ſteps neceſſary to be taken, for the common ſafety of both nations.

With theſe ambaſſadors the Madianites joined ſome of the principal men of their own nation, and ſent them to Balaam, who reſided beyond the Euphrates, and had acquired a great reputation by his predictions, requeſting him to return with thoſe perſons, that he might denounce the vengeance of Heaven upon the Hebrews. He received them with great reſpect, and after ſupper was ended addreſſed himſelf in prayer to God, for his direction how to act. The Almighty was pleaſed to order him not to comply with the requeſt which had been made to him; and he thereupon went back to his gueſts, and acquainted them that he would gladly have gratified their deſire, but that God, to whom he was indebted for all his reputation as a prophet, had refuſed him his permiſſion; adding, that the people whom they wiſhed him to curſe, were the peculiar favourites of heaven; and that he, therefore, would rather adviſe them to ſecure their friendſhip upon any condition whatever.

The ambaſſadors now returned home; but were ſent back again on the ſame buſineſs by the Madianites, at the earneſt entreaty of Balaak, who was greatly chagrined at the bad ſucceſs of their firſt journey. Balaam, being deſirous of obliging them, again had recourſe to the Lord to know his pleaſure, who incenſed that he ſhould make a ſecond application to him on the ſubject, abruptly anſwered, that he might return with the ambaſſadors, agreeable to their requeſt; which he, accordingly did, without noticing the extraordinary mode in which this permiſſion was granted. In paſſing through a narrow part of the road, which lay between two walls, and would not admit of the paſſage of two perſons at a time, he was encountered by an angel of the Lord. The aſs on which Balaam rode ſtopt ſhort at the appearance of this viſion; and upon his endeavouring to make her proceed ſhe cruſhed his foot againſt the wall; the angel ſtill remaining on the ſame ſpot, and the prophet continuing to correct the animal as before. But God being pleaſed to endue the creature with the power of ſpeech, ſhe reproached her maſter with the injuſtice and cruelty of his conduct, and explained to him the cauſe of her not going forward, pleading, alſo, that ſhe never till now had once given him the leaſt offence. Balaam was equally amazed and alarmed at this circumſtance, of the aſs ſpeaking with a human voice; and the angel, now diſcovering himſelf, reproached him in very ſevere terms; telling him that the beaſt was not in the leaſt to blame on the occaſion, but that he himſelf had incurred juſt cenſure, by preſuming to enter upon a journey in direct contradiction to the expreſs will of the Almighty. Balaam was very deſirous to return immediately, but the Lord commanded him to proceed on his way, ſtrictly enjoining him, however, to utter nothing but what he himſelf ſhould ſuggeſt to him. The above condition being admitted, Balaam repaired to the king, who received him in a gracious and condeſcending manner, and he requeſted that he might be conducted to ſome adjacent eminence, commanding a view of the Hebrew army. Balaak, attended by his courtiers and other perſons compoſing the train of royalty, accompanied him to the top of a mountain about ſixty furlongs from the camp. After mature deliberation, turning his face towards the ſpot on which the Hebrews were encamped, he delivered his predictions in theſe words:

"Happy

" Happy people! God will beſtow on you the bleſſings of this world in the " utmoſt abundance; you ſhall be conſtantly directed and ſupported by the " Divine providence, and ſhall render yourſelves famous throughout the " world for your virtues: the reputation of your offſpring ſhall ſurpaſs even " that of your progenitors; for the Almighty will make you his peculiar " care, and will grant you a degree of happineſs far ſuperior to that of the " other nations of the earth. You ſhall obtain poſſeſſion of the promiſed " land, which yourſelves and your iſſue ſhall enjoy to the lateſt period of " time. The whole univerſe ſhall be filled with your fame, and your off- " ſpring ſhall encreaſe ſo abundantly, that they ſhall be found in every part " of the earth. Bleſſed and wondrous nation! who, numerous as ye are, de- " rive your origin from one common anceſtor.

" You muſt, for a time, be ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the land of Ca- " naan, though a ſpot too confined, both for your numbers and your fame; " but know that the period approaches, when you ſhall have no other limits " than thoſe of the world. Your iſſue ſhall be numerous as the ſtars of heaven: " yet ſhall no want of any of the conveniencies or comforts of life be found " among that infinite multitude: but the Almighty ſhall confer on you the " bleſſings of plenty, peace, valour and victory; and the children of your " foes ſhall be your ſubjects and ſervants. May our enemies therefore, be " yours alſo; ſince, by riſing in oppoſition againſt you, they will expoſe " themſelves to inevitable deſtruction. It is to God, in ſhort, that you " are indebted for all theſe favours; to that God who alone can exalt " the oppreſſed, and humble the haughty, as in his wiſdom and juſtice he " ſees fit."

Throughout the whole of this ſpeech, it was apparent that the prophet was actuated by a ſupernatural and divine impulſe. But Balaak vehemently complained that he had falſified his promiſe, and, after having received many valuable preſents to denounce a curſe upon the Iſraelites, had loaded them with bleſſings. To theſe reproaches Balaam replied in the following terms:

" Can you imagine, O king, that a prophet, when delivering his predic- " tions, is permitted to utter, and to omit what he thinks proper? In this " caſe, he is merely the inſtrument of the Deity, who ſuggeſts to him every " word he ſpeaks; and he is himſelf totally unconſcious of all he ſays. I " perfectly recollect that both yourſelf and the Madianites urgently ſolicited " me to repair hither, and that I came, in conſequence, with a ſincere deſire " to render you every ſervice in my power. But as all oppoſition to the will " of God is vain, I found myſelf reſtricted from purſuing my own inclina- " tions on the occaſion.

" When the ſpirit of God takes poſſeſſion of our breaſts, we no longer re- " tain a command over ourſelves. It was far from my intention to utter a " ſingle word in praiſe of the Iſraelites, or concerning the happineſs and glory " which the Almighty deſigns to beſtow upon them: but I found myſelf " compelled to declare what the Almighty has decreed in their favour. How- " ever, in order if poſſible, to fulfill the wiſhes of yourſelf and the Madia- " nites, let other altars be erected, and freſh ſacrifices be offered up, and I " will again make trial whether God will permit me to curſe this people."

This

This propoſal was immediately complied with; but God ſtill refuſed to hearken to the ſolicitations of the propher, who, falling on his face, predicted the unhappy fate of various princes and ſtates, who ſhould unfortunately oppoſe that choſen people; ſeveral of the particulars of which have been ſo circumſtantially verified, that there is every reaſon to expect that the reſt will be accompliſhed in due ſeaſon.

This diſappointment incenſed Balaak to that degree that, he diſmiſſed the prophet, with evident marks of diſpleaſure, who immediately departed homewards: but, when he arrived on the banks of the Euphrates, he bethought himſelf of an expedient to ingratiate himſelf with Balaak and the princes of Madian, and being again introduced to them, addreſſed them in theſe words:

"In order to convince you how ſincerely I am diſpoſed to gratify your "wiſhes, though in ſome degree, at the hazard of God's diſpleaſure; I have "deviſed a ſcheme which, poſſibly, may produce ſome effect in your fa- "vour. You muſt not imagine that the deſtruction of the Hebrews can "ever be effected by war, peſtilence, famine, or any other of the various "caſualties incident to mankind. They may, and neceſſarily will be fre- "quently ſubjected to the ſcourge of temporary calamities; but they will, "at length, ſurmount their troubles, and will learn wiſdom from their miſ- "fortunes.

"If you can derive any ſatisfaction from the acquiſition of a ſlight and "ſhort-lived advantage over them, adopt the advice which I ſhall now give "you. Select a number of the moſt beautiful virgins of your country; and "having ſet off their natural charms with the ornaments of art, let them be "ſent into your enemies camp; being previouſly inſtructed in what man- "ner to demean themſelves. If the young men among the Hebrews ſhould "appear to be captivated with their beauty, and ſhould expreſs their paſ- "ſion with any degree of warmth, either in their words or actions, let them "peremptorily declare their intention to return home directly, unleſs their "ſuitors will conſent to abandon the religion and laws of their country; "ſubſtituting in the place thereof thoſe of the Madianites and Moabites; "and, ſhould they comply therewith, they will draw upon themſelves the "reſentment of the Almighty." Having concluded his ſpeech, he retired.

This advice was immediately carried into execution; and the Hebrews were effectually enſnared by the charms of the perſons, and converſation of theſe maidens, and urged their ſuit with the utmoſt fervency of paſſion. The women conducted themſelves in ſuch a manner as to raiſe the deſires of their lovers to the higheſt pitch; and, perceiving that they had fully ſucceeded in this part of their deſign, they inſtantly feigned a reſolution of returning home without delay; but conſented to remain where they were for a ſhort time, at the earneſt requeſt of the men, who, to induce them thereto, eagerly preſſed upon them the acceptance of their affections, their lives, and their fortunes. The virgins now perceived that their lovers were ready to ſubmit to any terms they ſhould preſcribe, and one ſpeaking in the name of the reſt, addreſſed them in theſe words.

" It was not from any motives of diſguſt towards our parents and friends, " nor with the view of making ſale of our perſons (homely as they are) that " we have quitted our dwellings, moſt illuſtrious youths, to repair to your " camp; but ſolely with the deſign, as you are entire ſtrangers in this coun- " try, to render you any ſervice which may lay in our power. On this ac- " count, and having alſo formed a favourable opinion of your generoſity, " we have behaved with an innocent freedom. You profeſs an ardent af- " fection for us, and an earneſt deſire to retain us with you. Could we be " convinced of the ſincerity of your profeſſions, we ſhould not heſitate to " comply with your wiſhes, provided you will make us your wives, for on no " other terms will we conſent to continue with you; nor will you, we truſt, " think us over ſolicitous in a matter of ſuch delicacy." The youths, eager to promote their ſuit, readily promiſed every thing required of them; and the maiden proceeded thus: " As we are thus far agreed, it is proper that " we ſhould take notice of ſome other trifling matters, which ſtill require to " be adjuſted between us. You have been educated in the practice of cer- " tain rules and ordinances, even with reſpect to the meats and drinks which " you are accuſtomed to uſe, which differ from thoſe of all the other na- " tions of the earth. Previous to an union between us, you muſt, deter- " mine to adopt our manner of living and mode of worſhip; as from " thence we ſhall be enabled to judge of the warmth and ſincerity of your " affection for ourſelves: nor will you incur any cenſure in worſhipping the " gods of our country, which are, in reality, almoſt univerſally adored " throughout the world; whereas, the Deity whom you revere, has no other " votaries than yourſelves."

The Iſraelites were ſo intent on the gratification of their appetites, that they implicitly yielded to whatever the virgins were pleaſed to require of them; and did not even ſcruple to abandon the ancient religion and laws of their forefathers; joining with theſe women, who were now become their wives, in the notion and worſhip of a plurality of gods, in the indiſcriminate uſe of all kinds of meats, and, blinded by the vehemency of their paſſion, gave themſelves up to the practice of every ſpecies of irregularity.

The whole camp, by imperceptible degrees, became infected with the conduct of theſe men; few inſtances remaining of that veneration of the Deity, by which the practice of former times was diſtinguiſhed; for the licentiouſneſs to which the introduction of theſe new cuſtoms and manners had given birth, ſo univerſally pervaded all ranks of people, that it ſoon became utterly impracticable to check the progreſs of this dangerous evil.

One of the chiefs of the tribe of Simeon, who was named Zimri, had eſpouſed Coſbi, the daughter of Zur, a Madianite of the firſt rank and quality. This man, at the inſtigation of his wife, openly avowed his marriage and his conſequent change of religion. Moſes, fearful of the conſequences of this diſorderly conduct of the people, convened a general aſſembly, and, in a diſcourſe which he had framed for the purpoſe, repreſented to them the indignity which the memory of their anceſtors ſuſtained from their preſent conduct, in thus preferring the indulgence of their inordinate

dinate luſts and appetites, to that veneration which they owed to their Creator; urging them to atone for their miſconduct by a ſpeedy repentance, and to manifeſt a magnanimity of ſoul, not in violating the eſtabliſhed laws of their country, but in ſubduing the force of their unbridled paſſions. He farther obſerved to them, how inconſiſtent it was for men who had demeaned themſelves ſoberly and virtuouſly in the wilderneſs, to be guilty of ſuch unpardonable exceſſes in a land of plenty, and to ſquander in their proſperity what they had acquired, not without conſiderable danger and difficulty, in the time of their adverſe fortune. By theſe means he hoped either to ſhame, or to argue them into a change of conduct; carefully avoiding to give the leaſt umbrage, by addreſſing his diſcourſe to any one perſon in particular, it being his intention to reclaim thoſe who were culpable, and not to expoſe them by a public cenſure. When Moſes had finiſhed, Zimri roſe from his ſeat, and replied to him in theſe terms.

" I am one of the number who would not have ſubmitted to your op-
" preſſion, had not an obedience to your laws been enforced by the circum-
" ſtance of their having been eſtabliſhed at a remote period, whence they
" have derived their whole credit and authority. Under the pretext of
" acting in conformity to the will of God, and the legiſlative inſtitutions,
" you have abridged us of thoſe liberties to which every individual who is
" not ſubjected to the controul of a maſter has an indiſputable claim. If
" we are to yield our necks to the galling yoke which you endeavour to im-
" poſe on us, in what will the difference conſiſt between our condition in
" Ægypt, and that under the preſent legiſlator? You have aſſumed to
" yourſelf the power of enacting ſuch laws as you think proper, and, if we
" infringe them, we muſt ſubmit to whatever penalties you pleaſe to inflict;
" whereas it is yourſelf alone who merit puniſhment, for having abrogated
" thoſe cuſtoms which are common to all the nations of the earth, and hav-
" ing ſet up your own will in oppoſition to the general practice of mankind.
" Conſcious that I have done nothing worthy of cenſure, I am ready to
" avow and juſtify my conduct on all occaſions. It is laid to my charge that
" I have taken a foreign woman to my bed. I acknowledge the fact, with-
" out a bluſh; nor did I ever wiſh to make a ſecret of the tranſaction. I ad-
" mit likewiſe, that I have adopted a new mode of worſhip, and I think it
" highly proper that, in all ſuch caſes, every man ſhould have liberty to
" examine, and decide for himſelf; without being reſtricted, as in an arbi-
" trary ſtate, to govern himſelf by the opinion of any individual: nor ſhall
" I ſuffer any man to direct me in thoſe matters which concern myſelf
" alone."

In this ſpeech, Zimri delivered the ſentiments of the whole party; and the people waited in anxious expectation of the event of ſo audacious an inſult; being greatly apprehenſive that it would be productive of miſchievous effects. But Moſes, being fearful leſt the multitude ſhould riſe in arms if he ſhould attempt to reſent the groſs affront which had been offered him, inſtantly diſmiſſed the aſſembly, without making the leaſt reply to his opponent. This outrage, however, would probably have been carried to much

greater

greater lengths, but for the death of Zimri, which happened ſoon afterwards in the following manner.

Phinehas, the ſon of Eleazar the high-prieſt, and grand-nephew of Moſes, was highly renowned for his valour and other accompliſhments. This youth was ſo much incenſed againſt Zimri, on account of the contempt he had ſhewn of the laws of his country, that he determined to put him to death; from a conviction that, in the caſe of a faction ſimilar to the preſent, the more exalted the rank of the ringleader might be, the more exemplary ought to be his puniſhment. He, therefore, repaired to the tent of Zimri, and ſlew both him and Coſbi with one thruſt of his ſword. Many others of the Hebrew youths, animated with a like ſpirit with Phinehas, immediately attacked the aſſociates of Zimri, the major part of whom they devoted to a ſimilar death with their leader; and thoſe who eſcaped at that time, were quickly afterwards carried off by a peſtilence, which ſwept away not only the mutineers themſelves, but ſuch of their relations alſo, as by their influence and authority, might have reſtrained them from the commiſſion of thoſe ſins, which occaſioned their deplorable fate. The number of thoſe perſons who loſt their lives in this manner, amounted to fourteen thouſand.

Theſe treacherous practices of the Madianites enraged Moſes ſo highly, that he detached a body of troops to over-run their country, and totally to root out the whole nation. But with regard to that tranſaction, we ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter. I muſt not omit to mention here a circumſtance which ſtrongly evinces the ingenuous diſpoſition of our legiſlator. Balaam, as I have already obſerved, not having been able to obtain permiſſion from the Almighty to curſe the Hebrews, yet planned a ſcheme by which their enemies, the Madianites, had nearly effected their ruin, by ſeducing them from their faith and obedience to God. Moſes, notwithſtanding, makes the moſt honourable mention of this prophet, in the writings he has left us; inſerting not only his predictions, but alſo every particular relative to him, which could do honor to his memory; although he might, without the leaſt fear of detection, have aſcribed thoſe predictions to himſelf, and thereby have greatly enhanced his reputation with the world. Theſe are my ſentiments on the matter; but I leave others to determine thereon as they ſhall ſee fit.

CHAP. VII.

The Madianites are totally defeated by the Hebrews in a pitched battle.

THE number of the troops ſent by Moſes on this expedition was 12,000 men, 1000 from each tribe, and they were headed by Phinehas, of whom we have made mention, in the foregoing chapter.

When the Madianites heard that the enemy had already marched to their frontiers, and were ſtill advancing, they aſſembled their troops, ſeized upon ſeveral of the paſſes, which they fortified in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time would admit, and prepared to receive their attack. At the very firſt

ſhock, however, they gave way, and fled, an incredible number of them being killed in the purſuit. Among theſe were the five kings of the country, whoſe names were Ochus, Sures, Robeas, Ures, and Recem; from the latter of whom the metropolis of Arabia derives its name; having been founded by the above monarch: this city is ſtiled by the Greeks, Petra. The Hebrews ravaged the whole country, and, in purſuance of the inſtructions given by Moſes to Phinehas, utterly deſtroyed all the inhabitants, ſave the virgins, who were carried away captives, to the number of 32,000. Phinehas afterwards returned with his detachment to the army, bringing with him a prodigious booty, conſiſting of 52,000 oxen, 60,000 aſſes, with houſhold plate, and veſſels of gold and ſilver to an immenſe value.

Upon a diſtribution of the ſpoil, Eleazar and the prieſts received one fiftieth part, another fiftieth fell to the ſhare of the Levites, and the remainder Moſes divided among the people, every individual of whom acquired a conſiderable booty on the occaſion. Moſes being now greatly advanced in life, declined the functions of a leader, governor, and prophet, in favour of Joſhua, whom he proclaimed to be his ſucceſſor, in conformity to the command he had received from the Almighty. Joſhua was perfectly qualified to execute the important commiſſions with which he was inveſted, having obtained to a proficiency of knowledge in the divine and human inſtitutions, under the immediate direction of his juſt and able predeceſſor.

About this time, the tribes of Gad and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manaſſes petitioned Moſes to grant them the country of the Amorites, which had been lately conquered, and was conſidered by them as a ſpot highly deſirable; they were the more ſolicitous to obtain this point, as they poſſeſſed numerous herds and other cattle, and the earth produced abundance of excellent paſture. Moſes underſtood this requeſt to be made merely to avoid engaging in battle, and accuſed them of puſillanimity and indolence.

"I perceive," ſaid he, "the drift of your ſtratagem: your deſign is to "indulge yourſelves in eaſe and indolence, while your countrymen are op- "poſing the common enemy, and encountering the difficulties which muſt "inevitably occur in purſuing their victories beyond the Jordan, and pene- "trating into the country which has been promiſed them by the Almighty."

In conſequence of Moſes having manifeſted a diſpleaſure at what they requeſted, they urged, that the ſole motive of their application was a deſire to obtain a place of ſecurity for their wives, children, and effects; adding, that if fortified places were to be aſſigned them for the above purpoſe, no impediment would remain againſt their engaging in the common cauſe, and that they would purſue the war whereever their leader ſhould command.

The ſcruples which Moſes had entertained, being entirely removed by this declaration, he transferred to them the land of the Amorites, in the preſence of Eleazer, the high-prieſt, Joſhua, and the other chief magiſtrates, conditionally that they ſhould unite with their countrymen in a league offenſive and defenſive, and not quit their arms till the war ſhould ſubſide.

Ten of the forty-eight cities before mentioned were built by Moſes, and three of them he appointed as ſanctuaries for ſuch as had killed a fellow-

creature by chance-medley, or without malice prepenſe. During the life of the high prieſt within whoſe juriſdiction the homicide was committed, the refugee was to remain in baniſhment; and if the offender was found without the place of refuge, the law allowed that the kindred of the deceaſed might ſlay him; but gave no other perſon an authority to deprive him of life. Bozor, erected on the borders of Arabia, Ariman in Galadene, and Gaulanan in the country of Batanæa, or Batanitis, were the cities of refuge or ſanctuary. Moſes enjoined, that upon taking poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, three cities of ſanctuary, having the privileges above deſcribed, ſhould be conſtructed, among thoſe belonging to the Levites.

Solophades, a diſtinguiſhed perſon of the tribe of Manaſſes, died about this period, leaving daughters, but no male iſſue; and on this occaſion the principal people of the tribe ſubmitted it to the determination of Moſes, whether the daughters had a right to claim the inheritance of their father's effects. The deciſion of this point was, that they ſhould be entitled to the benefit of inheritance, on condition that they married into the tribe of which they were members, but that if they contracted marriage with perſons of different tribes, they were not to be conſidered as legal heirs. In conſequence of this reſolution, an ordinance was iſſued, prohibiting the alienation or transferring of inheritance, which was to be reſpectively preſerved to the ſeveral tribes.

CHAP. VIII.

The laſt oration of Moſes to the people: the laws which he delivers to them.

FORTY years, within thirty days, having now elapſed ſince the departure from Ægypt, Moſes aſſembled the people at a place now called Abila, on the banks of the river Jordan, and adjacent to a field of palm trees, and addreſſed them to the following purpoſe.

" The pleaſure of the Almighty, and the courſe of nature requiring me " to reſign my breath, after having arrived to the hundred and twentieth " year of a vexatious and toilſome life; and it being ordained that I ſhall " no longer employ my arms in war, or my advice in council, to facilitate " your progreſs towards the land of Canaan, I am ſenſible, in this the " lateſt hour of my exiſtence, of a peculiar ſatisfaction in the idea that I " leave my fellow-ſoldiers and the partners of my toils and ſufferings in a " happy proſpect of thoſe promiſed bleſſings which are to crown their " wiſhes. Even at this moſt important period, I muſt not omit that part " of my duty which relates to your happineſs, nor fail, according to the " abilities I poſſeſs, of explaining to you in what that happineſs conſiſts, " and pointing out the means by which it is to be obtained: and in this I " ſhall ſo conduct myſelf as to enſure a laſting veneration in your memories. " The unremitting attention which I have obſerved in my endeavours to " promote your welfare and happineſs, will give authority to what I ſhall " deliver, and let the integrity of my paſt days bear teſtimony that I am " deſerving confidence: and further be it obſerved, that the declaration

" of

" of a man on the verge of eternity is uttered in the ſincerity of heart, " and claims a ſacred obſervance.

" Be aſſured, that all human happineſs conſiſts in the favour of the Al- " mighty, to whom alone it belongs to reward the virtuous and puniſh the " wicked. If you demean yourſelves conformably to the commands of " God, and to the precepts which I have communicated to you by his or- " der, you ſhall acquire the higheſt degree of reputation for your virtues, " and the proſperous ſtate of your affairs ſhall conſtantly excite the envy " and jealouſy of your neighbours; beſides, the happineſs you now enjoy " ſhall be continued to you in perpetuity, and all your wants ſhall be abun- " dantly ſupplied. But, beware that you make no innovations either in " your laws or religion. Adopt my counſel, and you ſhall become invin- " cible; for while God is on your ſide, it is a matter of no conſideration " by whomſoever you are oppoſed. Virtue is conſtantly attended with ade- " quate and glorious rewards, and is in itſelf the greateſt benefit which " man can poſſeſs. Exerciſe it among yourſelves, and it will render you " mutually happy, and eſtabliſh your fame in afterages. By ſuch con- " duct you will enſure to yourſelves an happy eſtabliſhment; and my utmoſt " wiſh would be gratified, could I but ſee you in a ſettled ſtate before I re- " ſign my breath. To obtain this, you have only to pay due attention to " the precepts which have been delivered to you for the regulation of your " conduct, and to yield an implicit obedience to the orders of thoſe who " ſhall be placed in authority over you, to provide for your welfare and ſe- " curity.

" The divine Being, by whoſe direction you have been hitherto guided, " and to whoſe bounty you owe all the benefits derived from my adminiſtra- " tion, will continue to be your guardian and protector, ſo long as you wor- " ſhip him in the manner he has preſcribed. You will have alſo a ſufficient " number of excellent adviſers in the perſons of Eleazar, the high-prieſt, " Joſhua, the ſenate, and the heads of the tribes. Demean yourſelves to- " wards them with all ſubmiſſion; for thereon will your happineſs greatly " depend; as he will never be qualified to govern others, who has not firſt " learnt the leſſon to obey.

" Beware that you do not miſtake licentiouſneſs for liberty, an error which " you have too often committed on former occaſions, and that you do not, " in conſequence, riſe in rebellion againſt your governors. This is an er- " ror to which you have at all times been too ſubject; correct this evil pro- " penſity in future, and you will be greatly benefited thereby.

" God grant that none of my ſucceſſors may experience an impetuoſity of " conduct from you, ſimilar to what I have been too often expoſed to; for you " muſt be ſenſible that my life was frequently in much greater danger from " you than from all the attacks of our enemies. I mention not this circum- " ſtance with a deſign to reproach you; nor would I wiſh to remind you of " your former faults at the time I am about to leave you for ever. Let your " paſt misfortunes teach you prudence, and, when you have obtained " poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, do not ſuffer yourſelves to be ſeduced by " the riches and plenteouſneſs of the country to depart from your duty to

" your

" your governors; but remember that your welfare depends on a due ſub-
" ſerviency to your ſuperiors; and that if ever the attractions of wealth and
" luxury ſhall render you neglectful of that veneration which you owe to
" God, and of the reſpect to which your rulers are entitled, the Almighty
" will forſake you, and inſtead of your guardian and protector will become
" your avowed foe: you ſhall loſe with ignominy the conqueſts you ac-
" quired with reputation and valour, and ſhall be diſperſed as vagabonds
" over the face of the whole earth.

" When theſe calamities come upon you, it will then be too late to re-
" pent of your miſconduct, and to wiſh that you had conformed yourſelves
" to the laws of God and your country. Effectually, therefore, to guard
" yourſelves againſt falling into ſo fatal an apoſtacy in future, you muſt ut-
" terly extirpate the inhabitants of the countries you ſhall ſubdue, and to-
" tally conſume their temples, groves, and altars with fire. Leſt this, how-
" ever, ſhould not be ſufficient to anſwer the intent, I have compoſed a
" code of laws and ordinances, for the regulation both of your public and
" private conduct, under the immediate direction of God himſelf; the due
" obſervance of which will render you the happieſt people on the face
" of the earth."

At the concluſion of this diſcourſe, Moſes delivered to them a written book, containing the laws and rules above-mentioned. The proſpect of his approaching death ſuggeſted various affecting reflections to the ſurrounding multitude. Some were apprehenſive that they ſhould not be able to find, among their whole number, any perſon worthy to ſucceed him as their commander. Others revolved in their minds the bravery of his conduct, and the readineſs with which he had encountered every danger and difficulty for their ſervice. Some, again, were fearful that the loſs they ſhould ſuſtain by his death would be irreparable; as no perſon could, in their opinion, be ſo well qualified to act as a mediator and interceſſor between them and the Almighty. But the remembrance of their ungrateful conduct towards him in the Wilderneſs, rendered them inconſolable, and they could not refrain from expreſſing their grief in the loudeſt lamentations. Moſes, with ſome difficulty, pacified them at length, and, after having again recommended it to them to pay a due attention to the book of laws, already mentioned, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

But it will be proper, before I proceed any farther, that I ſhould inſert thoſe laws, in order to demonſtrate to the reader their conformity to the character of the perſon who compiled them, and to make him acquainted with the eſtabliſhed form of our government. The only alteration that I have preſumed to make in them has been to arrange them in their proper order, ſomething different from that in which they ſtand in the above-mentioned book, penned by Moſes. Thus much I thought neceſſary to premiſe, in order to avoid the imputation of having acted diſingenuouſly. That part of our laws which I now propoſe to take notice of, relates ſolely to the public government and conſtitution of our nation; intending to treat upon thoſe which refer to all commercial connections, as well between ourſelves as with ſtrangers, in a ſeparate treatiſe, which, with God's permiſſion, I mean,

in due time to publiſh, reſpecting the foundation and tendency of thoſe laws. Thoſe which I mean now to particularize, are theſe following.

" When ye have ſettled yourſelves in the land of Canaan, ye ſhall build " on a ſpot diſtinguiſhed by its fertility and the beauty of its proſpect, and " to be choſen by God himſelf, by the agency of his prophet, one ſingle " temple. In this temple ye ſhall erect one altar only, which ſhall be " formed of unhewn ſtones, taken promiſcuouſly from the quarry, and fitted " to each other with all poſſible accuracy and neatneſs; ye ſhall not aſcend " either to the temple, or to the altar by a flight of ſteps, but by a gentle " riſing of the ground. And ye ſhall erect no other temple or altar through- " out the land which ye ſhall poſſeſs; for ye are one nation, and adore one " only God."

" Let the blaſphemer be ſtoned to death, and his carcaſe be hung upon a " gibbet for the ſpace of a whole day, and afterwards be thrown into the " ground with every mark of ignominy."

" Thrice a year, every individual of your nation ſhall repair from all " parts of the land to this temple, to offer ſacrifices, and to implore the fu- " ture bleſſings of heaven; and, by the freedom of a ſocial intercourſe, to " give birth to a reciprocality of friendſhip among the different members of " the community. It tends greatly to promote the benefit of men of the " ſame lineage and profeſſion to acquire a perſonal knowledge of each other; " for the impreſſion made by a word, a look, or an action often ſurpaſſes all " conception; whereas, this advantage will be entirely forfeited unleſs ſuch " meetings are promoted."

" Excluſive of the tenth appropriated to the maintenance of the prieſts " and levites, a ſecond tenth alſo of the value of the produce of the land " ſhall be expended in ſacrifices, and in the celebration of public ſolemnities " in this holy city; as the power who grants us the gratuitous poſſeſſion of " the land, is, doubtleſs, fully entitled to a part of the fruits thereof."

" Nothing ſhall be offered in ſacrifice which is purchaſed with the wages " of proſtitution; for the Almighty abhors all unclean practices. Nor, " for the ſame reaſon, will any thing be accepted as an oblation which ariſes " from the hire of a female animal, intended to preſerve the breed."

" Ye ſhall not ſpeak ill of the Gods of other countries, nor ſhall ye de- " ſpoil their temples, or take away any veſſel or other thing which is deſ- " tined for the ſervice of their altars."

" No man ſhall preſume to wear a garment made with a mixture of wool- " len and linen, unleſs he be of the order of prieſts, to whom that privi- " lege belongs alone."

" At the concluſion of every ſeventh year, during the celebration of the " feaſt of tabernacles, the prieſt ſhall read to the people aſſembled the book " of laws, at which ceremony perſons of every rank, ſex, and age ſhall be " permitted to attend; for it is highly proper to impreſs their minds with a " due knowledge of the laws, that they may not plead ignorance in ex- " cuſe for their miſconduct. Offenders alſo are more eaſily reſtrained from " the commiſſion of crimes, when they know the puniſhments which they

" are liable thereby to incur. The impreſſions which men receive by the " ear are forcible and permanent, and, being convinced of the propriety " and neceſſity of legal inſtitutions, they are at all times prepared to ac- " cuſe themſelves, whenever they are guilty of a breach of thoſe inſti- " tutions."

" But I particularly recommend it to you to initiate your children early " in the knowledge of theſe laws, as the moſt advantageous and neceſſary " ſtudy to which they can poſſibly apply themſelves. Twice a day, there- " fore, let them be put in mind of the memorable mercies of the Al- " mighty towards them, particularly in their deliverance from the bondage " of the Ægyptians: for thankſgiving is a duty equally incumbent upon " us with prayer. Inſcribe upon their doors, their heads, arms, and other " parts of their bodies, memorials of the power and goodneſs of God, that " they may conſtantly have in their minds the bounties of divine providence " towards them."

" In each city let a council be eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of ſeven perſons; " men equally famed for their virtue and piety; and to theſe let twice the " ſame number of levites be added."

" Permit no man to uſe irreverent or ſcurrilous language in your courts " of juſtice: for, by accuſtoming yourſelves to pay a due deference to your " earthly governors, you will inſenſibly become attached to the practice of " all religious as well as moral duties."

" The ſentence of the judge muſt be definitive, except in caſes of evident " error or bribery. As juſtice is the point to which the proceedings of the " courts univerſally tend, it ought to be adminiſtered with the ſtricteſt im- " partiality. It argues a diſtruſt of the divine power and mercy, to mani- " feſt more fear of the reſentment of a man in high ſtation than of God " himſelf, as if the latter was inferior to the former; which thoſe who act " in the above manner evidently inſinuate."

" If the perſons before whom a matter is brought to be decided, ſhould, " either from the want of a thorough knowledge of the particulars, from " miſinformation, or from any other circumſtance, be found incompetent " (which not unfrequently happens) to paſs judgment therein; let the cauſe " be removed to the holy city, to be determined by the high-prieſt, the " prophet and the ſenate."

" No man ſhall be condemned upon the teſtimony of fewer than two " credible witneſſes."

" The natural levity, and propenſity to talkativeneſs of the female ſex, " renders them unfit to be admitted as witneſſes in a court of juſtice: their " teſtimony, therefore, ſhall not be received."

" Every ſlave alſo, ſhall be rejected as an evidence, becauſe from the " debaſement of his mind, ariſing from the abjectneſs of his condition, he " may probably, either through fear, or from motives of avarice, be in- " duced to deviate from the truth."

" He who prefers a falſe accuſation againſt another upon oath, ſhall in- " cur the ſame puniſhment as, in caſe of conviction, would have been in- " flicted on the party accuſed."

" If

" If a man be found dead in any lone place, and no proof can be given, " either poſitive or preſumptive, of the manner in which his death hap- " pened, the ſtricteſt inquiſition ſhall be made, and rewards offered for the " diſcovery of the parties concerned. But, ſhould theſe meaſures fail of " ſucceſs, the magiſtrates of the ſeveral diſtricts adjacent to the ſpot where " the body was found, ſhall aſſemble, and aſcertain, by an exact meaſure- " ment, which of thoſe diſtricts is neareſt to the ſpot in queſtion. This " matter being determined, the inhabitants of ſuch diſtrict ſhall pro- " vide a heifer, which they ſhall bring into a place totally unfit for every " purpoſe of vegetation; and, after cutting the ſinews of the neck of the " victim, the prieſts, levites, and elders ſhall waſh their hands with water " over the head of the animal, and in the moſt ſolemn manner ſhall declare " their innocence, and utter ignorance of the homicide in queſtion; con- " cluding the ceremony with the moſt earneſt ſupplications to the Deity, " to avert the guilt of blood from the people of that place in future."

" An ariſtocracy being the beſt form of government, let that be adopted " and conſtantly maintained by the Hebrews, and the aboliſhment of it will " be attended with many bad effects: for under ſuch a government the peo- " ple are ſubjected to the laws alone, which will ſufficiently inſtruct them in " every point of their duty: let them be ſatisfied, therefore, that the Al- " mighty deigns to take upon himſelf the ſupreme direction of their " affairs."

" If, notwithſtanding, ye ſhould find in yourſelves a propenſity towards a " monarchical government, be careful to chooſe for your king, a perſon of " your own nation; a perſon eminent for his juſtice and probity, of great " moderation, and free from guile: a perſon who ſhall place greater confi- " dence in the direction of the Almighty, for the good government of his " kingdom, than in his own judgment: a perſon, in ſhort, who ſhall con- " form himſelf upon all occaſions to the advice of the high-prieſt and el- " ders; without indulging himſelf in a plurality of wives, or in uſeleſs pa- " rade and oſtentation; leſt this affectation of power and pomp ſhould in the " end lead him to encroach upon your rights and privileges, and to aſſume " a degree of authority which may prove highly inconſiſtent with your in- " tereſt."

" Ye ſhall not remove either your own or your neighbour's land-marks, as " they were from the firſt deſigned to maintain inviolable the peace of ſo- " ciety. Let them remain immoveable as the foundations of the earth, and as " if they had been fixed by the hand of God himſelf, at the æra of creation. " The breach of this injunction will inevitably produce wars and tumults; " and, as ambition is the baſis of war, this kind of injuſtice derives it origin " from avarice."

" Ye ſhall neither eat yourſelves, nor offer in ſacrifice to God, the firſt- " fruits of ſuch trees as do not bear till the fourth year from the time of " their being planted; all ſuch being unnatural productions. But in the " fourth year, when the fruit is become fit for gathering, let the whole be " plucked, and conveyed to the holy city, where the owner ſhall conſume it,

" together

" together with the tithes of his other fruits, in company with his relations " and friends, and with the widows and orphans."

" No vineyard ſhall be ploughed up, for the purpoſe of its being ſown; " ſince ſuperfluous cultivation will but impoveriſh the land."

" Oxen are the only animals which ſhall be uſed for the plough; for beaſts " of different kinds ſhould not be joined together in the ſame yoke."

" The ſeed with which ye ſow the land ſhall be unmixed; as, by ming- " ling ſeveral ſorts together, you will create an unnatural confuſion."

" Ye ſhall not ſuffer animals of different ſpecies to generate; leſt the evil " example ſhould tempt mankind to indulge themſelves in the gratification " of unnatural luſts."

" As the moſt ſcandalous exceſſes have frequently proceeded from tri- " fling beginnings, the ſtricteſt precaution ſhould be uſed that nothing be " permitted which may tend to create a depravity of manners. Even the " minuteſt trifles, therefore, in appearance, ought to be adverted to in the " compilation of a body of laws, as matters of the moſt ſerious conſequence " frequently depend thereon."

" When ye reap your corn, be careful that ye leave a large proportion of " gleanings for the relief of the poor; and ye ſhall act in like manner when " ye gather your grapes and your olives. Nor will your bounty go unre- " warded; for, when a man evinces a proper commiſeration of the miſeries " of the poor, God will fertilize the land which he poſſeſſes, and will grant " him the bleſſing of plenty. Ye ſhall not muzzle the ox whilſt he treadeth " out the grain; as it would be totally inconſiſtent with juſtice and reaſon to " debar any animal from partaking of the fruits of his own labour."

" Suffer the paſſenger, whether he be a native or a ſtranger, to gather the " ripe fruit as he paſſes through your grounds, and to eat his fill; but with- " out taking any part thereof away with him."

" At the time when ye preſs your grapes, if a traveller ſhould requeſt a " few bunches of them, do not deny him ſo ſmall a proportion of thoſe fruits " which God has been pleaſed to beſtow upon you in ſuch great plenty; par- " ticularly as this fertile ſeaſon is but of ſhort duration. Nay, if, through " an habitual modeſty and reſerve, men ſhould be unwilling to ſolicit you for " a ſmall part thereof, ye are obligated to preſs the acceptance of it upon " them. For, if they chance to be of your own nation, they have an in- " dubitable right to partake with you, as being of the ſame blood with " yourſelves. If they are ſtrangers, the laws of hoſpitality require you to " admit them to a ſhare of the bounties of the Almighty. Nothing is to " be accounted as given in vain which is beſtowed in this manner; for the " bleſſings which the wealthy part of mankind enjoy are to be conſidered as " a depoſit, placed in their hands by God himſelf, for the relief of all ſuch of " their brethren as are afflicted with want and diſtreſs. Nor can men make " a more proper return for the munificence of God towards themſelves, than " by participating the favours they receive with the reſt of their ſpecies. " The breach of this injunction ſhall be puniſhed with thirty-nine laſhes, " to be inflicted by the hands of the common executioner: an abject chaſ- " tiſement, 'tis true; but well adapted to the crime. The remembrance of

" the many ſufferings which ye underwent, both in Ægypt and the wilder-
" neſs, ought to humanize your temper ſo far, at leaſt, as to render you
" compaſſionate to the neceſſitous."

" Excluſive of the two annual tenths, already mentioned, one of which
" was ſet apart for the uſe of the levites, and the other for the celebration
" of all public ſolemnities; a third alſo ſhall be levied, to be diſtributed
" every third year among the poor widows and orphans of your nation."

" Ye ſhall not neglect, at the proper ſeaſons, to bring your firſt-fruits to
" the temple, and, after returning thanks to God, and offering the cuſtom-
" ary ſacrifices, ye ſhall deliver them into the hands of the prieſts; having
" paid the uſual dues to the levites, and for the ſolemnization of the feſti-
" vals; when ye are about to return home, ye ſhall place yourſelves before
" the door of the temple, and ſhall give thanks to God for reſcuing
" the Iſraelites from their grievous bondage in Ægypt, and for eſta-
" bliſhing them in the poſſeſſion of ſo beautiful and fertile a country;
" publickly declaring, at the ſame time, that ye have paid the ſeveral dues
" required by the law. Ye ſhall then offer up your prayers to God, both
" for your own private welfare, and for that of the public; requeſting not
" only a continuance of his preſent favours and mercies, but alſo an encreaſe
" of them in future."

" A man who has attained to a marriageable age, and is inclined to
" take to himſelf a wife, ſhall make choice of a virgin, who is a free-wo-
" man, deſcended from virtuous parents, and well educated: but let no
" one preſume to attempt the chaſtity of the wife of another man, thereby to
" give uneaſineſs and vexation to her huſband."

" If a freeman marries a bond-woman, he ſhall not be juſtified on the
" plea of love; for a man derogates the dignity of human nature when he
" ſuffers his paſſions to uſurp the maſtery over him."

" Let no man eſpouſe a reputed harlot; for God will not accept a nup-
" tial oblation from the hands of an impure perſon; moreover, the off-
" ſpring of ſuch marriages commonly manifeſt their origin by the depravity
" of their manners."

" A man, who imagining he had married a virgin, finds himſelf de-
" ceived, ſhall bring the matter to a judicial determination, and ſhall pro-
" duce his proofs: the father, brother, or the perſon who is the neareſt re-
" lation to the woman, ſhall appear in her behalf. If the charge againſt her
" be not clearly proved, the huſband ſhall be compelled to entertain her as
" his lawful wife, and the marriage ſhall never afterwards be diſſolved, but
" upon the moſt indiſputable evidence of her guilt. But, ſhould it appear
" that the accuſation was founded ſolely in malice and calumny, the huſ-
" band ſhall, by way of puniſhment, receive thirty-nine ſtripes, and ſhall
" alſo be amerced in the ſum of fifty ſhekels, to the uſe of the father of the
" woman. On the other hand, if the guilt of the woman ſhall be made evi
" dent, and ſhe be of mean extraction, ſhe ſhall be ſtoned to death; or, if
" honourably deſcended, particularly from a ſacerdotal family, ſhe ſhall be
" burnt alive."

" If a man ſhall marry two wives, and ſhall (from whatever motive) pre-
" fer the one before the other, and the favoured wife ſhall prevail upon him
" to demand the privilege of primogeniture in behalf of her ſon, who is
" younger than the ſon of the other wife; in this caſe, I ſay, ye ſhall not
" comply with his demand; for, according to my laws, the elder ſon is
" entitled to a double portion of the inheritance, and it would be unjuſt to
" ſuffer this partiality of his father to operate to his diſadvantage, by de-
" priving him of the above privilege."

" If a virgin, who is contracted to one man, ſhall ſuffer herſelf to be
" debauched by another, both parties ſhall be deemed as guilty, and ſhall
" both be puniſhed with death; the man for ſeducing the woman to prefer
" the gratification of an avaricious or luſtful appetite, to an honourable ma-
" trimonial alliance, and the woman for ſuffering herſelf to be influenced by
" ſuch baſe and degenerate motives. But, if a man ſhall be convicted of
" having raviſhed a woman, on a ſpot at a diſtance from all help, he alone
" ſhall be ſentenced to death."

" Whoever ſhall ſeduce a virgin, who is under no engagement to any
" other man, ſhall either marry her, or, if the parents of the woman will
" not conſent thereto, let the delinquent compound for his offence by the
" payment of fifty ſhekels to her father."

" When a man is determined, as often happens, to ſeparate himſelf
" from his wife, upon whatever account, he ſhall deliver to her an inſtru-
" ment, ſigned by his own hand, whereby he engages never to require her
" to return to him again: and this will bear her harmleſs in contracting a
" ſecond marriage; nor will the divorce be otherwiſe valid. But if, after
" the death of her ſecond huſband, the woman ſhould be inclined to return
" to the firſt, ſhe ſhall not be indulged therein."

" When a married man dies, leaving no iſſue, let the brother of the de-
" ceaſed eſpouſe the widow, and, if a ſon ſhould be the produce of this ſe-
" cond marriage, he ſhall be named after the firſt huſband, and ſhall inherit
" the eſtate; for it is neceſſary to the public welfare, that family names
" ſhould be preſerved from one generation to another, and that their poſ-
" ſeſſions ſhould devolve entire from heir to heir: and it will be a conſola-
" tion to the widow to ſpend the remainder of her days with one ſo nearly
" related to her firſt huſband. In caſe of the refuſal of the brother to con-
" form to this ordinance, let the widow prefer a complaint againſt him to
" the ſenate, ſetting forth the inſult which, by his refuſal, he had caſt upon
" the memory of the deceaſed. The members of the ſenate ſhall then in-
" terrogate him on the ſubject of his conduct, and whatever arguments he
" may uſe in his defence, the reſult will be this: the widow ſhall looſen
" the latchet of his ſhoe, and, ſpitting in his face, ſhall reproach him with
" the contempt he has manifeſted for the memory of his deceaſed brother;
" adding, that by ſuch conduct he juſtly incurred his preſent puniſhment.
" He ſhall then quit the court, thus ſtigmatized; and the widow ſhall be
" permitted to marry whoever ſhe thinks proper."

" If a woman, of whatever condition, whether maid, wife, or widow,
" be taken priſoner, and the perſon who makes capture of her be inclined

" marry her, they ſhall not cohabit as man and wife 'till the woman ſhall " have ſhaven her head, and ſhall have fulfilled the time of her mourning " for the friends and relations ſhe may have loſt in the battle; and at the " end of the time ſhe ſhall be allowed to enter into the nuptial ſtate. Every " man who takes a woman to wife with the view of having iſſue by her, is " bound to pay ſome attention to the wiſhes of his wife, and not to indulge " his own inclinations at the expence of hers. But at the expiration of " thirty days, which is a ſufficient term for bewailing the loſs of our friends " and relations, the marriage ceremony may be performed without any im- " putation. If he ſhould, through a natural fickleneſs of temper, wiſh to " ſeparate himſelf from her afterwards, he ſhall not reduce her to her former " ſtate of ſlavery, ſeeing that ſhe hath by her marriage emancipated herſelf " from bondage."

" When children ſhall be guilty of irreverent behaviour towards their pa- " rents, let the father or mother, whom nature has conſtituted their judges, " admoniſh them in terms ſimilar to theſe:

Ye ſhould reflect, children, that the end for which marriage was inſtituted, was neither the gratification of an avaricious, or a luſtful diſpoſition; but, in the firſt place, to obtain children; and ſecondly, to educate thoſe children in the knowledge and practice of virtue and obedience; that they may prove the comfort and ſupport of their parents in the laſt ſtage of life. Ye muſt be ſenſible that we have neglected nothing in your education to enable you to live happily in this world: And how inadequate has been the return which ye have made us for all our affection and tenderneſs! But the paſſions of youth are impetuous, and its errors merit ſome kind of indulgence. Ye have acted wrong; correct your fault, before it be too late. It is poſſible that ye may not be apprized that, by your undutifulneſs to thoſe from whom, next under God, you derive your exiſtence, you commit a mortal offence againſt the majeſty of the Almighty himſelf; as being the common father of mankind. The laws, alſo, denounce the ſevereſt penalties againſt thoſe who are guilty of this breach of duty, the infliction of which God grant you may never experience!

" If this admonition produce the proper effect, let the former miſconduct " of the parties be forgiven, as the effect rather of human frailty than of " premeditation; and this lenity will redound to the honor of our laws, and " will greatly adminiſter to the comfort of the parents. But if the children " ſtill perſevere in their rebellion, in utter contempt both of the authority " and advice of their parents, let the laws, in that caſe, take their courſe; " and let the parties, in conſequence, be ſtoned to death, on a ſpot without " the city; and their bodies, after being expoſed one whole day on a gibbet, " ſhall be taken down in the evening to be interred."

" The ſame rule ſhall be obſerved, with reſpect to the burial of the body, " in every other caſe of public executions. Even the enemies of the ſtate " are entitled to the rights of burial. It is ſufficient that the delinquent " ſuffers the penalty of the law, and the puniſhment ought not to extend " beyond death."

" It ſhall not be permitted to one Hebrew to lend to another either money, " meat, or drink, upon uſury; for it is an unjuſtifiable action to make an advan-

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" tage of the diſtreſſes of thoſe of our own nation. Let it be remembered " that the conſciouſneſs of having done a good action, is its beſt reward: " thus benevolence itſelf would become clear gain, would man but confide " in the Almighty for that reward which he will indubitably confer, either " ſooner or later, on the virtuous and humane. Let thoſe who borrow either " money or fruits, wet or dry, make a point of diſcharging the debt when- " ever God ſhall enable them ſo to do: for this is nothing more than de- " poſiting ſo much money or effects in the hands of another, for your own " uſe and ſervice upon any future occaſion."

" If a debtor ſhall be ſo totally devoid both of ſhame and conſcience " as to neglect the re-payment of what he borrowed, the creditor ſhall de- " mand of him a pledge, which he ſhall receive at the door, but ſhall not " be permitted to enter his houſe, unleſs in virtue of an order, for that pur- " poſe, from the judge. In caſe that the debtor can conveniently ſpare the " article which he has pledged in the hands of his creditor, the latter ſhall " retain it till he has received ſatisfaction for the debt; but if, on the other " hand, he ſhould chance to be in very indigent circumſtances, it ſhall be " returned to him again before ſun-ſet; particularly if it ſhould be a gar- " ment, which he may poſſibly want to keep him warm during the night: " ſo much does God commiſerate the caſe of the poor."

" Ye ſhall not receive in pledge either a mill, or any thing which apper- " tains to the working of it; leſt the owner ſhould thereby be deprived of " the means of earning a maintainance."

" Whoever ſhall privately ſell a Hebrew into ſlavery ſhall be put to death; " and he who ſteals from another either gold or ſilver, ſhall make a two-fold " reſtitution."

" He ſhall not be ſubjected to the puniſhment of the law who ſhall kill a man " in the act of ſtealing, or making forcible entry into an habitation, in or- " der to rob the ſame."

" The penalty for ſtealing a labouring beaſt ſhall be four times the value " of the property ſtolen, except the creature be an ox, and in that caſe the " fine ſhall be quintaple: the robber not being able to diſcharge the penalty " ſhall be made a ſlave to the party he has injured."

" One Hebrew being ſold to another, ſhall ſerve for the term of ſix years " and be then emancipated: but in caſe of his having iſſue in the dwelling of " his maſter, by any fellow-ſervant, and ſhall be inclined to continue in " his ſervitude, himſelf, his wife and children ſhall be freed in the year of " jubilee."

" A man who ſhall find gold or ſilver upon the way, ſhall inquire for the " owner, and reſtore it to him: and in regard to cattle, the perſon who ſhall " find ſuch as have gone aſtray, ſhall keep them till the proprietor can be diſ- " covered, calling heaven to witneſs that he covets not the goods of another " man. It is contrary to the principles of humanity to take advantage " of the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures."

" Let thoſe who obſerve a traveller to be at a loſs upon the road, direct " and adviſe him, according to the beſt of their knowledge and ability.

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" To make a traveller the object of ſport, and to impede the progreſs of his " journey, and thereby delay his buſineſs, argues a cruelty of diſpoſition."

" Speak not injuriouſly of abſent perſons, or of thoſe labouring under the " affliction of deafneſs."

" If, in a quarrel, a man ſhall ſtrike another, and not with a ſword, the " agreſſor ſhall be puniſhed by a number of blows equal to thoſe conſti- " tuting his offence. If the party aſſaulted linger for ſome days, and then " expire, no action for murder ſhall enſue; but if he recover, the whole " expence incidental to his cure ſhall be defrayed by the aſſailant."

" A man who by aſſaulting a woman ſhall cauſe her to miſcarry, ſhall be " adjudged to a forfeiture for the loſs of a ſubject; and a further penalty ſhall " be inflicted upon him, as a gratuity to the huſband. If the woman die, the " ſentence of death ſhall be executed upon her deſtroyer; for the crime of " taking away the life of a fellow-creature requires that the life of the of- " fender be forfeited."

" Whoever ſhall be found with any poiſonous preparation in his cuſtody, " ſhall ſuffer death, as a juſt puniſhment of his malicious deſigns."

" He who ſhall wilfully ſtrike out the eye of another, ſhall make ſatis- " faction in kind; unleſs the injured party ſhall be inclined to accept of a " ſum of money, as a compenſation for the hurt he has ſuſtained; the law, " in this inſtance, leaving him to his option."

" The owner of a vicious ox ſhall be obliged to kill him. If the animal " chance to gore any perſon to death, let him be ſtoned, and let no man eat " of his fleſh; and, in this caſe, if it be proved that the owner of the beaſt " had been made acquainted with his miſchievouſneſs, he ſhall himſelf be " put to death, for neglecting to take proper precaution to prevent the " above accident. The maſter of an ox that hath killed either a male or " female ſlave, ſhall pay thirty ſhekels to the owner of ſuch ſlave. If one of " thoſe animals chances to kill another, they ſhall both be ſold, and the " produce of the ſale ſhall be equally divided between the two owners."

" Whoever digs a pit, or a well, ſhall lay boards over it, and raiſe a " mound about it, not with the view of excluding others from a participa- " tion of the water, but to prevent any accident which might happen there- " from either to man or beaſt; and if, in failure of ſuch precaution, any " animal ſhould unfortunately fall into ſuch pit or well, the proprietor of " the ground ſhall make good the value of the creature ſo loſt."

" Whoever receives either money or effects in truſt for another ſhall pre- " ſerve the depoſit inviolate, nor ſhall he ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded to " deliver it to any perſon but the legal proprietor thereof, upon any conſi- " deration whatever. For, although there ſhould be no witneſs either " to the depoſit, or to the peculation, in caſe he may have been guilty " of it, yet his conſcience will aſſuredly ſupply that defect, and will either " condemn or acquit him in the ſight of God, who cannot be deceived by " the utmoſt exertion of human artfulneſs and fallacy. But if the depoſit " ſhould be loſt, without any bad deſign on the ſide of the perſon in whoſe " hands it was entruſted, he ſhall preſent himſelf before the ſeven judges,

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" of whom we have already ſpoken, and ſhall make a ſolemn declaration,
" upon oath, that he is not privy, in any reſpect whatever, to the manner
" in which it was loſt; and he ſhall thus acquit himſelf of any imputation
" of fraud in the execution of his truſt. But ſhould any proof ariſe, in
" future, that he had converted the ſmalleſt part of the depoſit to his own
" uſe, he ſhall be ſubjected to the payment of the whole."

" Ye ſhall obſerve the ſtricteſt punctuality in the payment of the labour-
" ers whom you employ; neither defrauding them of the ſmalleſt part of
" their juſt demands, nor delaying the payment thereof a day beyond the
" time that the work is finiſhed."

" It were injuſtice to puniſh the children for the offences of their fathers:
" on the contrary, if their own diſpoſition be naturally good, the circum-
" ſtance of their parents miſconduct ought to be conſidered as a misfortune
" to them; and we are bound rather to revere them for their own virtues,
" than to deſpiſe them on account of the vices of others. Nor ſhould we,
" in all caſes, impute the wickedneſs of the children to thoſe from whom
" they derive their birth; for there are ſome tempers ſo unaccountable as
" not to be influenced either by precept, example, or even by the ſeverity
" of puniſhment."

" Some perſons, influenced by horrid and unnatural paſſion, voluntarily
" render themſelves eunuchs, and thereby, as far as in them lies, counter-
" act the deſign of nature and providence in the creation of the different
" ſexes; reſcinding, at the ſame time, the means of population, and, con-
" ſequently, depriving the world, to the utmoſt of their power, of the be-
" nefit of poſterity. Their minds, alſo, muſt doubtleſs have been totally
" corrupted and debilitated, previouſly to their making this infamous ex-
" periment on their bodies. Avoid theſe wretches as monſters in nature;
" nor ſuffer any creature to be caſtrated, either of the human or brute ſpe-
" cies, as you, in that caſe, depart from the firſt inſtitute of nature."

" The foregoing laws I have formed for the regulation of your con-
" duct in times of peace; and I hope that both yourſelves and your poſ-
" terity will ever religiouſly adhere to them. Yet, as it muſt be expect-
" ed that accidents will naturally ariſe in the beſt regulated ſtates, I ſhall
" endeavour, in the feweſt words poſſible, to give you ſuch advice, as ſhall
" enable you to provide againſt all contingencies."

" May you poſſeſs in peace the land which God hath deſtined for your
" reſidence, and may you quietly reap the fruit of your toil and perſeve-
" rance, unexpoſed to the attempts either of foreign enemies, or of more
" dangerous domeſtic foes; as an internal ſchiſm would hazard the deſtruc-
" tion of the ancient form of government, both civil and religious, which
" was eſtabliſhed by your anceſtors, and is founded on ſuch ordinances as
" they received from God himſelf: and from theſe you muſt never de-
" part."

" If, however, either yourſelves or your poſterity ſhould at any time be
" compelled to enter into a war, I ſincerely wiſh it may be with a foreign
" foe. To avoid the blame of raſhneſs and precipitation, let your proceed-
" ings be regulated in proper form. In the firſt place, ſend ambaſſadors to

" reaſon

" reaſon with your opponents, on the injuſtice of their conduct towards you; " for it is but right that you ſhould endeavour to ſettle your differences by " a negotiation, without proceeding to force. You may repreſent to them " that it is not your deſire to enrich yourſelves with plunder; that you " wiſh not to puſh matters to extremes, but are willing to accept of any " terms which may be conſiſtent with juſtice and reaſon; not arrogantly " preſuming on the ſuperior advantages you enjoy in a numerous and well- " diſciplined army, plentifully provided with all kinds of military ſtores, " or what excels all, on the favour and protection of an Almighty Power, " who will conſtantly fight on your ſide. But if your antagoniſts ſhould de- " termine to riſk the event of a war, meet them boldly in the field, put- " ting yourſelves under the direction of the Almighty, and, next to him, " of the moſt experienced and valiant man you can ſelect from your whole " army. Entruſt the ſupreme direction of the war in the hands of a few " only; for a multiplicity of leaders is prejudicial; not only on account " of the diſſentions, but alſo of the delays which too commonly ariſe from " thence. Be careful in the choice of your ſoldiers; for their courage " muſt be equal to their ſtrength; as a defect of reſolution in a few may " ſuffice to diſpirit and ſeduce a whole army."

" But theſe following perſons ſhall be excuſed from military ſervice: " the maſters of new-built houſes, in which they have not yet reſided the " term of one year entire; all ſuch perſons as have planted vineyards, the " produce of which they have not yet taſted; and men lately married, who " have not yet brought home their wives; and who will devote thoſe hours " to dalliance which ought to be employed in the ſervice of their coun- " try."

" Let your troops be kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline. If at any time, " during a ſiege, you ſhould want wood, for the conſtruction of military " engines, or for any other purpoſe, ye ſhall not cut down any fruit-trees; " ſeeing that they were both created and planted for uſes very different from " that to which you mean to apply them. Were they endued with the gift " of ſpeech, they would complain bitterly of the injuſtice of deſtroying " them, who were guiltleſs of the cauſe of the war, with the view of pro- " moting its progreſs; and would add that, could they be permitted to " change their ſituation, they would tranſplant themſelves to ſome diſtant " part of the earth."

" When you have obtained a victory, put thoſe to death who ſhall re- " ſiſt you, but ſave the lives of the reſt, and render them your tributaries; " excepting the Canaanites alone, the whole race of whom you ſhall utterly " extirpate."

" No man ſhall be permitted to wear the dreſs of a woman, nor ſhall any " woman, in battle, particularly, aſſume that of a man."

Such were the laws and regulations which formed the baſis of the Hebrew commonwealth, at the time of the death of Moſes, who left various other ordinances alſo, which he had framed about forty years before that period: but of theſe I ſhall ſpeak in a ſeparate tract.

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He afterwards continued to aſſemble the people for ſeveral ſucceſſive days; beſtowing benedictions on thoſe who ſhould conform to his laws, and denouncing curſes againſt the tranſgreſſors of them. He alſo read to them a prophecy, which he had compoſed in hexameter verſe, relating to ſundry incidents, which afterwards happened conformably to the prediction, both with reſpect to the circumſtances and to the courſe of the events. This prophecy he ordered to be depoſited in the oratory. The books of the laws he put into the hands of the prieſts, to whoſe care alſo he committed the ark, in which were the two tables containing the ten commandments; giving it in charge to the people, as ſoon as they ſhould be firmly eſtabliſhed in the promiſed land, to take ample vengeance on the Amalekites for their former injurious treatment of them in the wilderneſs.

He further ordered that, when they ſhould have acquired the entire poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, and ſhould have deſtroyed all the inhabitants, they ſhould erect an altar a little to the eaſtward of Sichem, between the mountains of Garizim, on the right, and Gebal on the left; and that the whole army being divided into two corps, conſiſting each of an equal number of tribes, together with the prieſts and the levites, ſhould be cantoned on the above mountains.

The two corps were, alternately, to offer up prayers to God for bleſſings on all thoſe who obeyed his commandments, and gave ear to the inſtructions of his ſervant Moſes; that party which was ſtationed on mount Garizim taking the lead; and the other on mount Gebal, at the cloſe of this ceremony, raiſing the loudeſt ſhouts, in token of their concurrence. The latter party were then to recite certain maledictions againſt the unbelievers and the diſobedient, and to be anſwered in the aforeſaid manner by thoſe on mount Garizim. In order to perpetuate the memory of this tranſaction, theſe bleſſings and maledictions were inſerted in a book. Moſes, alſo, when he drew near his end, cauſed them to be engraved on each ſide of the altar; the people being, at the ſame time, engaged in offering up ſacrifices and burnt-offerings to the Almighty, which they were permitted to do on this occaſion, though uncuſtomary; Moſes declaring, however, that it ſhould not be drawn into a precedent.

Moſes convened all the people on the next day, and obliged not only the men, women, and children, but even the ſlaves alſo, to enter into a ſolemn engagement, which they ratified by an oath, to pay the ſtricteſt obedience to the foregoing laws, unſeduced by promiſes, and unawed by threats. They likewiſe promiſed that, if any perſon, however cloſely connected with them either by blood or friendſhip, or any body of people, ſhould attempt to introduce a change in thoſe laws, they would firmly unite themſelves againſt him or them; perſecuting them with unceaſing ardour, and utterly deſtroying their habitations: but, if the power of the innovators ſhould be ſuperior to theirs, they would at leaſt enter their proteſt againſt the impiety, and would by every poſſible means manifeſt their utter deteſtation thereof.

This was the ſubſtance of the oath which Moſes adminiſtered to the people on this occaſion. He alſo gave them the neceſſary inſtructions relative

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to the manner of performing ſacrifice; and recommended to them to undertake no enterprize of conſequence, till they ſhould firſt have learnt how far the Almighty favoured their deſign, by obſerving the appearance of the precious ſtones in the breaſt-plate of Aaron, according to the manner before preſcribed.

A ſhort time previous to the death of Moſes, Joſhua predicted the various particulars of the ſervices which he ſhould render the people, both in his civil and military capacity; by theſe diſcourſes preparing the multitude to receive the new laws lately promulged by Moſes. He further acquainted them that what he ſaid was ſuggeſted to him by God himſelf; who had revealed to him that, whenever they ſhould abandon the faith of their forefathers, they ſhould experience the ſevereſt afflictions; that their country ſhould be over-run and laid waſte by ſtrangers, their temple be reduced to aſhes, and themſelves be led captive by a cruel and barbarous people; and that they ſhould then, too late, repent of their diſobedience and ingratitude to the Almighty. He added, that God would, nevertheleſs, in proceſs of time, take pity on their ſituation, and reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of their country and of their temple; but that they would often relapſe into their former errors and wickedneſs.

Moſes then gave his inſtructions to Joſhua, relative to the plan of operations which he was to purſue in the enſuing war againſt the Canaanites; giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that God would grant him ſucceſs in his undertaking, and predicting many circumſtances of the future proſperity of the people, of whom he afterwards took his leave in the following ſpeech:

" As this is the day appointed by the Almighty for the determination of " my life, it will be proper that, while ye are yet about me, I ſhould re- " turn him thanks for all the mercies which he has ſhowered down upon " you; both in delivering you from the dangers and calamities to which " you have been ſo repeatedly expoſed, and in granting you thoſe innume- " rable favours and bleſſings for which you are ſo highly indebted to his " bounty. I muſt likewiſe acknowledge my own obligations to his good- " neſs for the aſſiſtance he has been graciouſly pleaſed to afford me in all " my endeavours to promote your happineſs and welfare, in effecting which " I have had no other ſhare than as being an inſtrument in the hands of God. " Bleſſed and praiſed be his holy name for all theſe mercies; and to his " protection, in theſe laſt hours of my life, I now deem it my duty to " recommend you. Let me remind you alſo of the duty and reverence " which you are bound to pay to that Supreme Power, who alone is en- " titled to your adoration. I would recommend it to you alſo to ſet " a juſt eſtimate on the laws he hath communicated to you, through me, " as being the moſt valuable and ſacred of all his bounties. An earthly " lawgiver would naturally reſent a neglect of his ordinances, and a " contempt of his authority: judge then what will be the indigna- " tion of the ſupreme Being, who is your heavenly legiſlator, when

" he ſhall call you to account for your diſregard of his command-
" ments."

At the concluſion of this ſpeech he gave his benediction to the ſeveral tribes; predicting to each, many incidents which were to happen to them in future, and which were afterwards fulfilled. The people abandoned themſelves to their grief; the women beating their breaſts, and the very children expreſſing their ſorrow by the loudeſt lamentations. Such was the reſpect and affection which even thoſe innocents manifeſted for this great man. In ſhort, perſons of every age, ſex, and rank appeared to be equally affected on the occaſion. The regret of one part of the multitude aroſe from the conſideration of the difficulties they muſt expect to ſuffer after the deceaſe of Moſes: others now repented of their former injurious conduct towards him; acknowledging that they had never formed a juſt value of the advantages which they had enjoyed under his direction, till now that they were on the point of being deprived of him for ever. But this contagious tenderneſs ſhewed itſelf in no one more viſibly than in Moſes himſelf, who, notwithſtanding all his endeavours to ſupport the character of the philoſopher in this laſt hour of his life (conſoling and admoniſhing them to a due reſignation to the divine will, and to the law of nature) at length abandoned himſelf to the frailty he had condemned, and joined in weeping with the reſt. As he paſſed on towards the ſpot where he was to yield up his breath, the multitude ſtill continuing to follow him with tears, he made a ſignal with his hand to thoſe who were fartheſt off to ſtop, and, addreſſing himſelf to the others who were neareſt him, begged that they would continue where they were, and not diſturb the tranquility of his laſt moments, by their vain and unſeaſonable lamentations.

They obeyed; but ſtill purſued his ſteps with weeping eyes and afflicted minds, till they could no longer diſcern him. He proceeded forwards, accompanied ſolely by the elders, with Eleazar the high-prieſt, and Joſhua, whom it had pleaſed God to appoint as his ſucceſſor. When he had reached the top of Abarim, which is a very high mountain ſituated oppoſite to Jericho, he ſpent ſome ſhort time in contemplating the proſpect which lay before him of the fertile land of Canaan, and then diſmiſſed the elders; retaining with him only Eleazar and Joſhua. Having bid a final adieu to theſe two perſons, and exchanged many reciprocal embraces, he was taken from their ſight in a cloud, and conveyed into a neighbouring valley. It is recorded in the Holy Scriptures that he died, leſt the world ſhould give into a notion that, on account of his eminent virtues, he had been tranſlated immediately to heaven. He lived to the age of 120 years; during a third part of which time, within one month, he poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority among the Hebrews. He died on the firſt day of the month Dyſtrus, as it is named by the Macedonians, and by us Adar; which is the concluding month of the year.

This

This man excelled in wiſdom, was a conſummate orator, and poſſeſſed ſo admirable a command over his paſſions, that they ſeemed to form no part of his compoſition: as a general and a prophet, he ſurpaſſed all who have either preceded or followed him. The mourning for him continued thirty days; and the people were more affected by the loſs of this great and virtuous man, than by any other misfortune that they had ever experienced. Nor was this the character which he had obtained among his cotemporaries alone; but he has acquired as great reputation with poſterity by his writings, as he did with thoſe who lived in his own time, by the fame of his actions. Theſe are all the particulars we have been able to collect relative to the death of Moſes.

End of the Fourth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK V.

Containing the tranſactions from the year of the world 2493, to 2850.

CHAP. I.

After the death of Moſes, Joſhua ſucceeds to the ſupreme command; ſubdues the Canaanites and divides their lands, by lot, among the tribes.

THE laſt duties having been paid to the memory of Moſes, and the time of mourning for him being now expired, Joſhua commanded the people to prepare themſelves for marching, and ſecretly diſpatched certain perſons to Jericho, to gain intelligence of the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, and the ſtrength of the place.

The tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manaſſes having been permitted, as we have before obſerved, to ſettle themſelves in the country of the Amorites, which includes a ſeventh part of the land of Canaan, Joſhua aſſembled the leaders of thoſe tribes on the preſent occaſion, and, after reminding them of their obligations to Moſes, urged them to fulfil the promiſes which they had formerly given him, and to afford their brethren, the Hebrews, every aſſiſtance in their power; with which they chearfully engaged to comply, and, accordingly, joined the army with a body of fifty thouſand men. Joſhua then quitted Abila, and marched ſixty furlongs

nearer the river Jordan, the tents were ſcarcely pitched, when the ſpies which had been ſent to Jericho returned, and gave the following account of what had befallen them in the execution of their commiſſion.

That under the guiſe of being ſtrangers, they obtained a free acceſs to the city, and were indulged in examining the walls, gates, and fortifications of the place, without the leaſt moleſtation or hindrance; that, towards evening, they retired to a houſe, in a quarter of the city adjoining to the wall, where they refreſhed themſelves; that, having finiſhed their ſupper, while they were conſulting on the means of effecting their retreat from the city, intelligence was brought them that the king had been made acquainted with their arrival, and with their concealment in the houſe of Rahab, and had ordered them to be inſtantly ſeized and put to the rack, for the purpoſe of extorting from them a confeſſion of their deſigns; that, in conſequence of this intelligence, Rahab conducted them to a retired part of the houſe, where ſhe covered them over with a quantity of flax, and told the officers of juſtice, when they came to ſearch for them, that it was true ſuch ſtrangers had come to her houſe that evening, about ſun-ſet, but that they had departed immediately after ſupper, and, was inſtant purſuit made after them, might eaſily be overtaken; that the apparent ſimplicity of the woman ſo effectually impoſed on the officers, that they retired without ſearching the houſe, and haſted towards the river Jordan, in hopes of diſcovering them; that, when the confuſion which this alarm had occaſioned was in ſome meaſure ſubſided, Rahab repreſented to them the great danger to which ſhe had expoſed both herſelf and her family, by ſecreting them, and exacted from them an oath, to preſerve herſelf and her relations from the univerſal deſtruction in which, it had been revealed to her by the Almighty, the whole city was to be involved; that they cautioned her to be careful when the city ſhould be attacked by the Hebrews, to remain cloſely ſhut up with her kindred in her own houſe, which ſhe ſhould diſtinguiſh from the reſt by a ſcarlet thread affixed to the door, the intent of which ſignal ſhould be communicated to the general, who would, doubtleſs, protect from harm all thoſe who ſhould be found within the walls of that houſe; and that, having returned her repeated thanks for her kindneſs, they then departed, being let down from the top of the wall by a cord, which Rahab had provided for that purpoſe. Eleazar the high-prieſt, and the elders, having been conſulted how far the promiſe of ſafety which the ſpies had given to Rahab was binding, formally pronounced that it could not by any means be diſpenſed with.

As the city of Jericho was ſituated on the other ſide of the river Jordan, the waters of which were particularly rapid at that time, Joſhua, being totally deſtitute of the means of paſſing his army over, became greatly diſpirited at the proſpect of theſe apparently inſurmountable obſtacles to his ſucceſs; but God was pleaſed to revive his courage, by giving him a full aſſurance that thoſe difficulties ſhould be removed, and that the river ſhould be rendered fordable.

On the ſecond day after receiving this revelation, the promiſe was made good to him, and the army paſſed over in the ſubſequent order: the prieſts

went firſt, bearing the ark: after them followed the levites, with the tabernacle and the holy veſſels: and they were ſucceeded by the whole army, which marched in ſeparate diviſions, according to the rank of their reſpective tribes; the women and children being placed in the centre, the more effectually to preſerve them from being carried away by the force of the ſtream. No ſooner had the prieſts entered the river, than the violence of the waves began to abate, and the waters receded, till the channel became, at length, quite dry; and thus the whole multitude paſſed over without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger. During the whole time that the army was paſſing over, the prieſts remained in the midſt of the channel, and when they alſo had landed, the waters reſumed their former ſtate.

The army then marched forwards to the diſtance of about fifty furlongs, and encamped within ten furlongs of the walls of Jericho. Joſhua erected an altar on this ſpot, conſiſting of twelve ſtones, which twelve princes of the ſeveral tribes had, by his order, collected from the bottom of the channel of Jordan, with the view of perpetuating the remembrance of this miraculous ſeparation of the waters. On this altar he offered ſacrifices, and celebrated the feaſt of the paſſover in the place where he was then encamped. The corn being ripe, and the whole face of the country overſpread with flocks and herds, the manna which had been their only food for the ſpace of forty years in the wilderneſs, failed them at this juncture: but the loſs of this ſuſtenance was amply compenſated by the great abundance which they found themſelves at full liberty to enjoy.

The conduct of the inhabitants of Jericho, in ſuffering the Iſraelites to ravage the open country, while they continued cloſe ſhut up within their walls, convinced Joſhua that no conſideration would be ſufficient to induce them to meet him in the field; and he, therefore, determined to lay ſiege to the city. On the firſt day of the above feſtival, Joſhua commanded a proceſſion to be made round the walls of the city, in the following order: ſeven prieſts, blowing horns or trumpets, to rouſe the ardour of the troops, led the way: theſe were followed by others of the ſame function, carrying the ark on their ſhoulders, and attended by a numerous guard of ſoldiers: the proceſſion was cloſed by the elders: when they had made the circuit of the city, they returned to the camp. This was repeated for ſix days ſucceſſively; and on the ſeventh, Joſhua, addreſſing himſelf to the army and people, acquainted them that they would become maſters of the place on that very day, without the leaſt effort on their part; as the walls would fall ſpontaneouſly, and leave the city utterly defenceleſs: enjoining them, at the ſame time, to put every living creature they ſhould find therein to the ſword, Rahab and her family only excepted, without reſerving to their uſe the ſmalleſt part whatever of the plunder. He farther ordered that all the gold and ſilver ſhould be collected together, and offered up to the Almighty, as the firſt-fruits of their conqueſts in the land of Canaan.

Having given them theſe inſtructions, he advanced with his army towards the city, and, after having gone in proceſſion ſeven times round the walls, with the prieſts, the elders, and the ſoldiers, in the manner mentioned above, they halted, and the walls ſuddenly fell to the ground, without the

the agency of any kind of engine, or other means to effect their fall. The conſternation of the inhabitants was ſo great on the occaſion, that they were deprived thereby of all power to defend themſelves; and the Hebrews, entering the city without the leaſt oppoſition, put all without diſtinction to the ſword, ſave Rahab and her friends and family, who were preſerved by the ſpies formerly mentioned, and conducted by them to Joſhua, who made her many acknowledgements for the eſſential ſervice ſhe had rendered his agents, and rewarded her with a liberality becoming his high ſtation.

After the total extinction of the inhabitants, the city itſelf was reduced to aſhes, and a prophetical curſe was denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to rebuild it; purporting that he who ſhould lay the firſt ſtone of a new foundation ſhould loſe his eldeſt, and he who compleated the undertaking, his youngeſt ſon; nor was this malediction pronounced in vain, as will appear in the ſequel. The gold, ſilver, and braſs which was found in the city amounted to an immenſe value, and Joſhua delivered the whole of it, without the leaſt diminution, to the prieſts, to be depoſited in the ſacred treaſury.

But, notwithſtanding the ſtrict precaution of Joſhua, it ſo happened that Achar, the ſon of Zebedee, of the tribe of Judah, having diſcovered among the plunder, the king's cloak, which was of gold tiſſue, and an ingot of the ſame metal, weighing two hundred ſhekels, ſecreted the whole for his own private uſe. To palliate the action, he argued thus: that it was ridiculous to offer up to God ſuch things as he could not poſſibly ſtand in need of; and that he had ventured his life to obtain this booty, which would be of infinite ſervice to him: he therefore buried the articles in a hole which he dug in his tent; vainly imagining that he might deceive the Almighty with the ſame facility as he impoſed on mankind. At this period, the army lay encamped at a place to which the Hebrews had given the name of Gilgal, ſignifying *liberty*; for they conſidered themſelves as being fully ſecured from all attempts of the Ægyptians, and from all misfortunes ſimilar to thoſe which they had experienced in the wilderneſs.

In a ſhort time after the deſtruction of Jericho, a body of three thouſand men was detached by Joſhua to poſſeſs themſelves of the city of Ain, which was ſituated a ſmall diſtance only from the former; but on this occaſion the Hebrews were repulſed with the loſs of thirty-ſix men. The news of this check threw the Iſraelites into the greateſt conſternation imaginable; not ſo much in conſideration of the number killed, though they were all choice men, as of the bad effects which it might produce; for, having flattered themſelves with a courſe of uninterrupted ſucceſſes (in conſequence of the promiſe they had received from God) they perceived that the ſpirits of their enemies were now revived, and this reflection induced them to ſet a part a whole day to the purpoſe of faſting and humbling themſelves before God. So univerſal was the deſpondency, with which the army was affected, that Joſhua addreſſed himſelf to the Almighty on the occaſion with more than uſual importunity, in theſe words:

"We did not, O Lord, undertake this war from any raſh or ambitious "impulſe, but merely from a confidence in the promiſes of ſucceſs which

"were

" were made to us by thy ſervant Moſes, and which were confirmed by nu-
" merous ſigns and wonders. But how are our hopes deceived! Muſt we
" not from hence conclude, either that Moſes was not divinely inſpired, or
" that thy purpoſes were deſtitute of a ſolid foundation? If ſuch be the
" commencement of a war, we may reaſonably dread the farther progreſs
" of it; leſt this ſlight repulſe ſhould be followed by others of much great-
" er conſequence. But do thou, O Lord, who alone art able to afford us relief
" in our diſtreſſes, aſſiſt and preſerve thy people! vouchſafe to grant unto us
" confidence and victory, and, above all things, to guard us from the evil
" of deſperation!"

Joſhua remained proſtrate on the ground, whilſt he pronounced this prayer; at the concluſion of which God commanded him to riſe, and to purify the army from a pollution which it had contracted, by a ſecret and ſacrilegious theft, for which atonement muſt be made; enjoining him, at the ſame time, to caſt lots for the diſcovery of the offender, who ſhould inſtantly be put to death; after which the Iſraelites ſhould infallibly obtain the victory over their enemies. Joſhua, having received theſe inſtructions and aſſurances, communicated them to the people; and, in the preſence of Eleazar the high-prieſt, and the princes of the ſeveral tribes, caſt lots as he had been commanded; taking firſt the tribes, ſecondly, the families of each tribe, and laſtly, the individuals of each family; when, in the concluſion, the lot fell upon Achar, who was of the family of Zacharis, of the tribe of Judah. He was immediately ſeized, and finding himſelf detected, acknowledged the fact, and delivered up the effects he had ſecreted, in the ſight of all preſent. He was inſtantly dragged away to an ignominious death; and his body, like that of a common malefactor, was interred without any of the cuſtomary honors.

The army being thus purified, Joſhua led them againſt the city of Ain, having previouſly planted a body of troops in ambuſcade, and the next morning at day-break offered the enemy battle. The Ainites were ſo elated with their recent ſucceſs, that with the moſt daring intrepidity they attacked the Iſraelites, who, on their ſide, feigned to give ground, till they had drawn their foes to a convenient diſtance from the city; when, upon a ſignal given, they halted, and, at the ſame inſtant, the troops which had been placed in ambuſcade ſuddenly entered the city, with little or no reſiſtance on the part of the inhabitants; the majority of whom had got upon the walls to be ſpectators of the battle; imagining, from the appearance of matters, that the victory was already nearly won. A dreadful ſlaughter, however, enſued in the city; and thoſe troops which had marched out to the attack, having been, in the intermediate time, totally defeated by the army of Joſhua, retreated towards Ain for ſhelter; but, when they perceived the diſaſter which had befallen their city, they fled, in the utmoſt confuſion, to ſeek an aſylum in the fields and woods; but of thoſe who eſcaped in this manner the number was very inconſiderable. The booty taken on this occaſion was of an immenſe value; conſiſting of a vaſt number of women, children, and bond-ſlaves, a prodigious quantity of plate and coſtly furniture,

numerous flocks and herds, and coined money to a very large amount. Both the city and all the adjacent country, in ſhort, abounded in riches, and the plunder was divided among the troops which were encamped in Galgala.

The Gibeonites, whoſe country was ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from Jeruſalem, having learnt the wretched fate of the two cities of Jericho and Ain, began to reflect that a like doom, in all probability, would ſoon befall themſelves, unleſs they could deviſe ſome expedient to ward off the impending danger: being apprized, however, of the determination of Joſhua to extirpate the whole nation of the Canaanites, they judged that it would be in vain to make any application to him to be excepted from the general denunciation. They propoſed, nevertheleſs, to their neighbours the Cephirites, and to the people of Keriath-jearim, to unite with them in a ſolicitation to the Hebrews for an alliance; repreſenting to them, that, if they ſhould not ſucceed in their views, their common intereſt required that they ſhould join their forces, in mutual aſſiſtance of each other. The propoſal was adopted, and a deputation was ſent to Joſhua, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as were deemed the beſt qualified for the taſk of executing ſuch a commiſſion. Theſe deputies were inſtructed cautiouſly to conceal from Joſhua the knowledge of their being Canaanites, but, on the contrary, to inſinuate that they came from a far diſtant land, and that they held no connection whatever with the people of that country. They were farther inſtructed to pretend, that the fame which the Hebrews had acquired had induced them to come thus far, to form an alliance with them; obſerving that the condition of their cloaths evinced the great length of the journey they had taken; being now worn to tatters, although quite new when they firſt departed from home. The garments themſelves, alſo, were adapted, both in point of materials and every other particular, to favour the deception. They, accordingly preſented themſelves, thus habited, before the aſſembly of the chiefs of the Hebrews, in the quality of deputies from the Gibeonites, the Cephirites, and the people of Keriath-jearim; requeſting to be admitted to the honor of an alliance with them, and proffering them their friendſhip and aſſiſtance, on the ſole condition of being ſecured in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges; adding, that they were apprized of the promiſes of God to the Iſraelites, to put them in poſſeſſion of the whole land of Canaan, and ſincerely congratulated them on this predilection of the Almighty for their nation. Joſhua was ſo far deceived by the ſpecious pretexts and appearance of theſe men, that he readily entered into a treaty with them, to which the high-prieſt and the elders acceded at the ſame time; and it was afterwards ratified, in the moſt ſolemn manner, in the preſence and with the conſent of the whole multitude aſſembled. Having thus inſidiouſly effected their purpoſe, the deputies now returned home to their reſpective cities. Soon afterwards, Joſhua advanced with the army to that part of the land of Canaan which borders upon the plains. Here he learnt that thoſe Gibeonites and their confederates were of the Canaanitiſh race, and dwelt not far from Jeruſalem. He, therefore, commanded the attendance of ſome of the principal men of the country, and reproached them with the diſingenuouſ-

neſs of their late conduct; which they vindicated in the beſt manner they were able upon the plea of neceſſity. When the high-prieſt and the elders were conſulted as to the validity of a treaty thus ſurreptitiouſly obtained, they were clearly of opinion that it could not in juſtice be diſpenſed with; but propoſed, by way of modification, that the Gibeonites and the reſt ſhould be condemned to the moſt ſervile offices of labour, to which condition they gladly ſubmitted for the preſervation of their lives.

When this revolt of the Gibeonites, and their alliance with the Hebrews was communicated to the king of Jeruſalem, he was ſo highly incenſed on the occaſion, that, joining his troops with thoſe of the kings of four of the neighbouring diſtricts, he laid ſiege to their city; encamping his army near a certain fountain not far diſtant from the walls of the place. In this emergency the Gibeonites applied to Joſhua for aſſiſtance; being thus compelled to have recourſe to thoſe who had taken up arms againſt them, to preſerve them from the attacks even of their own countrymen and neighbours. Joſhua haſtened to their aid, and, after marching night and day, attacked the enemy early in the morning, at the very inſtant they were about to aſſault the place; totally routed, and purſued them through a conſiderable extent of country, as far as the valley of Bethora. Never did the Almighty manifeſt himſelf more ſtrongly in favour of the Hebrews, than on the preſent occaſion; for, excluſive of a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with hail of a ſurprizing ſize, which laſted during the whole time of the battle, the ſun itſelf, to the utter amazement of every ſpectator, who had never ſeen any thing of the like kind before, ſtood ſtill in the firmament, and thus prolonged the day far beyond its uſual extent, that the Hebrews might have ſufficient day-light to compleat their victory over their enemies. The five kings fled for ſafety to the cave of Makkada, where they were all diſcovered by Joſhua, and were put to death. The circumſtance of the progreſs of the ſun being ſtopped is fully authenticated in the copies of the ſacred writings, which are depoſited in the temple.

After this victory, Joſhua marched the army back to the hilly part of Canaan, where he put great numbers of the people to the ſword, acquired a large booty in cattle, and then returned with his troops to Gilgal.

The fame of the military actions of the Hebrews ſpread univerſal terror through the land. Nevertheleſs, the kings of that part of the country of Canaan which lies contiguous to Mount Libanus, and to the plains, as alſo the kings of the Philiſtines, united their forces, with the view of attacking the Hebrews, and encamped, with an army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and two thouſand chariots, near a city named Berothe, which is ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from the Upper Cœdeſia, in the province of Galilee. The formidable appearance of this army greatly diſpirited both the Iſraelites and their general; inſomuch that their fear fell little ſhort of deſperation: but the Almighty reproaching them with their cowardice, and diffidence of his power to protect them, and renewing his aſſurances of victory, he enjoined them to hamſtring the horſes, and conſume the chariots of the enemy with fire; thus encouraged, I ſay, they

quickly

quickly recovered their reſolution, and boldly marched againſt the foe, with the fulleſt confidence of ſucceſs. On the fifth day the armies joined battle, and the conteſt was maintained for a conſiderable time, with equal obſtinacy on both ſides. The Canaanites were, however, at length broken and put to flight, and the ſlaughter of them was ſo great as almoſt to exceed belief; all the kings being killed, and their whole army in a manner annihilated: and ſuch was the fury of the victors, that when there remained none of the enemy to kill, they wreaked their vengeance on the horſes and chariots. This deciſive victory, in ſhort, put Joſhua in poſſeſſion of the whole country. He made himſelf maſter of their cities, and deſtroyed the inhabitants wherever he could find them. The very nation became, at length, extinct, ſave a ſmall number of perſons, who fortunately effected their retreat to certain places of conſiderable ſtrength. And all theſe ſucceſſes were obtained in the ſhort ſpace of five years.

After this victory, Joſhua marched from Gilgal and encamped on the mountains near to Siloe, where he fixed the tabernacle, and propoſed to remain till an opportunity ſhould offer for erecting a temple; the ſituation of the place being perfectly adapted to that deſign. From thence he repaired, accompanied by all the people, to Sichem, where, according to the command and prediction of Moſes, he erected an altar. He then ſeparated his army into two bodies, one of which he poſted on Mount Garizim, and the other on Mount Gebal; aſſigning to each an equal number of the prieſts and levites; and on the latter of the two mountains he built another altar. On this altar they ſacrificed, and, after denouncing the maledictions formerly recited, and cauſing them to be inſcribed upon the altar, they returned back to Siloe.

Joſhua was now far advanced in years, and, reflecting that the Canaanites ſtill retained poſſeſſion of ſeveral places, which art and nature had combined to render in a manner impregnable; for they had long entertained an opinion, in conſequence of having received from their anceſtors a tradition on the ſubject, that their country would be ſubdued at a certain period, by a people who ſhould come out of Ægypt, and had, therefore, upon the firſt appearance of the Hebrews, taken the earlieſt precaution to fortify and ſecure themſelves in the beſt manner poſſible: this conſideration, I ſay, induced Joſhua to convene a general aſſembly of the people at Siloe, which was very numerous, and all their proceedings were conducted with the utmoſt harmony. Joſhua, in a very conciſe ſpeech, acquainted them with the cauſe of their being ſummoned together. He began with repreſenting to them the numerous ſucceſſes with which God had been pleaſed already to favour them, in conſequence of their religious obſervance of his laws; one and thirty monarchs having been diſpoſſeſſed by them of their dominions: he obſerved, however, that the Canaanites ſtill retained poſſeſſion of many ſtrong cities, the conqueſt of which would neceſſarily take up a conſiderable time; and that, for this reaſon, he thought it adviſable to permit thoſe tribes which had come to their aſſiſtance from the other ſide of Jordan, to return home. He alſo recommended that a certain number of perſons ſhould be ſelected out of each tribe, of reputed probity and ſkill, who ſhould be employed

employed to take a ſurvey of the whole land of Canaan, and to return a faithful report thereof, with all poſſible diſpatch.

This propoſal was unanimouſly approved, and, proper perſons being immediately choſen for the execution of this commiſſion, Joſhua appointed ſeveral able geometricians to attend and aſſiſt them.

They were alſo inſtructed, excluſive of the eſtimate which they were to make of the extent of the country, to form another of the comparative fertility of the ſoil in different parts: for in Canaan there are many long tracts of land, which, when ſet in competition with ſome others, may be deemed fruitful, but which bear no proportion in fertility to the ground in the neighbourhood of Jericho and Jeruſalem. The diſtricts in queſtion are, it is true, of no very great extent, and a conſiderable part thereof is over-run with mountains; but the natural productions of the ſoil excel, both in beauty and abundance, thoſe of every other part of the country. Joſhua, therefore, determined that, in the diviſion of the land amongſt the tribes, each lot ſhould be rated according to the value, and not to the extent of the ground. The perſons who were commiſſioned to execute this buſineſs, were ten in number; anſwering to the tribes which were to partake in the diviſion of the country. Theſe commiſſioners, after an abſence of ſeven months, returned to Siloe with the eſtimates they had formed, at which place the tabernacle ſtill remained.

Joſhua, hereupon, in the preſence of Eleazar, the high-prieſt, the elders, and the princes of the tribes, divided the whole country between the nine tribes, and the half-tribe of Manaſſes; proportioning each ſhare to the number of perſons in the tribe to which it was allotted. The lots of the ſeveral tribes fell as follow:

The tribe of Judah acquired for their ſhare the whole of the Upper Judæa, extending in length to Jeruſalem, and in breadth to the lake of Sodom; including the cities of Aſcalon and Gaza.

To the tribe of Simeon was aſſigned that part of Idumæa, which is ſituated near the frontiers of Ægypt and Arabia.

The tribe of Benjamin obtained for their ſhare all that tract of land which reaches in length from the river Jordan to the ſea, and breadth-wiſe from Jeruſalem to Bethel. The extent of this territory bears no proportion to its value; the two cities of Jericho and Jeruſalem being both included therein.

The portion which fell to the tribe of Ephraim comprized all that tract of ground between the river Jordan and Gadara in length; and extends in breadth from Bethel to the Great Plain.

The half-tribe of Manaſſes acquired that ſpace of land which reaches in length from the river Jordan to the city of Dora; and in breadth to that of Bethſana, the preſent name of which is Scythopolis.

The tribe of Iſſachar became poſſeſſed of that part of the country reaching in length, from the river Jordan to Mount Carmel, and in breadth, as far as Mount Itabyr.

The portion of the tribe of Zebulon included the whole tract of land bordering on Mount Carmel and the ſea, and extending as far as Genezareth.

To the tribe of Aſſer was given all the country which is ſituated behind Mount Carmel, oppoſite to Sidon, together with the city of Arce, or Actipus.

The lot of the tribe of Naphthali included the Upper-Galilee, and the whole country extending eaſtward to the city of Damaſcus, Mount Libanus, and the ſource of the river Jordan; which river takes its riſe from that ſide of the above mountain, which lies contiguous to the city of Arce, towards the north.

The tribe of Dan obtained for their ſhare the vallies lying between Azotus and Dora, on the Weſt; together with the cities of Jamnia and Gittha, and the whole extent of country from Aceron to the mountain, where commences the portion allotted to the tribe of Judah.

In this manner did Joſhua divide, among the nine tribes and the half-tribe above-mentioned, the ſix provinces of the Canaanites, which bore the names of as many of the ſons of Canaan. The province of Amorrhæa, which was ſo named from another of the ſons of Canaan, had been long before granted by Moſes to the other two tribes and the half-tribe, as we have already obſerved. The ſeveral countries, however, of the Sidonians, Arucæans, Amathæans, and Arithæans were not included in the above diviſion, becauſe at that period they were totally uninhabited.

Joſhua was now rendered incapable, by age and infirmites, to diſcharge the duties of his ſtation; and, perceiving that thoſe to whom he entruſted the direction of affairs, as well as thoſe who were deſtined to ſucceed him in the ſupreme command, were totally regardleſs of the public welfare, he ſtrictly enjoined each tribe reſpectively, utterly to extirminate ſuch of the Canaanites as might remain in the ſeveral quarters which they had obtained for an inheritance; reminding them alſo of the earneſtneſs with which Moſes had recommended to them this meaſure; and expreſſing his confidence of their paying all due attention to the advice of their late legiſlator in this inſtance; more eſpecially as the preſervation of their laws and religion abſolutely depended thereon. He alſo ſtrictly charged them to put the levites in poſſeſſion of the remaining thirty-eight, out of the forty-eight cities aſſigned them by Moſes; they having already obtained thoſe ten cities which were ſituated in Amorrhæa, on the other ſide of the river Jordan. Of theſe cities three were appointed as places of refuge: in the diſtrict belonging to the tribe of Judah, the city of Hebron was ſet apart for the above purpoſe; in that of the tribe of Ephraim, the city of Sichem; and Cedeſe, in the Upper-Galilee, in the portion of the tribe of Naphthali: to all theſe regulations, from the great reſpect which they bore to the ordinances of Moſes, the people very willingly conſented. Joſhua then proceeded to ſhare the plunder which had been taken from the Canaanites among his troops; which plunder conſiſted of cattle and flocks, money, plate, houſehold furniture, and other articles to an incredible amount; and every individual of the Hebrew army became enriched by the booty which fell to his lot on the preſent occaſion.

Joſhua afterwards aſſembled the auxiliaries, conſiſting of fifty thouſand men, of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manaſſeh, which

came from the other ſide of Jordan to the aſſiſtance of their brethren, and addreſſed them in the following terms:

" Seeing that it hath pleaſed God to eſtabliſh us in this country, and to " grant the perpetual poſſeſſion thereof to our deſcendants; and as he has alſo " thought proper to make uſe of your proffered ſervice in reducing the land, " it is but juſtice that ye ſhould now be permitted to return home, to enjoy " in peace the fruits of thoſe toils and dangers which you have ſo chearfully " endured, in ſupport of the common cauſe. Ye are, therefore, at liberty to " return when ye pleaſe; and we are confident that, if ever the cauſe ſhould " again require it, you will not heſitate to march to our aſſiſtance with the " ſame alacrity as before. The perils to which you have expoſed yourſelves " in common with us demand our moſt grateful thanks, and we hope that " the ſenſe of the mutual obligations which we lie under to each other, will " be improved into a firm and laſting friendſhip; recollecting that we are in- " debted to that union, next to providence, for the advantages we enjoy at " this hour, and that God hath evidently ordained that our welfare ſhall " depend on this cloſe connection between us.

" We have equally ſhared the profits of thoſe dangers and difficulties to " which we have been in common expoſed; having all acquired an im- " menſe booty in gold, ſilver, and other valuables; but you have this far- " ther advantage, that in me you will ever find a friend, ready to acknow- " ledge and repay the ſervice you have rendered us: for ye have acted in the " ſtricteſt conformity to the dying injunctions of Moſes, and have left no- " thing unperformed which I could reaſonably have expected from you. " Depart, therefore, to your habitations; and may peace and happineſs be " your portion: but let no diſtance of place ſet bounds to the friendſhip we " have plighted to each other; remembering that, although we are ſepa- " rated by this river, yet we are all of the ſame nation; that we alike de- " rive our origin from the patriarch Abraham; and that we are all equally " bound to worſhip, according to the ordinances of Moſes, one and the ſame " Almighty power who gave being to the anceſtors of our ſeveral families.

" We may confidently depend on the favour and protection of God " while we remain attached to that mode of worſhip: but, whenever we de- " part from it, and pay our adoration to the divinities of other nations, we " ſhall be utterly abandoned by the God of our forefathers."

At the concluſion of this ſpeech, Joſhua took an affectionate leave both of the princes of the tribes, and of their followers in general, and then diſmiſſed them; the reſt of the tribes accompanying them part of the way on their return, and, with many tears, manifeſting the ſincere ſorrow which this ſeparation created in their boſoms.

Theſe two tribes and the half-tribe had no ſooner repaſſed the river, than, with the view of perpetuating the remembrance of this league, contracted between the tribes reſident on the oppoſite ſhores of Jordan, they erected an altar on the farther ſhore. When the intelligence of this tranſaction was communicated to the tribes which remained with Joſhua, they, being utterly ignorant of the intention of their brethren in what they had done, conſidered them in the light of perſons who had adjured the religion of their anceſtors,

anceſtors, and had abandoned themſelves to the worſhip of the gods of the heathens; and, in the firſt tranſports of their rage, they ran to arms, with a full determination to aſſert the injured honor of the Almighty, and to puniſh the promoters of this feceſſion in a manner ſuitable to their demerits. Thus incenſed, they reſolved to paſs the river immediately, and to execute their purpoſe on the principals, without regard to the rank of the parties, or to the ties of conſanguinity, from all which they conſidered themſelves as abſolved in the cauſe of God, as they deemed this to be.

With great difficulty, and by making uſe alternately of threats and entreaties, Joſhua, the high-prieſt, and the elders, at length, prevailed on the enraged multitude to delay the execution of ſo unexampled a vengeance, till more certain information could be procured, whether the parties accuſed were guilty of the ſuppoſed ſacrilege; and engaged, if it ſhould appear on examination that they had incurred this guilt, to interfere no farther in their favour. This propoſal pacified the multitude, and they immediately deputed Phinehas, the ſon of Eleazar, and ten other perſons of eminence, to paſs over the river, and to inform themſelves of the true ſtate of this affair. Upon the arrival of theſe deputies on the other ſide of Jordan, a general aſſembly of the people was inſtantly convened, to whom Phinehas addreſſed himſelf in theſe words:

"Although we conſider the crime with which you are charged as being "of too heinous a nature to be puniſhed with reprehenſion alone, yet, re- "flecting on the league of friendſhip which has ſo recently been contracted "between us, and truſting that, upon due deliberation, you will perceive "the error of your conduct, we have abſtained from taking arms againſt you, "till we ſhould firſt have made trial what effects may be produced by this "ambaſſy, on which myſelf and my companions have been deputed. We "wiſh but to be informed by what motives you were influenced in the erec- "tion of this altar. If you are actuated therein by any devout intention, we "ſhall gladly exculpate you from all blame; but, if you have adopted the "worſhip of falſe gods, the reverence which we owe to the pure and un- "defiled religion of our forefathers will compel us to become your foes.

"We ſtill cannot perſuade ourſelves, however, that a people ſo well "verſed in the laws of the only true God, through whoſe gracious bounty "they have been ſo lately eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of a country abounding "with all the comforts of life, ſhould thus ungratefully abandon the holy "tabernacle, the ark, and the altar, and, deſerting the worſhip purſued by "their anceſtors, ſhould give themſelves up to the idolatries of the Canaan- "ites. If, nevertheleſs, you ſhould have been thus unhappily ſeduced, "you have only to abjure your error, and return to your duty, and you "will again be received with the utmoſt cordiality of affection by your bre- "thren. But if, neglecting this ſalutary counſel, you ſhould pertinaciouſly "adhere to the new mode of worſhip you have adopted, aſſure yourſelves "that we will readily encounter every toil and danger in the vindication of "our laws and religion.

"In that caſe, we ſhall be reduced to the neceſſity of attacking, and utterly "exterminating you; confounding in one general deſtruction, the apoſta-

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" tizing Iſraelites and profeſſed Canaanites. Do not place any hopes of ſafety " on the circumſtance of being ſeparated from us by this river; for know " that, wherever you may chance to be ſituated, you are ſtill within the " reach of the power and providence of Almighty God. Rather than con- " tinue in a land ſo dangerous to your virtue, however fruitful it may be, " abandon it, and remove to ſome other ſpot leſs replete with temptations. " Learn wiſdom and temperance, and do not indulge an unfortunate pro- " penſity to novelties. Let your affection for your wives and children in- " duce you to follow the advice we have now given you; for we are not per- " mitted to offer you any other alternative than, either to return to your " duty, or to abide the event of a war, the very idea of which ſtrikes us " with the utmoſt horror."

To this ſpeech of Phinehas, the rulers of the aſſembly, in the name of the reſt made the following reply:

" We are not, in any reſpect, conſcious to ourſelves of having infringed " the treaty we lately contracted with you; nor are we addicted to indulge " ourſelves in the introduction of novelties, with reſpect to religious matters. " We acknowledge but one God, who is the God of the whole Hebrew na- " tion: and we admit but one altar, which is the brazen altar placed before " the tabernacle. With reſpect to this altar, the erection of which has " given riſe to ſuch unjuſt complaints againſt us, we never entertained the " moſt diſtant intention of appropriating it to any religious purpoſe, but " ſolely to tranſmit thereby to poſterity the remembrance of our friendſhip " and alliance with you; and as the means rather of confirming us in the " faith of our anceſtors, than of corrupting it. We can with confidence " appeal to God for the truth of this declaration; and we requeſt, therefore, " that you will in future conceive a better opinion of your brethren, than to " imagine that they can be guilty of a crime, which is inexpiable but by " death, in any of the deſcendants of Abraham."

Phinehas and his companions were greatly rejoiced to find that the accuſed parties were ſo capable of juſtifying themſelves; and, returning immediately to Joſhua, related to him, in the hearing of the people, the particulars of all that had paſſed. The multitude expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction when they learnt from this account that all danger of a civil war was now fully obviated; and, after having ſacrificed, in token of their joy, returned to their reſpective habitations; Joſhua himſelf fixing his reſidence at Sichem.

Twenty years had now elapſed from the period of this event, when Joſhua, perceiving that the infirmities of age had now rendered him totally unfit for all public buſineſs, convened an aſſemby of the elders, the princes of the tribes, and the magiſtrates, together with as many of the commonalty as could conveniently attend. In a pious and pertinent diſcourſe, which he had compoſed for the purpoſe, he repreſented to them the great obligations they were under to that Almighty Being, who, from the very abyſs of miſery and diſtreſs, had raiſed them to the higheſt pitch of reputation and plenty. He enjoined them ſo to conduct themſelves in future, as to render themſelves worthy of a continuance of the divine favour and protection; aſſuring them

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in the ſtrongeſt terms, that their very exiſtence as a nation depended on the due obſervance of the commands of the Almighty Power. He conjured them to pay a proper attention to the advice he had given them, as he was now on the verge of his departure from this world, and had conceived that he could not employ the laſt moments of his life in any manner more to their advantage, than in inciting them to the ſtricteſt obſervance of their duty to God.

Having pronounced theſe words, he expired, in the 110th year of his age; forty of which he had ſpent under the tutorage of Moſes, and had governed the people, in quality of his ſucceſſor, for twenty-ſix years. He was particularly eminent for his political knowledge, and for his admirable faculty of expreſſion and perſuaſion; equally qualified to conduct the moſt important operations either of war or peace; and, in ſhort, a perſon in every reſpect adapted to the execution of the high office to which God had appointed him. Nearly about this time alſo died Eleazar the high-prieſt, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Phinehas. The tomb of Eleazar is ſtill to be ſeen in the city of Gabatha.

The people having conſulted Phinehas relative to the farther proſecution of the war againſt the Canaanites, received for anſwer that it was God's pleaſure that they ſhould continue it, but that they ſhould commit the ſupreme management and direction thereof to the tribe of Judah. This tribe, aſſociated to themſelves the tribe of Simeon; and it was agreed that they ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other in extirpating the Canaanites who ſtill remained unſubdued in their reſpective diſtricts.

CHAP. II.

The Canaanites defeated, and King Adonibezec made priſoner. The Iſraelites beſiege Jeruſalem, and take Hebron by aſſault. Melancholy hiſtory of a levite and his wife. The war of the Benjamites.

ADONIBEZEC (which in the Hebrew ſignifies, *Lord of Bezec*) was at this period at the head of a formidable army in the neighbourhood of the city of Bezec, waiting for an opportunity to engage the enemy, over whom they expected to obtain an eaſy conqueſt on account of the loſs they had ſuſtained in the death of their general. The tribes of Judah and Simeon gave them battle, which was ſupported with ſurpriſing bravery on both ſides, but, at length, ten thouſand of the Canaanites were put to the ſword, many taken priſoners, and the reſt fled from the fury of their conquerors. Adonibezec was among the number of captives, and he was condemned to have his fingers and toes cut off: he admitted this ſentence to be a merited judgment of heaven, for having himſelf inflicted the ſame ſpecies of cruelty upon ſeventy-two kings. When this ſentence had been executed, he was conveyed to Jeruſalem, where he died and was buried.

The Iſraelites traverſed the country, laying waſte the towns, and ravaging the parts through which they directed their courſe; they at length laid ſiege

to Jeruſalem, and gained poſſeſſion of the lower town, the inhabitants of which they put to death; but the ſituation of the city itſelf, the ſtrength of the walls and the fortifications proving obſtacles not to be ſurmounted, they retreated to Hebron, to which place they laid ſiege and conquered it by aſſault, allowing no quarter to the people, great numbers of whom fell victims to the rage of the aſſailants. Among the dead were found many bodies of the race of the giants, who were a people ſo greatly ſurpaſſing the reſt of mankind in point of bulk and ſtature, and in other reſpects ſo widely differing from them, that great numbers of people who beheld them, imagined them to be a different ſpecies. The bones of ſome of this gigantic race have been preſerved, and expoſed as prodigies, and are ſtill to be ſeen.

The town of Hebron, which was a place of ſome importance, with two thouſand cubits of the circumjacent ground, was aſſigned to the levites; the other part of the territory having been granted to Caleb, in conformity to the determination and appointment which had been made by Moſes. Caleb was one of the perſons whom Moſes had deputed to reconnoitre the land of Canaan. A portion of land was alſo given to the ſons of Jethro the Madianite, who was father-in-law to Moſes, as a gratuity for having abandoned their native country and joined the Iſraelites, ſharing the hazard of the war and the troubles which they encountered in the deſert.

The two tribes above-mentioned conquered a number of cities upon the mountains, and others ſituated in the vallies adjacent to the ſea, which belonged to the Canaanites, and among the number were thoſe called Aſcalon and Azotus. Gaza and Acaron, which were built in a flat country, ſucceſsfully repelled the attacks made upon them by their ſuperior ſtrength in chariots, which are powerful and deſperate implements of war.

Having derived immenſe riches from the ſpoils of the war, the enterprizing ſpirit of the tribes of Judah and Simeon began to relax; and gradually quitting their arms, they applied themſelves to the practice of huſbandry in a peaceful and private retirement. The Benjamites who acquired poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, entered into a compromiſe with the people, who became tributaries to them; and both parties enjoyed the proſpect of peace and happineſs, no apprehenſion of violence being entertained by the one, and the other imagining themſelves to be perfectly ſecure from the danger of a revolt. This example being followed by other tribes, the Canaanites were left in a ſtate of uninterrupted tranquillity.

At this period the tribe of Ephraim had been a long time ſtationed before Bethel, but made no great progreſs towards taking the place; for though the attack was carried on with a ſingular degree of perſeverance and bravery, an equal ſhare of intrepidity was diſplayed in maintaining the defence. But, at length, the following circumſtance gave the Ephraimites poſſeſſion of the place. One of the inhabitants who was conveying proviſions to the city, was taken priſoner by the enemy, who propoſed terms to him, which being accepted, a covenant was mutually ſworn to by the parties, wherein it was ſpecified that the citizen ſhould afford them an opportunity of gaining a private

vate entrance to the town, and that himſelf, his family, relations and friends ſhould not be involved in the common calamity: in conſequence of this ſtipulation the city was betrayed to the Ephraimites, who put all the inhabitants to death, excepting thoſe only whoſe ſafety was made one of the conditions on which the place was ſurrendered.

The Iſraelites now declined the reſolution of proceeding to a war againſt the people of Canaan, whom they determined to employ in the occupation of huſbandry, expecting to reap very conſiderable advantage from their labour. But being violently addicted to avarice and luxury, they ſoon became wholly regardleſs of their duty to God, and of the diſcipline and legiſlative inſtitutions of their forefathers, yielding an implicit ſway to their inordinate appetites. The Almighty being highly offended by this depravity of conduct, ſignified to them, that they ſhould meet a ſpeedy retribution for having neglected to proſecute the war, and that the Canaanites themſelves ſhould execute the puniſhment denounced againſt them for their unſeaſonable lenity. They were ſo loſt to the principles of religion, that though this revelation of the Divine will gave them ſome alarm, it was not ſufficient to induce them to commence hoſtilities. Their luxurious indulgencies had enervated them, and deſtroyed their genius and inclination for military exploits; and the profit derived from the tribute and labour of the Canaanites proved an additional motive to continue them in a ſtate of inactivity.

No regularity being obſerved in the election of the ſenators and other magiſtrates, nor obedience paid to the authority of the elders; the people endeavouring to promote their ſeparate intereſts, without regard to the public welfare; and the government having arrived to a ſtate of total diſſolution, an inſurrection happened on the following occaſion, and the conſequence was an inteſtine war:

In the lot of Ephraim was a levite, who had married a woman of the city of Bethlehem, and of the tribe of Judah, for whom he entertained the moſt tender and ardent affection; but as ſhe did not manifeſt an equal return of paſſion, frequent differences happened between them; and in the fourth month after their nuptials ſhe eloped and returned to her parents. Grieved at this unfortunate circumſtance, he haſted in purſuit of her, and was entertained with the greateſt hoſpitality and kindneſs by her relations; and a reconciliation being effected between him and his wife, he propoſed to return on the fifth day: but the friends being unwilling to leave each other their departure was delayed to a late hour. An aſs being provided to carry the woman, they ſet out attended only by one ſervant, who, when they had proceeded about thirty furlongs, adviſed them to take an opportunity of ſecuring a lodging at ſome adjacent place, that they might avoid the danger to which they would be expoſed by travelling by night, and in the country of an enemy; urging that being obſerved on the road at a late hour might ſubject them to injurious ſuſpicions. The city being at this time in poſſeſſion of the Canaanites, the huſband was not inclined to take up his reſidence there, but reſolved to travel twenty furlongs further in order to obtain an aſylum among his friends and allies.

On

On the road towards Gabaa, a city in poſſeſſion of the tribe of Benjamin, they found themſelves, at a late hour of the night, deſtitute of all probability of procuring a lodging; but they were met by an eminent man of the tribe of Ephraim, who was returning from the country to his houſe at Gabaa, and he enquired the reaſon of their being abroad at ſo unſeaſonable a time; in anſwer to which, the huſband ſaid that he was a levite, and conducting his wife from her father's houſe to their own houſe in the lot of Ephraim. From a principle of hoſpitality, and a regard to the tribe of which the travellers were members, the old man invited them to take ſhelter in his dwelling. This offer being accepted, ſome diſſolute young men of the town obſerved in the woman an uncommon ſhare of beauty, and when ſhe had entered the houſe, they knocked at the door, and inſiſted that ſhe ſhould be delivered to them. The old man expoſtulated with them on the heinous crime of violating the principles of religion, humanity and common juſtice, by perpetrating any violence upon his gueſt, who, being his kinſwoman and the wife of a levite, he was bound to protect. But theſe arguments were treated with contempt, and they obſtinately perſiſted in their demand of having the woman reſigned to them, uttering the moſt horrid imprecations, and threatening to cut the old man's throat if he continued to protect her. In this extremity he offered them his own daughter inſtead of the levite's wife; judging it to be moſt eligible thus to preſerve the rights of hoſpitality, and the faith of ſociety, at the expence of the reputation of a private family.

But ſo determined were they on the execution of their brutal deſign, that neither interceſſion or argument would prevail; and in this diſpoſition they ſeized the woman, and forcibly conveyed her to their quarters, where the night was ſpent in ſcenes of the moſt profligate lewdneſs; and in the morning they ſuffered her to return. The unhappy event which had befallen her overwhelmed her with grief, ſhame, and indignation againſt the ſpoilers of her honor, and conſidering herſelf to be branded with the indelible ſtamp of infamy, ſhe dreaded an interview with her huſband; and ſo ſenſibly affected was ſhe by the peculiar delicacy of her ſituation, that upon approaching him ſhe ſuddenly dropped down, and inſtantly expired. At firſt her huſband ſuppoſed her to be oppreſſed with fatigue, or attacked with a fainting fit, and endeavoured to revive her, ſpeaking in the moſt tenderly affectionate terms, expreſſive of his unabating regard, and uttering the moſt ſoothing and pathetic aſſurances that notwithſtanding the violence which had been offered to her, he did not conſider her as being degraded from the dignity of unblemiſhed virtue. But at length, he diſcovered that the animal powers were exhauſted; and on this alarming occaſion he manifeſted a remarkable inſtance of fortitude. He put the corps on the aſs which his wife had rode, and conveyed it to his habitation; where he ſeperated it into twelve parts, which he diſtributed among the twelve tribes. The perſons employed to deliver the parts of the body to the different tribes, were directed circumſtantially to relate the barbarity which had been offered to the deceaſed, and to particularize the parties concerned in the horrid wickedneſs.

The people were ſo much exaſperated againſt the perpetrators of this unparalelled act of cruelty, that they aſſembled before the tabernacle at Siloe,

Siloe, determining immediately to aſſault the city of Gabaa, and execute an exemplary puniſhment upon the raviſhers. Hereupon the elders aſſuaged the firſt impulſe of their rage, by repreſenting the imprudence of a precipitate declaration of war againſt their allies, and recommending a ſcrutiny into the merits of the cauſe in diſpute. They urged that the laws and cuſtoms of the Iſraelites would not admit of having recourſe to hoſtilities, previous to a negociation for a compromiſe: they, therefore, adviſed that application might be made for giving up the offenders for the purpoſe of ſubjecting them to a puniſhment adequate to their guilt, urging that, in caſe of a refuſal, they might then appeal to the ſword for redreſſing the wrongs they had ſuſtained.

In conſequence of this advice, the Iſraelites demanded the raviſhers; and they alledged that they had determined to puniſh the particular perſons who had been guilty of the offence rather than involve the community in the cauſe of theſe profligate individuals. But the Gibeonites gave an abſolute refuſal, declaring, that they held it not conſiſtent with the principles of honor to yield ſubmiſſion from an apprehenſion of a war; that they were not deficient in point either of power or military ſkill; and that they were unanimouſly determined to maintain their common defence with unremitting ardor.

Highly incenſed by this reply, the Iſraelites joined in a ſolemn covenant againſt contracting marriage with the tribe of Benjamin, and to proſecute a war againſt that people with a degree of vigour equal to that manifeſted by their progenitors againſt the Canaanites. In conſequence of this reſolution, they marched againſt the enemy, the army being compoſed of four hundred thouſand men; and they were oppoſed by the Benjamites with a force of twenty-five thouſand ſix hundred, including five hundred ſlingers, ſo particularly dextrous in their profeſſion, that they were equally certain of their mark, whether uſing their implements with the left or right hand. The armies joined battle in the neighbourhood of Gabaa, and the Benjamites obtained a victory, and put twenty-two thouſand of their enemies to death, and the ſlaughter would, in all probability, have been much more conſiderable had not a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities been cauſed by the appearance of night. The Benjamites returned in triumph to the city, and the Iſraelites repaired to their camp in the utmoſt diſorder, and under a great depreſſion of ſpirits.

On the following day the battle was renewed, and in this conteſt alſo, the Iſraelites were defeated, with the loſs of eighteen thouſand men. So greatly were they affected by theſe misfortunes that they removed towards Bethel, obſerving a ſolemn faſt on the next day, and, by the agency of Phinehas, the high-prieſt, ſupplicating the Almighty to remove his diſpleaſure from them, and to grant them a ſuperiority over the Benjamites.

The Almighty having liſtened to the prayers of the prophet and returned him a favourable anſwer, the army was ſeparated into two bodies, one of which was drawn up in order of battle, and the other ſubdivided into parties of ambuſh, encompaſſing the city. With a view to entice the Benjamites from the town, on the firſt attack the Iſraelites retreated, continuing to loſe ground in proportion as the enemy advanced; imagining victory to

be ſecure, they evacuated the town, in expectation of obtaining plunder, but when they had arrived within a certain ſpace of the ambuſh, the Iſraelites faced about, and giving a ſignal for the other part of the army to fall upon the rear, fought with great fury, purſuing the Benjamites to a valley, where they were ſurrounded, and twenty-five thouſand of them put to the ſword. A choſen body of ſix hundred intrepid men who had cut their paſſage through the midſt of the enemies troops, took up their quarters on an adjacent mountain.

The Iſraelites now proceeded to burn the city of Gabaa, and, without diſtinction of age or ſex, they ſacrificed the inhabitants; and many other cities belonging to the Benjamites ſhared the ſame fate; and ſo implacable was the animoſity conſequent on this diſpute, that they detached a party of twelve thouſand men againſt Jabes, a city of Gilead, which they ſubdued, and, on account of the inhabitants having refuſed to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Iſraelites in the war againſt the Benjamites, they were all maſſacred, excepting only four hundred virgins.

The tribe of Benjamin being in a manner cut off from the main body, the Iſraelites experienced ſome compunction at having carried their revenge to ſo great an extremity: and they propoſed the obſervance of a faſt, but not intending thereby to indicate a conſciouſneſs of having done wrong by inflicting a puniſhment upon the offenders againſt the law. They diſpatched meſſengers to invite the return of the ſix hundred men who had eſcaped to the mountains. They were found upon a rock called Rhoa, by the perſons commiſſioned to treat with them. As a means to induce them to return, the meſſengers pleaded the unhappineſs of their relations conſequent on their departure, ſympathizing with them in their own diſtreſſes, and repreſenting that the tribe to which they belonged would inevitably be deſtroyed if they longer perſiſted to oppoſe the deſired re-aſſociation; adding that, on condition of their compliance, their lands, cattle, and other effects ſhould be faithfully reſtored. They accepted the propoſals made by the meſſengers, and acknowledging the puniſhment inflicted upon them to be a righteous judgment of heaven for the offences they had committed, and ſubmitting themſelves to the authority of their ſuperiors, again connected themſelves in a fellowſhip with their tribe.

Previous to the war, the Iſraelites had engaged, by the ſolemnity of an oath, not to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin; ſome expedient, therefore, became neceſſary for providing wives for theſe ſix hundred men. One party were of opinion, that as the oath was made under the impulſe of ſudden paſſion, it neceſſarily became void: others held that the preſſing exigency of the matter depending, effectually diſcharged the obligation, alledging that the commiſſion of perjury could not be conſtructed to be a criminal act, if the party was not influenced by a malicious motive, and that it would be more acceptable to the Almighty to diſpenſe with the obſervance of the obligation, than to exact a rigid obedience to it, and thereby expoſe a whole tribe to imminent danger. But the elders declared themſelves utterly averſe to the very idea of perjury, and would not admit the force of any palliative circumſtances. The four hundred virgins who were preſerved from the

ſlaughter at Jabes, were given in marriage to four hundred of the Benjamites; and for providing wives for the other two hundred, without violating the oath, one of the ſenators recommended the following expedient:

On an approaching feſtival, which was celebrated three times a year at Siloe, he adviſed that the Benjamites might be allowed to take ſuch virgins to wife as they might be able to carry off; adding that, if the fathers of the virgins ſhould apply for juſtice, the anſwer to them ſhould be, that they ought to have prevented the miſchief by a more circumſpect attention to the ſafety of their daughters; and that the ill-policy of creating diſagreements between the Iſraelites and Benjamites had been already proved by fatal experience. On the arrival of the feſtival above alluded to, the two hundred Benjamites who remained in an unmarried ſtate, diſperſed themſelves in the town, and as the maidens were repairing towards the place where the cuſtomary ſolemnity was to be celebrated, they were ſurprized by the Benjamites, each man ſeizing one of them, and conveying her to his plantation. They now aſſiduouſly applied themſelves to the buſineſs of huſbandry, and were, at length retrieved from a miſerable and deſponding condition to a ſtate of great opulence and power.

The Iſraelites now entirely relinquiſhed the profeſſion of arms, and employed themſelves in rural occupations. The Canaanites availed themſelves of this change of diſpoſition, and formed a conſpiracy, intending ſo effectually to reduce them as to prevent all probability of their reviving into a formidable enemy. They trained up the people in the diſcipline of war, raiſed a powerful army, and provided chariots and other martial implements; they prevailed upon Aſcalon and Accaron, and ſeveral cities in the plains to eſpouſe their cauſe. The Danites judging that they could not ſafely continue to reſide in the champain country, fled for ſanctuary to the mountains. Their force was not ſufficient ſucceſsfully to maintain a war, nor would the produce of the land they poſſeſſed afford a ſubſiſtence in a tranquil ſtate: they, therefore, diſpatched five of their people to diſcover ſome favourable ſpot for fixing their reſidence in the inland part of the country. Adjacent to mount Libanus and the head of the leſſer Jordan, theſe commiſſioners, after a day's journey, perceived a fertile, and every way commodious ſituation; of which they made an immediate report to their tribe, who ſpeedily marched to the place, and there erected a city, giving it the name of Dan, from one of Jacob's ſons by whoſe name the whole tribe was diſtinguiſhed.

The Iſraelites were now ſhamefully abandoned to indolence and luxury, and degenerated from a due obſervance of the laws and religion of the Almighty, and, in ſhort, the corruption and vices of the Canaanites prevailed amongſt them without controul, ſo that the government ſeemed to be threatened with a ſpeedy diſſolution.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The judgment of God upon the Iſraelites, who are ſubdued by, and kept eight years in ſubjection to Chuſarth.

THE impiety and moral turpitude of the Iſraelites proved ſo highly offenſive to God, that he withdrew his protection and ſupport from them, and left them deſtitute of all hope of enjoying that ſtate of happineſs which they had employed ſo many years of painful induſtry to obtain. While they were engaged in this profligate courſe of life, war was declared againſt them by Chuſarth, king of the Aſſyrians, who put to death a great number of the Iſraelites; conquered many of their towns by aſſault; rendered others ſubject to his dominion by treaty; impoſed burthenſome taxes on the people, and continually annoyed them with various indignities and perſecutions. They remained in this miſerable ſituation for the ſpace of eight years: but they were, at length, relieved from this oppreſſion, as will be related in the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

The Iſraelites delivered out of bondage by Kenaz, to whom they entruſt the government.

KENAZ, a man of the tribe of Judah, diſtinguiſhed for the ſtrength of his underſtanding and his great courage, being animated by a divine impulſe, determined to attempt ſome bold enterprize in favour of the Iſraelites, who were reduced to the greateſt extremity of diſtreſs. This reſolution he communicated to ſuch of his particular aſſociates as he was perſuaded he might ſafely entruſt with ſo important a ſecret, and whom he knew to be men of ſteady and intrepid diſpoſitions, and diſſatisfied with the meaſures purſued in conducting the affairs of the government. It was agreed, when the matter in queſtion had been deliberately conſidered, that the firſt ſtep towards effecting the relief of the Hebrews, ſhould be to ſurprize the royal guards, and put the troops of the garriſon to death: and this being accordingly executed with a ſingular degree of bravery, they acquired a high ſhare of martial reputation, and their party having gained conſiderable ſtrength, they found themſelves in a condition to engage in a fair battle with the Aſſyrians, over whom they obtained a complete victory, obliging them to croſs the Euphrates, and reſtoring the Hebrews to the ineſtimable bleſſings of liberty.

They returned the moſt grateful acknowledgments to Kenaz for the important ſervice he had rendered them, highly applauding the courage and conduct which he diſplayed in effecting their deliverance; and, as an inſtance of their gratitude, they unanimouſly elected him to preſide over them in the character of governor: he accepted this office, which he held for the ſpace of forty years, and then expired.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The oppreſſion of the Iſraelites by Eglon. They are reſtored to freedom by Ehud.

BEING again deſtitute of a ruler, the Iſraelites degenerated from a due reverence to God, and obedience to the laws, and were again expoſed to afflictions proportioned to the enormity of their conduct. Their impolitic and irregular proceedings encouraged Eglon, the king of the Moabites, to commence a war againſt them; and he proved victorious in ſeveral engagements, and ſo effectually humiliated them as to render them tributaries to him. Having accompliſhed this, he eſtabliſhed his court at Jericho, and for the ſpace of eight years, kept them in a miſerable and almoſt ſtarving condition, inflicting continual oppreſſions upon them. But the Almighty attended to their ſupplications, and in commiſeration of their ſufferings, delivered them from the perſecution of the Moabites in the following manner:

Ehud, a young man of Jericho, ſon of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, was of a particularly athletic make, and of a reſolute diſpoſition; and he had the advantage of uſing either hand with great dexterity, but, if there was any difference, he was moſt expert with the left. By means of preſents and other courtly offices, this man inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the king, who repaid the attention ſhewn to him with familiarity and profeſſions of friendſhip, which gained Ehud a conſiderable intereſt at court. Having furniſhed himſelf with a poinard, which he girded to his right ſide, he repaired to the palace, being attended by two ſervants, who were directed, if occaſion ſhould require, to aſſiſt in concealing the weapon; and under pretence of making the king a preſent, he was admitted to him, in the middle of the day, at which time the guards were withdrawn, and moſt of the people retired to dinner. Ehud preſented a gift to the king, who afterwards retired for refreſhment to a cooler apartment. He now requeſted a private audience with Eglon, who, being ſeated on the throne, diſmiſſed the attendants. He now prepared to ſtrike the fatal blow; and being apprehenſive leſt he ſhould miſs his aim, he determined to occaſion the king to riſe that he might be at a greater certainty of ſtriking with effect. Pretending that he had a matter to communicate from the Almighty, reſpecting a late dream, the king was exceedingly anxious to learn what he had to divulge, and riſing, for the conveniency of attending, Ehud ſeized that opportunity to ſtrike the poinard into his heart, and, leaving the deadly inſtrument in the wound, he effected an eſcape, having cloſed the doors as he retreated from the building. During theſe tranſactions, the attendants remained quiet, leſt they ſhould diſturb the king, whom they imagined to be in a ſleep.

Ehud repaired immediately to Jeruſalem, and cauſed it to be privately circulated that, with a view to reſtore the people to the enjoyment of freedom, he had put the king to death. This circumſtance proved highly agreeable to them; and they diſperſed men to ſound trumpets through the country, which was the method of aſſembling the people. Towards evening the

king's attendants became apprehenſive that ſome extraordinary accident had occurred, and upon going into the apartment, they perceived that their royal maſter had been murdered, and experienced an aſtoniſhment beyond the power of words to deſcribe. Signals were immediately given for the guards to aſſemble, but before they could be collected, great numbers of the Iſraelites forced into the palace, and in the firſt impulſe of their rage, ſlaughtered many of the enemy, about ten thouſand of whom endeavoured to eſcape to the country of Moab, but the fords and paſſes being previouſly poſſeſſed by the Iſraelites, their retreat was ſo effectually intercepted, that not a ſingle man eſcaped. Thus were the Hebrews releaſed from the tyrannous yoke of the Moabites; and as an acknowledgment for the benefits derived from the conduct of Ehud, they inveſted him with the government. He continued in the adminiſtration eighty years, and then died. Excluſive of the merit of the above noble exploit, on various accounts his memory deſerves to be honourably tranſmitted to poſterity. He was ſucceeded by Shamgar, the ſon of Anath, who died before the expiration of the firſt year of his government.

CHAP. VI.

The Hebrews are no ſooner delivered from the tyranny of one nation, than they fall under the bondage of another, and are at length ſet free by Deborah and Barak.

SUCH was the perverſeneſs of the Iſraelites that, notwithſtanding they found themſelves continually involved in great calamities, the natural conſequence of their diſregard of every inſtitution, divine and human, they could not be induced to alter their conduct, and to return to their obedience to God. They were no ſooner, therefore, freed from the bondage of one nation, than they became the ſlaves of another; and, in the preſent inſtance, paſſed from under the tyranny of Eglon, king of Moab, to that of Jabin, king of the Canaanites.

The city of Azor, ſituated on the banks of the lake Samachonitis, was the metropolis of the dominions of Jabin, whoſe army conſiſted of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three thouſand chariots, the command of which was conferred on Siſera, who, after repeatedly defeating the Hebrews in various pitched battles, at length reduced them to ſubjection, and rendered them tributary to his ſovereign. In this abject condition, God, as a puniſhment for their impiety and ingratitude, ſuffered them to continue for the ſpace of twenty years. However, at the expiration of that period, they manifeſted ſome ſigns of repentance, and appeared to be convinced that the miſeries to which they had been ſo long expoſed, were the natural conſequence of their apoſtacy from the religion of their anceſtors. Under this conviction, they applied themſelves to a certain eminent propheteſs, named Deborah, which, in the Hebrew tongue, ſignifies *a bee*; requeſting her to intercede in their behalf with the Almighty, that he would be pleaſed to deliver them from the perſecutions of their mercileſs oppreſſors. God was pleaſed to condeſcend to her requeſt, and ordered her to enjoin the Iſraelites,

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in his name, to elect Barak one of the chiefs of the tribe of Naphthali, for their commander.

Deborah, accordingly, ſent for Barak, which title, in the Hebrew, ſignifies *lightning*, and directed him to aſſemble a body of 10,000 choice men, and to lead them againſt the enemy without delay; deeming the ſmallneſs of the number a matter of no kind of conſequence, as God had promiſed to grant them victory. Barak, nevertheleſs, peremptorily refuſed to engage in the enterprize unleſs ſhe would accompany him; to which, after reproaching him ſeverely for thus relinquiſhing to a woman the honor of the command to which God had appointed him, ſhe at length conſented. This matter being ſettled, Barak aſſembled his troops and took poſt on Mount Tabor; and Siſera, by the command of Jabin, marched out to give him battle. For a ſhort time, the two armies lay encamped within ſight of each other; but the Hebrews were ſo terrified at the great diſparity of numbers between their enemy's army and their own, that both the ſoldiers and their leader were on the point of retiring in the moſt daſtardly manner, without even ſtriking a blow: Deborah, however, by the force of exhortations, and aſſurances of God's favour and protection, prevailed on them, with no ſmall difficulty, to abide the event of a battle. At the very commencement of the attack there aroſe a violent ſtorm of rain and hail, which, being driven by the wind full in the face of the Canaanites, obliged them to ſhut their eyes, to preſerve them from the fury of the tempeſt; rendered their bows and ſlings totally uſeleſs; and benumbed their hands to that degree, as to prevent them from availing themſelves of thoſe weapons which were adapted to the purpoſe of a cloſe fight. This tempeſt, which ſo much annoyed the Canaanites, proved of not the leaſt prejudice to the Hebrews; but, on the contrary, ſerved to encreaſe their confidence in the divine aid. In ſhort, the Canaanites were totally routed; and, reckoning thoſe who fell in the engagement, thoſe who were trod to death by the horſes, thoſe who were cruſhed to pieces by the chariots, and thoſe who were killed in the purſuit, the whole of this immenſe army was utterly deſtroyed.

When Siſera perceived that his troops were flying on all ſides in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, and that the day was inevitably loſt, he leaped from his chariot, and took refuge at the houſe of a woman named Jael, by birth a Kenite, who received him with every outward demonſtration of friendſhip and kindneſs. Being totally exhauſted with the toil and fatigue of the day, he requeſted her to give him ſome drink, and ſhe, accordingly, brought him a draught of ſour milk, which he ſwallowed with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and immediately fell into a profound ſleep. When Jael perceived the ſituation he was in, ſhe took an iron nail, and, approaching him without the leaſt noiſe, drove it through his temple into the ground; in which condition ſhe expoſed his body to the view of the Iſraelites, who came ſoon afterwards to her houſe in ſearch of him. Thus was the prediction of Deborah to Barak verified: that the honor of the victory ſhould in part be due to a woman.

Barak afterwards directed his march towards Azor, and, meeting with Jabin on the way, encountered and ſlew him. He next made himſelf maſter of the city, which he razed from the very foundation; and from this time continued to govern Iſrael for the ſpace of about forty years.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrews are ſubdued by the Midianites, in conjunction with the Amalekites and the Arabians.

SOON after the deaths of Deborah and Barak, which happened nearly about the ſame time, the Midianites uniting their forces with thoſe of the Amalekites and the Arabians, attacked the Iſraelites, and vanquiſhed them in ſeveral battles; plundering and laying waſte their country, for the full term of ſeven ſucceſſive years. The Iſraelites were at length compelled to abandon their habitations on the plains, and to fly for refuge to the mountains, where they dug vaults and caves, both for the purpoſe of ſheltering themſelves from the purſuit of their enemies, and of ſecreting ſuch of their effects and proviſions as they had been able to ſave from the general depredation. The Midianites, however, did not attempt to obſtruct them from cultivating their land in the winter; but conſtantly deprived them of the fruits of their toil when the harveſt ſeaſon arrived. Thus were the Hebrews reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of miſery and want, and, in this extremity, placed all their hopes of relief in prayers and ſupplications to the Almighty, as their laſt reſort.

CHAP. VIII.

Gideon delivers the Hebrews from the bondage of the Midianites.

AS Gideon, the ſon of Joas, and one of the chiefs of the tribe of Manaſſes, was on a certain occaſion ſecretly thraſhing a ſmall quantity of corn in a place where he had been accuſtomed to preſs his grapes; not daring to make uſe of his thraſhing floor for that purpoſe, leſt he ſhould be detected by the Midianites; an angel appeared to him, in the ſhape of a young man, and felicitated him on his happineſs, in poſſeſſing the favour of the Almighty in an eminent degree. "It is hardly credible," replied Gideon, "that a man in my diſtreſſed circumſtances ſhould be thus diſtinguiſhed by "the Creator of the univerſe." The viſion bad him to take courage, and, from that hour, to employ all his thoughts in deviſing the means of delivering his countrymen from the bondage under which they had ſo long groaned. "Both my own incapacity," ſaid Gideon, "and the weakneſs, in point of "numbers, of the tribe to which I belong, effectually cut off all hopes of "ſucceſs in an enterprize of this nature." The angel made anſwer, that God would ſupply whatever might be deficient in him, and that under his conduct

conduct the Iſraelites ſhould certainly prove victorious. The particulars of this affair having been communicated by Gideon to ſeveral of his companions, they expreſſed the fulleſt confidence in the prediction, and, accordingly, quickly aſſembled an army of ten thouſand choice men, who were determined to encounter every danger in ſupport of the common cauſe.

In the interim, the Almighty appeared to Gideon in a dream, and gave him further inſtructions in what manner to proceed, in words to the following effect: "It is the common failing of mankind to arrogate to themſelves the merit of ſuch actions as are in reality produced by the intervention of divine providence; particularly if they appear to be effected by the agency of natural cauſes alone. But, to give you the ſtrongeſt conviction that victory is derived from above, and that all human ſtrength is vain without the divine aid, lead your army, in the moſt ſcorching time of the day, to the banks of the river Jordan, and take particular notice of the manner in which the ſoldiers drink. Such of them as ſhall lay themſelves along upon the ground, and ſhall drink with apparent compoſure and unconcern, you may depend upon as men of courage and reſolution, and fit for the deſign you have in meditation; but, with reſpect to thoſe who drink in haſte, and with viſible marks of confuſion in their countenances, they are actuated by a fear of the enemy, and muſt not, on any account, be confided in." Gideon obeyed, and upon trial found no more than three hundred men who anſwered to the firſt deſcription.

With this handful of men Gideon took poſt on the banks of the river; but not without ſtrong apprehenſions reſpecting the event of the enterprize. To calm his fears, God ordered him to go ſecretly over to the enemy's camp that night, accompanied by one of his ſoldiers, where he ſhould learn ſome particulars which ſhould revive his drooping courage. He accordingly repaired to the camp of the Midianites, taking with him his own ſervant Phuran; and, drawing near to one of the tents, they overheard a ſoldier relating to his comrade the particulars of an extraordinary dream which he had dreamt. "I imagined," ſaid he, "that a loaf of barley, which is the coarſeſt of every ſpecies of grain, and totally unfit for the food of man, dropt into our camp, and, rolling along, overſet at firſt the king's tent, and afterwards all the reſt."

"This dream," replied his companion, "in my opinion, prognoſticates the utter deſtruction of our army. Barley is, as you have rightly obſerved, the coarſeſt of all kinds of grain; and are not the Iſraelites the moſt deſpicable nation throughout all Aſia? Gideon has lately raiſed a body of troops, with the view of attacking us, and I greatly fear that the circumſtance of the reverſal of our tents by the barley-loaf can be expounded no otherwiſe than by the total overthrow of our army by Gideon and his Hebrew aſſociates." Gideon now returned to his troops, who were no leſs animated than himſelf by the favourable explication of this dream; manifeſting the utmoſt ardour to oppoſe any danger whatever that might occur.

Gideon divided his little army into three bodies of one hundred men each, and having received orders from God to attack the enemy during the night, at the expiration of the fourth watch, he led them to the charge; each man carrying in one hand a pitcher containing a burning lamp, in order that they might attack the foe by ſurprize, and in the other a ram's horn, to ſerve inſtead of a trumpet. The prodigious number of camels which the enemy had, and the variety of nations of which their army was compoſed, each being diſtinctly poſted, neceſſarily occaſioned their camp to take up a very conſiderable extent of ground; the whole, however, being encloſed within one common line of circumvallation. The Hebrews were ordered by Gideon, upon their arrival at the enemy's camp, to break their pitchers, and, ſounding their horns, each man with his lamp in his hand, to begin the attack with loud ſhouts. In full confidence that God would grant them a complete victory, they ſtrictly adhered to the orders they had received, and the enemy, by this ſtratagem, were thrown into ſo great a confuſion and conſternation, to which the darkneſs of the night, the medley of languages, and thoſe impreſſions of terror which would not permit them to diſtinguiſh between friend and foe, all greatly contributed, that they turned their arms upon each other, every man imagining the perſon next him to be an enemy. The ſlaughter, in ſhort, was amazingly great; yet the number of thoſe ſlain by the Iſraelites bore but a ſmall proportion to that of thoſe who fell by the hands of their own aſſociates.

When the reſt of the Iſraelites inhabiting the country received intelligence of this ſignal defeat, they inſtantly diſpatched various parties of troops, to take poſſeſſion of all the paſſes and paſſages of the mountains, rivers, and torrents, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy, vaſt numbers of whom they put to the ſword, and, among the reſt, two of their kings, Oreb and Zeb.

The wretched remains of this vaſt body of men, conſiſting of about eighteen thouſand, with much difficulty effected a retreat, and took poſt on a ſpot as far diſtant as they conveniently could from the Hebrew camp. Although the army of Gideon had undergone great fatigue in the late action, he nevertheleſs continued the purſuit of this remnant of the Midianites, and, coming up with them, totally routed the whole party; taking priſoners their two commanders, the princes Zebin and Hezarbon; and putting the reſt to the ſword. In theſe different engagements there fell, of the Midianites and their allies, nearly one hundred and twenty thouſand men; and the booty taken by the Iſraelites, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, rich ſtuffs, camels, aſſes, and other articles, was of an immenſe value. Gideon upon his return home put to death the two Midianitiſh princes mentioned above.

The tribe of Ephraim, however, to which he belonged, jealous of the great reputation which he had acquired, affected to be highly offended at his conduct in engaging the enemy without their privity or concurrence, and were on the point of riſing in arms againſt him; but Gideon, whoſe modeſty and moderation were equal to his valour, averted the impending ſtorm, by repreſenting to them that throughout the whole of the late tranſactions he had

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acted under the immediate direction of the Almighty; and that they were equally entitled with himself to a share in the honor of the victory, although it had pleased God to allot to him the most active part therein. By this discreet conduct Gideon rendered his countrymen a service still more essential than the late victory over the Midianites: as he thereby obviated a civil war; that greatest of all possible evils in a state, which must otherwise inevitably have ensued. The Ephraimites, nevertheless, suffered severely for this invidious and ungrateful conduct, as will be shewn in its proper place.

Having thus accomplished the deliverance of his country, Gideon would gladly have relinquished the command with which he had been invested; but he suffered himself, at length, to be prevailed on, by the earnest entreaties and importunities of the people, to continue in his office; which he held for the space of forty years; enacting laws, and administring justice with such strict impartiality, that not one instance occurred of an appeal from his decisions, throughout the whole period during which he governed Israel. He died in an advanced age, and was buried in his native place, the land of Ephraim.

CHAP. IX.

Particulars of the cruelty and tyrannical conduct of Abimelech, and of his death. The Ammonites and Philistines subdue the Hebrews. They are rescued from slavery by Jephtha, who defeats the Ephraimites; and after his death, Israel is governed successively by Abjan, Elon, and Abdon.

THE issue which Gideon left were seventy legitimate sons, by various women, and one natural son, by his concubine Druma, whom he named Abimelech. Soon after the death of Gideon, Abimelech repaired to Sichem, where the kindred of his mother resided. From them he obtained a supply of money, and, finding them to be men of dissolute lives, and qualified for the perpetration of any manner of wickedness, he engaged a certain number of them to accompany him on his return. Immediately upon his arrival at his father's house he put all his brethren to death, except Jothan, who fortunately escaped his cruelty, by concealing himself so secretly as to baffle every endeavour to discover his retreat. Having by this means seized on the supreme power, Abimelech openly professing the utmost contempt of every ordinance, divine and human, exercised his authority in a manner which drew upon him the universal odium.

Jothan, who had escaped the general massacre of his brethren, embraced the opportunity of the celebration of a public festival at Sichem to address the people, who were assembled in great numbers on the occasion, from the top of Mount Garizim, in the following allegorical speech: "At a time "when the trees were endued with the gift of speech, they held a grand "council for the purpose of chusing a king. The major part of the as- "sembly concurred in soliciting the fig-tree to accept of the diadem; but

" the fig-tree modeſtly declined the intended honor; alledging that the fame " which it had acquired by the goodneſs of its fruit fully gratified all its " ambition. This modeſty and reſerve of the fig-tree was imitated by the " vine and the olive-tree alſo; and the regal dignity was, in conſequence, " offered to the bramble, the wood of which is fit only for fuel. The bram- " ble readily conſented to accept the ſovereignty, on condition that they " ſhould ſubmit themſelves, in all caſes, to its abſolute will and pleaſure, " but threatened to conſume them with a devouring fire, which ſhould pro- " ceed from its own body, if they ſhould preſume to diſobey its commands. " I do not," continued Jothan, " relate this fable with the view of exciting " you to laughter, but to point out to you the impropriety and injuſtice of " your conduct, in thus permitting Abimelech, who is alluded to as the " bramble, to rule over you without controul, after having baſely aſſaſſi- " nated the offspring of Gideon, to whom you have ſo many and power- " ful obligations."

Having concluded his ſpeech, he retired; and for the ſpace of three years afterwards, was compelled to lead a wandering life among the mountains, through fear of the reſentment of Abimelech. In a ſhort time ſubſequent to this event, the Sichemites being impreſſed with a due horror of the barbarity which had been executed on the ſons of Gideon, baniſhed Abimelech from their city and tribe; which indignity he ſought every means to revenge.

The ſeaſon for gathering grapes was now arrived, but the inhabitants durſt not quit their city through fear of being expoſed to the attacks of Abimelech. It fortunately happened, that juſt at that period, a prince of the country, who was named Gaal, arrived at Sichem, attended by ſeveral of his relations, and a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers. At the requeſt of the citizens, he furniſhed them with a part of his troops, to protect them during the vintage. They at firſt met with no interruption in gathering their grapes, and even put ſeveral ſmall parties of Abimelech's troops, which chanced to fall in their way, to the ſword; and in ſpeaking of him, they applied the moſt contemptuous terms at thoſe times when their ſpirits chanced to be elevated with wine.

Zebul, one of the principal men among the Sichemites, and who had formerly been the hoſt of Abimelech, contrived to give him private notice of the practices which Gaal was carrying on againſt him; adviſing him, at the ſame time, to endeavour to ſeize his perſon, by ſtationing a party of his troops in ambuſh near the city; engaging to lure him into the ſnare, and, when that deſign ſhould be effected, to reinſtate Abimelech in the favour of the citizens. This advice was adopted; and Gaal, having imprudently remained too long in the ſuburbs, in company with Zebul, obſerved the troops of Abimelech advancing towards the city, and mentioned the circumſtance to Zebul; but the latter pretended to be of a contrary opinion, and endeavoured to perſuade him that it was the ſhadow of the mountains which he ſaw. Gaal, however, perſiſted in his former aſſertion, and was reproached by his companion with timidity, in

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thus retreating before Abimelech, whom he had ſo repeatedly branded with cowardice. This reproof induced him to lead his troops, though in ſome diſorder, againſt the enemy; but he was repulſed at the firſt onſet, and, after having loſt a few of his men, retired within the walls of the city. From this incident Zebul took occaſion to repreſent him to the people as a perſon deficient in valour, and thereby procured his expulſion.

In the interim, Abimelech, having received certain information that the Sichemites had determined, notwithſtanding their late check, to perſiſt in gathering their fruit, detached a third part of his army to lie in wait to ſeize the gates, when the inhabitants ſhould leave the city, for the above purpoſe.

This was accordingly executed, and the city, being taken by ſtorm, was levelled with the ground, and the foundation ſtrewed over with ſalt. Such of the inhabitants as had quitted the city, previouſly to its being taken, were attacked by Abimelech with the reſt of his troops, who put great numbers of them to the ſword. A conſiderable number of perſons, of all ſexes and ages, ſtill remained, who had hitherto eſcaped the general carnage, and forming themſelves into one body, fled for ſafety to a neighbouring rock. They intended to have erected a wall round this ſpot, which, being naturally of great ſtrength, would thereby have been rendered impregnable. But Abimelech did not allow them time to carry this deſign into execution; for advancing againſt them with his whole army, he encompaſſed the place with a vaſt pile of faggots and bruſh-wood, which being ſet on fire utterly conſumed the whole company to aſhes. The number of thoſe who periſhed in this miſerable manner was fifteen hundred men, excluſive of women and children. Such was the wretched fate of the Sichemites; a fate which would have entitled them to our commiſeration, had they not merited it by their ingratitude to a man to whom they were ſo highly obligated.

From this inſtance of the bloody cruelty of Abimelech towards the Sichemites, it was very apparent to the Hebrews, that the inſolent uſurper meant to ſpread deſolation and bloodſhed as far as his conqueſts ſhould extend.

Abimelech, ſoon afterwards, led his army againſt Thebes, of which city he made himſelf maſter by aſſault; but the garriſon retired into the citadel. Having advanced to the very gates of this edifice, with a full determination either to force them or to ſet them on fire, a woman let drop from the top of the wall a large piece of a mill-ſtone, which, falling on his head, beat him from his horſe. Perceiving, when he had in ſome degree recovered himſelf from the blow, that the wound which he had received was mortal, he ordered his armour-bearer to diſpatch him inſtantly, that it might not be ſaid that he died by the hands of a woman. He was obeyed; and thus according to the prediction of Jothan, paid the forfeit of his barbarities to his brethren and the Sichemites. Immediately after the death of Abimelech, his army diſbanded; each man returning to his own habitation.

A Gileadite named Jair, of the tribe of Manaſſes, was the next who undertook the government of Iſrael. This man, in every inſtance, enjoyed great happineſs, but particularly in the poſſeſſion of a numerous and deſerving progeny; being the father of thirty ſons, equally famed for their virtue and bravery, and of high rank and authority in the country in which they dwelt. He officiated in this poſt twenty-two years, died in an advanced age, and was buried in the city of Camon, in the land of Gilead.

At this period, the Hebrews were become totally regardleſs of their duty both to God and man; and this extreme depravity rendered them ſo deſpicable in the eyes of their neighbours, the Ammonites and Philiſtines, that they invaded their country with a powerful army, and with great facility made an entire conqueſt of all that part thereof which lies on this ſide Jordan, intending to paſs the river, and ſubdue the remainder.

In this dilemma, the Iſraelites, as was cuſtomary with them when they chanced to be involved in any great calamity, again had recourſe to ſacrifices and ſupplications to God for deliverance; and even this extorted repentance procured from the Almighty a promiſe of pardon and aſſiſtance. The Ammonites having at this time invaded the land of Gilead, the inhabitants took up arms, with the view of repelling their attacks, and, being deſtitute of a leader, ſolicited Jephthah, a man highly eſteemed among them both for his courage and conduct, and who kept a conſiderable body of troops in his own pay, to take upon him for life the command of their army.

Jephthah refuſed, at firſt, to comply with their requeſt; upbraiding them with baſeneſs, in thus applying to him in their diſtreſs, to whom they had formerly denied all aſſiſtance at a time when he ſtood in the utmoſt need of aid againſt the cruel perſecutions of his brethren. "You then," ſaid he, "objected to me, that I was the ſon of a foreign woman, who had been "introduced by ſtealth into the family; and on that plea, abſolutely "refuſed to afford me the help I craved at your hands, and thereby "compelled me to retire into the land of Gilead, where I have ever ſince "remained, liſting into my ſervice all who offered themſelves." The Iſraelites, however, ſtill importuning him to eſpouſe their cauſe, he at length yielded to their ſolicitations, and was accordingly inveſted with the ſupreme command of their troops.

Having incorporated his own forces with thoſe of the Hebrews, Jephthah marched to Miſpah, from whence he diſpatched ambaſſadors to the king of the Ammonites, to repreſent to him the injuſtice of which he was guilty, in thus invading a country to which he had no reaſonable pretention. This charge the king retorted upon the Iſraelites, who, he obſerved, after their departure from Ægypt, had, without any other right than merely that of conqueſt, poſſeſſed themſelves of the country of the Ammonites; peremptorily enjoining them to quit the ſame, and to ſeek ſome more diſtant reſidence. Jephthah replied, that the Ammonites, inſtead of complaining that the Hebrews had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Amorrhæa, ought rather

rather to acknowledge the moderation of that people in permitting them to retain the poſſeſſion of their own country of Ammon, from which Moſes might have expelled them; concluding with a declaration, that the Hebrews would not, upon any account relinquiſh thoſe lands, in which they had been ſettled for the term of three hundred years, but would, with the divine aid, maintain themſelves therein againſt every effort of their enemies to diſpoſſeſs them. The peremptorineſs of this declaration at once put an end to the treaty, and both parties prepared for war.

When the two armies were in ſight of each other, Jephthah made a vow, that, if God ſhould be pleaſed to permit him to return a conqueror, he would offer up in ſacrifice the firſt living creature he ſhould meet with upon his entrance into the city in which he reſided. He afterwards engaged the enemy, and put them totally to the rout; purſuing them, with great ſlaughter, as far as the city of Maniath. He alſo made an irruption into the land of Ammon; taking and deſtroying ſeveral cities, and dividing the booty, which was very conſiderable, among his troops. This victory, in ſhort, emancipated the Hebrews from a bondage under which they had groaned for the term of eighteen years.

The conduct of Jephthah, throughout the whole of this war, acquired him great and deſerved reputation; but, upon his return home, an incident befel him which ſuddenly converted all his ſatisfaction into the ſevereſt ſorrow. For, when he was on the point of entering the city in which he reſided, the firſt perſon whom he diſcovered was his only daughter, who, with a heart filled with joy, had come forth to meet him, and to congratulate him on his return. He was ſtruck with inexpreſſible horror at the ſight, and, in the utmoſt anguiſh of mind, acquainted her with the particulars of his fatal vow. Unmoved at the dreadful tale, ſhe nobly replied, that ſhe ſhould chearfully ſubmit to death, for the ſake of preſerving her father's honor, and of aſſuring the freedom of her country; requeſting only that he would allow her two months to prepare herſelf, and to bid farewel to the virgins, her companions, after which he might perform his vow whenever he ſhould think proper. This requeſt was granted, and, at the expiration of the above term, this immaculate and ſelf-devoted victim yielded up her life at the altar, in compliance with the will of her father; who hurried away by a blind zeal, manifeſted on the occaſion an utter diſregard of every conſideration of juſtice and common fame.

In a ſhort time after the above victory, the Ephraimites, inſtigated by a ſpirit of envy and malevolence which appeared to be inherent in that tribe, endeavoured to raiſe a freſh commotion in the ſtate, by imputing to Jephthah a ſiniſter and avaricious deſign, in engaging in the late war without their concurrence. He urged in his defence, that they not only were well apprized of the diſtreſſes of their allies, but had even been repeatedly, though without effect, ſolicited by them for aſſiſtance; whereas a due ſenſe of honor would, in ſuch a caſe, have induced them to have precluded the neceſſity of an application. He farther obſerved that, as they had not dared perſonally to encounter the common enemy, it was the height of injuſtice thus to calumniate their friends who had undergone all the toils and hardſhips of the war;

war; and concluded with a threat that he would puniſh their inſolence if they perſiſted any further therein. But, finding that he ſhould be able to effect nothing by reaſoning the matter with them, he was compelled to have recourſe to a numerous corps of troops, with which he ſuddenly advanced againſt the main body of the army, which they had brought from Gilead, and totally defeated them; and purſued them ſo cloſely, that their loſs in the battle and the purſuit, fell very little ſhort of twenty-two thouſand men.

Jephthah died in the ſeventh year of his adminiſtration, and was interred at Sebeth, the place of his birth, in the land of Gilead. He was ſucceeded by Abſan, of the tribe of Judah, who dwelt in the city of Bethlehem, and governed Iſrael ſeven years; but no incident happened during that period, of ſufficient conſequence to be recorded. He left ninety children, ſixty of whom were males, and thirty daughters; all of whom were married at the time of his deceaſe. To him ſucceeded Elon, of the tribe of Zebulon, who ruled the people ten years; nor was his government diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event. The next perſon who governed Iſrael was Abdon, the ſon of Heliel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and a native of the city of Pharathon. He had a numerous progeny, conſiſting of forty ſons, and thirty grandſons, all of whom were expert horſemen; and of theſe his ordinary guard was compoſed: but the tranquillity of the times during his adminiſtration afforded no incident worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. He died at a great age, and was buried with much pomp and ſolemnity in the city of Pharathon.

CHAP. X.

The Philiſtines ſubdue the Iſraelites, and render them tributaries. The birth of Samſon and his wondrous exploits.

THE Philiſtines, after the death of Abdon, held the Hebrews in ſubjection nearly for the ſpace of forty years; but they at length obtained their liberty in the manner following.

A perſon whoſe name was Manoah, of the tribe of Dan, a man of high rank and reputation in his own country, had married a woman of ſuperlative beauty, but, to his own unſpeakable grief, ſhe proved childleſs. He had a houſe, ſituated on a lonely ſpot, in the midſt of an extenſive plain, to which he frequently repaired with his wife, and in this ſolitude he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in importuning heaven for the bleſſing of a child. Manoah was of a diſpoſition equally violent and jealous. It chanced on a certain day when the woman was at his houſe alone, an angel appeared to her, under the ſhape of a tall young man, and, bidding her to conſole herſelf, predicted to her that ſhe ſhould bear a male child, who, when he ſhould arrive at the years of maturity, ſhould be remarkable for the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and for his ſuperior ſtrength, and ſhould greatly humble the pride of the Philiſtines; enjoining her, in the name of God, neither to cut his hair, nor to ſuffer him to drink any thing beſides water; and, having given her theſe inſtructions, the viſion inſtantly diſappeared. On the arrival of her huſband,

ſhe acquainted him with the particulars of this viſion, highly extolling the comely appearance of the angel, which made him ſuſpicious that his wife had been guilty of conjugal infidelity, which ſhe hoped to conceal under this pretext. The unhappy woman, ſtrongly affected by the diſhonourable and unjuſt ſuſpicions of her huſband, in the anguiſh of her mind beſought the Almighty to vindicate her innocence, by permitting the viſion once more to appear to her, at a time when Manoah ſhould be preſent.

In conſequence of her ſupplications, the angel, in a few days after, again preſented himſelf before her, in the ſame place in which ſhe had firſt ſeen him, and ſhe begged his permiſſion to fetch her huſband, who inſtantly came with her to the ſpot. But ſuch was the prevalency of his jealouſy, that notwithſtanding the evidence before him, he would ſcarce be induced to ſuppreſs his ſuſpicions, and earneſtly preſſed the angel again to confirm the prediction which he had before communicated to his wife; but this the angel declined; obſerving to him, that it was ſufficient his wife had been already made acquainted therewith. He then ſolicited the angel to declare to him his name and quality, that, when he ſhould have obtained the promiſed bleſſing of a child, he might know to whom to pay his acknowledgments. The viſion replied, that he neither expected nor deſired any gratification for the tidings he brought. Manoah, with ſome difficulty, prevailed on him, however, to ſtay and partake of a kid, which he had killed and given to his wife to dreſs.

When every thing was in readineſs, the angel ordered the fleſh and bread to be placed, without diſhes, on an adjacent rock; which being done, with a wand which he held in his hand, he touched the fleſh, and inſtantaneouſly a flame iſſued therefrom, which totally conſumed both it and the bread; and the angel aſcended to heaven in the ſmoke which aroſe from this preternatural fire. Manoah expreſſed a ſtrong apprehenſion that this prodigy boded ſome great evil to them; but his wife endeavoured to diſpel his fears, confidently aſſuring him, that it would be productive of the greateſt comfort and happineſs to them both. She ſoon afterwards perceived herſelf to be pregnant, and from that hour carefully kept in mind the inſtructions which ſhe had received from the angel.

In the due courſe of time ſhe was delivered of a ſon, whom they named Samſon, ſignifying, in the Hebrew tongue, *robuſt*. As he grew up, the comelineſs of his perſon, and the rigid temperance which he obſerved in his manner of living, gave him an appearance ſomething more than mortal.

Having repaired on the celebration of a ſolemn feſtival, to Timnah, a city belonging to the Philiſtines, he there ſaw a damſel of whom he became paſſionately enamoured; and urgently ſolicited his father to obtain her for him in marriage. His father, at firſt, refuſed to comply with his requeſt; repreſenting to him, that by the Hebrew laws all marriages with women of foreign nations were ſtrictly prohibited; and that there were many women of his own nation with whom a matrimonial connection would be far more eligible than with the party with whom he ſought an alliance. But the impetuoſity of the ſon's paſſion proved an over-match for all the diſcretion and authority.

thority of the father, and Samſon was permitted to contract himſelf to the damſel in queſtion. Being one day on the road which led to the place of reſidence of his intended bride, he chanced to meet a lion. Totally undiſmayed at the unexpected ſight of this terrible animal, he undauntedly advanced towards him, and, though deſtitute of every kind of weapon, he attacked the creature, and quickly ſtrangled him, throwing the body afterwards into an adjacent thicket.

Some few days afterwards, he chanced to paſs along the ſame path again, on a ſecond viſit to his miſtreſs; and, ſtepping out of the road, to take a view of the careaſe of the lion, he found it occupied by a ſwarm of bees, who were employed in working their wax and honey. He took three of the combs, which he preſented, together with ſome other articles which he had procured for the purpoſe, to his miſtreſs. On the day of the nuptials, he was attended by thirty of the ſtouteſt young men of the country, whom the friends of his bride, conſcious of his amazing ſtrength, had ſelected for that office, under the pretext of doing him honor; but, in reality, to prevent any bad effects which might otherwiſe happen, from his making too free a uſe of the juice of the grape. In the midſt of their jollity, Samſon informed the company that he had a riddle to propoſe to them, and that as many of them as ſhould ſolve it in the courſe of ſeven days, ſhould each man receive from him a coat and a ſhirt; and at once acquire both reputation and profit. The whole company, being animated, ſome with a deſire of manifeſting their penetration, and others with a thirſt of gain, eagerly requeſted him to propound the ænigma; which he accordingly did, in the following words: *Out of the eater came forth meat, and from the ſtrong was produced ſweetneſs.*

When the Philiſtines had in vain racked their imaginations for the ſpace of three days, to diſcover the meaning of this riddle they applied themſelves to the newly eſpouſed wife of Samſon; enjoining her, at the peril of being burnt alive, to obtain from her huſband an explanation of the whole myſtery. He for ſome time reſiſted all her importunities; but, on her reproaching him with a want of affection for her, in thus refuſing to confide the ſecret to her, he diſcloſed all the circumſtances relative to his combat with the lion, and to the honey-combs which he brought her; and ſhe communicated every particular to the Philiſtines. The day being now arrived which had been appointed for the ſolution of this riddle, the Philiſtines aſſembled before ſun-ſet, and repairing in a body to Samſon, gave him the explanation in the ſubſequent terms: *No creature poſſeſſes more ſtrength than a lion, nor can any thing be ſweeter than honey.* "And you might," ſaid Samſon, "have "added, that nothing can ſurpaſs the baſeneſs and falſehood of the woman, "from whom you obtained the key to this cypher." He did not, however, neglect to perform his promiſe to thoſe who ſhould expound his riddle; and, to enable him to do this, he ſtripped thirty of the inhabitants of Aſkalon of their apparel; which city is ſituated in the dominions of the Philiſtines.

Samſon ſo highly reſented the conduct of his wife on this occaſion, that he formally repudiated her; and ſhe, from a motive of revenge, eſpouſed the perſon who had been the chief promoter of their union. This action Samſon

ſon conſidered as ſo heinous an affront, that he vowed vengeance not only on the woman, but alſo on the whole nation of the Philiſtines; and an opportunity ſoon afterwards offered for the ample execution of his deſign. The time of harveſt being now juſt at hand, Samſon procured three hundred foxes, and, tying them tail to tail, with a firebrand between each two of them, he turned the whole number looſe into the fields of the Philiſtines, where they preſently deſtroyed all the corn which was then ripe for cutting. When the princes of the Philiſtines learnt who was the author of this outrage, and the motives by which he had been inſtigated to it, they immediately repaired to Timnah, and, ſeizing the perſons of the late wife of Samſon, and all her kindred, publickly burnt them alive.

Samſon had now fixed his reſidence on the rock of Etam, a place of prodigious ſtrength, and from thence made frequent incurſions into the lands of the Philiſtines, deſtroying great numbers of the inhabitants. This rock was ſituated in the diſtrict of the tribe of Judah, againſt whom the Philiſtines, in revenge for the continual depredations of Samſon, were on the point of commencing hoſtilities. It was in vain that theſe unfortunate people pleaded in their juſtification, that they had demeaned themſelves peaceably, had regularly paid the tribute which had been impoſed upon them, and were perfectly free from all participation in the guilt of Samſon and his aſſociates; for the Philiſtines peremptorily declared to them, that unleſs they delivered up the perſon of Samſon, they muſt expect to be conſidered, and to be puniſhed alſo, as the abettors of his crimes.

To clear themſelves from every imputation on this head, they aſſembled a body of three thouſand armed men, and marched to the ſpot where he reſided, and there entered into conference with his companions, repreſenting to them the danger to which the violences of Samſon had expoſed the Hebrew nation, by exciting againſt them the reſentment of a powerful enemy, who, if not timely appeaſed, might probably be induced to extirpate their whole race; adding, that their ſole deſign in coming thither was to ſecure the perſon of Samſon, and to deliver him into the hands of the Philiſtines; to which they exhorted him to ſubmit voluntarily, both for their ſakes and for his own. Samſon, hereupon, deſcended from the rock, and, having obtained a ſolemn oath from them that they would be ſatisfied with delivering him up to the Philiſtines, without offering him any perſonal injury themſelves, ſurrendered himſelf to his countrymen, who bound him, and led him away to a ſpot before agreed on, which was then of no particular note, but which a memorable action afterwards performed there by Samſon rendered deſervedly famous to poſterity. At a ſmall diſtance from the camp of the Philiſtines, they were met by a numerous body of people, who expreſſed their joy at ſeeing this dreaded foe in their power, with the loudeſt ſhouts and acclamations.

Samſon, in the mean time, ſnapping aſunder the cords with which he was bound, ſeized the jaw-bone of an aſs which chanced to lie near him, and ſuddenly attacking the Philiſtines, ſlew nearly a thouſand of them on the ſpot, and put the reſt to flight. He was ſo much elated with this victory, that

he arrogated to himſelf the honor of that action, without conſidering that it was to God alone, to whom the glory of the atchievement ought to have been aſcribed. But, in the midſt of this impious vaunting, he found himſelf ſuddenly attacked by a violent thirſt, which convinced him of the vanity of his boaſts, by demonſtrating to him that all his ſucceſſes did not exempt him from the common accidents of human nature. He, therefore humbled himſelf before God, acknowledging his former preſumption in aſſuming to himſelf the late victory, requeſting pardon for his crimes, and promiſing in future to rely ſolely upon the power and goodneſs of the Almighty for deliverance in all his diſtreſſes. Nor was his penitence ineffectual: for immediately there guſhed from a neighbouring rock a ſtream of the pureſt water, for the relief of his raging thirſt; and this rock to the preſent time bears the name of *the jaw*, in alluſion to the abovementioned exploit of Samſon.

He now held the power of the Philiſtines in ſuch utter contempt, that he ſcrupled not to go publickly to Gaza, and to take up his abode at a common inn. The circumſtance of his arrival having been communicated to the governor of the city, he ſtationed a number of ſoldiers and ſpies about the houſe, to prevent his eſcape. Samſon, having received ſome intimation of the deſign, roſe at midnight, and, taking the gates of the city off their hinges, conveyed them away on his ſhoulders, with all their appurtenances of frames, bolts, and locks, as far as mount Hebron, where he left them.

By degrees, Samſon had now acquired ſo ſtrong a diſtaſte to the laws and cuſtoms of his own country, and, conſequently, ſuch a propenſity to thoſe of the neighbouring nations, as, in the ſequel, proved his deſtruction. He unfortunately conceived a violent paſſion for a common proſtitute, in the land of the Philiſtines, whoſe name was Dalilah; and with this woman he openly cohabited. The princes of the country, perceiving to how great a degree he was infatuated by his infamous paſſion, ſecretly wrought upon this mercenary woman, by the force of bribes and promiſes, to unite with them in the deſign of effecting his ruin. The part which they aſſigned her to act in this plot was, to obtain from him a confeſſion where that invincible ſtrength was ſeated, of which he had given ſo many extraordinary proofs. She, accordingly, took every opportunity, in his hours of inebriety or dalliance, to expreſs her admiration of his ſtrength and activity, and to importune him to acquaint her in what part of his body that excellency lay, which rendered him ſo infinitely ſuperior to all other men. But Samſon retained as yet ſo much prudence, as enabled him to perceive and to counterwork the artifices of his miſtreſs; and he replied, that if his hands were bound with ſeven green withs, or creepers of the vine, he ſhould then poſſeſs no greater degree of force than the reſt of mankind.

This information Dalilah immediately communicated to the magiſtrates of the place, who, in conſequence, ſecretly diſpatched a band of ſoldiers to the houſe in which Samſon reſided, with orders to ſecure his perſon on the firſt opportunity that ſhould offer. Finding him intoxicated and aſleep, they bound him in the manner before deſcribed; but Samſon being awakened by the outcries of Dalilah, that the Philiſtines were upon him, inſtantly ſnapped

ped the withs, like ſo many threads, and, putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, obliged the aſſailants to make a precipitate retreat. Dalilah affected to be highly incenſed at the deception which had been put upon her, and bitterly reproached Samſon with a want of affection for her; adding that ſhe thought herſelf greatly injured by his ſuſpicions that ſhe was leſs capable of keeping a ſecret than any of her ſex. She, however, ſtill perſiſted in ſoliciting him to reveal to her what ſhe deſired to know, and he again deceived her, on two ſubſequent occaſions, with feigned ſtories; telling her at firſt, that if he were to be bound with ſeven cords, he ſhould be deprived thereby of all power of reſiſtance; and, afterwards, that the ſame effect would be produced by filleting and braiding his hair.

Though thus thrice baffled, Dalilah was not yet diſcouraged; but, partly through reſentment, and partly from a principle of obſtinacy, ſhe continued to urge him ſo earneſtly with entreaties and careſſes, that, in an evil hour, he diſcloſed to her the important ſecret in theſe words: "That ſupreme Be-" ing, from whom I derive my exiſtence, and who has been pleaſed to diſ-" tinguiſh me in a particular manner by his favour, has ſtrictly command-" ed me never to ſuffer my hair to be cut; as in the preſervation thereof " entirely conſiſts my ſafety and ſtrength." Having made this diſcovery, ſhe ſoon afterwards deprived him of his locks whilſt he ſlept, and, in this defenceleſs condition, delivered him into the hands of the Philiſtines, who put out his eyes, and led him about as a public ſpectacle.

A conſiderable time had now elapſed, when a feſtival was celebrated by the Philiſtines, at which were aſſembled all the princes and nobility of the country. In the height of their merriment, it was propoſed to ſend for Samſon, to make ſport for the company. The roof of the edifice in which they were regaling, was ſupported by two large pillars only. Samſon, whoſe hair was now grown again, meditating vengeance on his enemies, was now brought into the aſſembly; and feigning to be weary with walking, he deſired the boy by whom he was attended to lead him to one of the pillars, that he might reſt himſelf againſt it. His requeſt being complied with, Samſon, exerting his utmoſt ſtrength, ſhook the pillar with ſuch force, that he ſoon brought down the building on the heads of all thoſe who were therein, amounting to full three thouſand perſons; himſelf periſhing with the reſt.

Thus died Samſon, in the twentieth year of his adminiſtration. He was famed for his amazing ſtrength and courage, and acquired great honor by the exertion of thoſe qualities againſt the enemies of his country. It muſt be acknowledged that he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded by the artifices of a wicked woman; but this is a frailty inherent in the very nature of mankind. His corpſe was conveyed by his relations to Saraſa, where it was interred in the burial-place of the family.

CHAP. XI.

Particulars relative to Naomi, Ruth, and Booz. Samuel is born. The Philiſtines obtain ſeveral victories over the Hebrews.

AFTER the death of Samſon, Eli the high-prieſt, ſucceeded to the government, and in his time there aroſe a dreadful famine in the land. In conſequence of this dearth, Abimelech, a citizen of Bethlehem, in the tribe of Judah, accompanied by his wife Naomi, and his two ſons, Mallon and Chellion, retired with his effects into the land of Moab. Here every thing went favourably with him, and his ſons contracted themſelves to two women of the country, whoſe names were Orpha and Ruth. At the expiration of ten years, Abimelech and his ſons died, all within a ſhort time of each other. Naomi, ſeeing herſelf thus deprived of thoſe perſons her affection for whom had been the ſole motive which had induced her to quit her own country, determined to return thither, eſpecially as ſhe had learnt that matters were now in a better ſtate than when ſhe came away. The widows of her ſons were very urgent with her to ſuffer them to accompany her; but to this ſhe abſolutely refuſed to conſent; alledging the length of the journey, and her incapacity to provide for them on their arrival at Bethlehem, as reaſons for her refuſal. Theſe objections ſatisfied Orpha; but no arguments could induce Ruth to abandon her mother-in-law; and Naomi, therefore, departed taking Ruth with her.

They were received on their arrival at Bethlehem by Booz, a relation of the deceaſed Abimelech; and, the people calling Naomi by her name, and welcoming her on her return home, ſhe replied that, inſtead of Naomi, they ought rather to call her Mara; the firſt ſignifying *happineſs*, and the latter *ſorrow*. It being now the time of harveſt, Ruth went with the permiſſion of her mother, into the fields to glean; and wandering by accident into a field which belonged to Booz, he chanced to come thither himſelf quickly afterwards, and enquired of his head-ſervant what he knew of her. The ſervant acquainted him with ſuch particulars concerning her ſituation as he had learnt from herſelf; and Booz, being highly pleaſed with the affection which ſhe manifeſted for her mother-in-law, and her regard for the memory of her deceaſed huſband, ordered that ſhe ſhould not only be permitted to glean, but alſo to reap and carry away as much corn as ſhe thought proper, and that ſhe ſhould be daily furniſhed with a like portion of meat and drink with the reſt of his ſervants. Ruth carefully ſaved a part of the proviſions which were given her, and carried it home at night, together with her gleanings, to her mother-in-law; and Naomi made a like reſerve for Ruth out of what ſhe obtained from her charitable neighbours.

Ruth acquainted her mother with the kindneſs of Booz towards her; adding that, as he was a perſon of conſiderable property, and famed for his virtue and piety, it was probable he might commiſerate their misfortunes, and take them under his care. Ruth ſtill continued to repair every day during

during the harveſt ſeaſon to the fields of Booz, to glean with his maid-ſervants; and, for the ſpace of a few days, while his people were employed in threſhing the corn, Booz took up his lodging in his own barn. This circumſtance coming to the knowledge of Naomi, ſhe adviſed Ruth to convey herſelf privately into the barn, during the night, and to lay herſelf down to reſt at the feet of Booz; imagining thereby to promote the advantage of both parties.

Ruth, from a ſcrupulous regard for the orders of her mother, obeyed; and Booz, chancing to wake about midnight, and perceiving a woman lying near him, aſked her who ſhe was. Having been ſatisfied in this point, no further diſcourſe paſſed between them till morning, when he bid her to take as much corn as ſhe pleaſed, and to return home, before his ſervants ſhould riſe to their work; obſerving that, in ſuch-like caſes, perſons could not be too cautious, however innocent their intentions were, to prevent diſcovery. He further told her that, as there was a perſon then reſiding in Bethlehem, who was ſtill nearer related to her than himſelf, he would adviſe her to inſiſt upon his receiving her as his wife, according to the laws of Moſes; and that, if he ſhould refuſe to comply with her demand, he himſelf ſhould then be at liberty to eſpouſe her. With theſe inſtructions Ruth returned to her mother, to whom ſhe communicated all the above particulars; and Naomi offered up her moſt grateful acknowledgments to heaven, for this favourable change in their affairs.

On the ſame day, about noon, Booz convened an aſſembly of the magiſtrates of Bethlehem; having previouſly given notice of attendance to Ruth and her kinſman. Upon their appearance, he queſtioned the latter whether the eſtates of Abimelech, and his two ſons, Mallon and Chellion, did not devolve to him after their deceaſe. Having received an anſwer in the affirmative, he then reminded him, that the ſame law which gave him poſſeſſion of the eſtate, provided alſo, that he ſhould marry the relict of the deceaſed; and, pointing to Ruth, "That woman," ſaid he, "is the wi-
"dow of Mallon: determine, therefore, whether you will receive her in-
"marriage, or relinquiſh the poſſeſſions of her late huſband, which you now-
"enjoy." The kinſman declined to eſpouſe her, alledging that he was already married, and had ſeveral children; and, in due form, reſigned to Booz, who, next to himſelf, was the neareſt of kin to her, all pretenſions both to the woman and the eſtate. Booz cauſed this renunciation to be regiſtered, and then ordered Ruth to looſe the ſhoe of her kinſman who had refuſed to eſpouſe her, and to ſpit in his face, according to a form practiſed in all ſimilar caſes.

Booz afterwards married her, and, before the expiration of the year, ſhe bore him a ſon, who was named Obed, which, in the Hebrew tongue ſignifies *aſſiſtance*; alluding to the aſſiſtance which it was hoped he would render to Naomi in her old age. Obed was the father of Jeſſe, from whom deſcended David, king of Iſrael; in whoſe family the ſupreme government remained throughout twenty-one generations. I have been the more explicit in the foregoing relation, with the view of evincing, that the Almighty is ſometimes pleaſed to effect the moſt important purpoſes by the meaneſt

meaneſt inſtruments; frequently advancing to regal power men of the moſt humble birth and ſtation, as in his wiſdom he ſees fit. This remark we find particularly verified in the caſe of David.

At this period the Hebrews were unfortunately involved in an unſucceſsful war againſt the Philiſtines. Hophni and Phinehas, the two ſons of Eli, the high-prieſt, were men totally diveſted of every ſentiment of religion and morality. Not ſatisfied with the cuſtomary gratuities and preſents which they received from the people, they were guilty of the greateſt exceſſes of extortion and rapine. They ſcrupled not to debauch women, even when engaged in the exerciſe of their devotions; and would often prefer their infamous ſuit at the very altar: and in the undiſtinguiſhing commiſſion of theſe enormities they manifeſted an effrontery ſcarcely to be paralleled.

Eli obſerved with the deepeſt ſorrow, the profligacy of his children; being under continual apprehenſions that ſome dreadful judgment would befal them, as a puniſhment of their wickedneſs. Nor was he much leſs affected by the wretched condition of the people, who groaned under the intolerable oppreſſions of theſe mercileſs tyrants; but when God was pleaſed to reveal to the unhappy father, and to the prophet Samuel, who was as yet but a child, the miſerable end which awaited thoſe men, he abandoned himſelf to his lamentations for them, as for perſons who were to be conſidered as already dead. But, to avoid irregularity, it will be neceſſary that I ſhould firſt make mention of a few particulars reſpecting Samuel, and afterwards proceed to relate the terrible cataſtrophe of theſe licentious men, and thus lay before the reader the true cauſe of all thoſe misfortunes which befel the Hebrews at the period in queſtion.

Elkanah, a Levite, dwelling at Ramath in the diſtrict of the tribe of Ephraim, had two wives, whoſe names were Hannah and Phenannah. The latter bore him ſeveral children, but the former, for a conſiderable time appeared to be barren; which circumſtance, however, did not in the leaſt leſſen his regard for her. Having repaired on a certain occaſion to Shiloh, where the tabernacle then was, he alloted to each of his wives a portion of the proviſions he had brought with him; Phenannah and her children eating at a ſeperate table. This circumſtance ſo much affected Hannah, who conſidered it as a reflection on her barrenneſs, that ſhe could not refrain from tears. It was in vain that her huſband and the reſt of her friends endeavoured to comfort her; and, in the anguiſh of her mind, ſhe immediately haſtened to the tabernacle, and, with the utmoſt fervency of devotion, addreſſed her prayers to the Almighty, that he would be pleaſed to grant her the bleſſing of a ſon; promiſing, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to dedicate him ſolely to his ſervice.

Eli, who chanced to be ſitting before the tabernacle at the time, concluding, from the length and earneſtneſs of her prayer, that ſhe was intoxicated, reproached her with coming thither in ſuch a condition, and ordered her to be gone. She aſſured him that ſhe was perfectly guiltleſs of the charge, being accuſtomed to drink nothing but water, and that the agitation of her mind aroſe from the want of children, which had been the ſubject of her ſupplications to God. Eli thereupon, diſmiſſed her

with an aſſurance that God would grant her requeſt. Thus encouraged, ſhe returned with a joyful heart to her huſband, recovered her appetite, of which ſhe had long been totally deprived, and in a ſhort time went back with him to the place of their reſidence, where ſhe conceived, and was in due time delivered of a ſon, who was named Samuel, which ſignifies in our language, *aſked of God*. When the parents of the child went again to Shiloh, to make the uſual oblations, Hannah, being mindful of her vow, delivered her ſon into the hands of Eli, to be dedicated to the ſervice of God. His hair was ſuffered to grow, and he was not permitted to taſte of any other liquor than water; was appointed to officiate, alſo, in the temple, and in time became a prophet of great reputation among the people. Hannah afterwards bore to Elkanah ſeveral ſons, and three daughters.

Samuel, being now in his thirteenth year, began to prophecy; and, lying one night on his bed, he heard a voice which called him by his name. Imagining it was the voice of Eli, he immediately went to him, to know his will; but Eli aſſured him that he had not called him. This was repeated three times; and Eli, perceiving, at length, where the miſtake lay, ordered him, if the voice ſhould call him again, to anſwer in theſe words: "Say on, "Lord, for thy ſervant heareth, and is diſpoſed to obey thy commands."

At the next call, Samuel replied as he had been inſtructed, and the voice then proceeded in theſe words: "As thou art willing to liſten to my injunc- "tions, I will now give thee to know, that the Hebrews are, at this mo- "ment, on the verge of a calamity ſo dreadful as not to be expreſſed, and "almoſt ſurpaſſing conception. In the courſe of a ſingle day, the two ſons "of Eli ſhall be ſlain; and the high-prieſthood ſhall be for ever taken "away from his family, and transferred to that of Eleazar: for Eli "hath manifeſted a greater regard for his ſons, than for my ſervice, and "hath thereby involved both himſelf and them in one common deſtruction." Samuel was very unwilling to acquaint Eli with what had been communicated to him by the Almighty; but, being adjured by the high-prieſt to conceal nothing from him of all that had paſſed, he gave him a circumſtantial account of the revelation; thereby leaving him no room to doubt of the unavoidable ruin of his profligate children. From this period, the reputation of the predictions of Samuel encreaſed in the moſt rapid manner imaginable.

The troops of the Philiſtines had now proceeded without oppoſition as far as Ampheck, and, continuing to advance farther into the country of the Iſraelites, a battle at length enſued between the two armies, in which the Hebrews were ſhamefully defeated, with the loſs of four thouſand men on the ſpot, and were purſued even to their camp. This unexpected overthrow plunged the Hebrews in the deepeſt deſpondency, and they diſpatched meſſengers in all haſte to Shiloh, with a requeſt to the high-prieſt and elders, to cauſe the ark to be ſent without delay to the army, that through its preſence they might be enabled to obtain a victory over their enemies; being totally unconſcious that they were devoted to deſtruction by a power far ſuperior to that of the ark; even by that eternal Being, on whoſe account alone

the ark itſelf was held in reverence. Their requeſt was, however, complied with; and the two ſons of Eli were commiſſioned by their father to convey the ark to the army, himſelf being too feeble to attend on the occaſion, with a ſtrict injunction never to ſee his face again, unleſs they brought back their charge in ſafety. On the arrival of the ark, the Hebrews reſumed their courage, as if victory had been inſeparably connected with its preſence; and their opponents, on the other hand, conſidered it as a preſage of their deſtruction. The event, however, proved, that both the hopes of the one party, and the fears of the other were equally ill-founded; for, in a ſecond engagement, which ſoon afterwards enſued between the two armies, the Hebrews fled in the moſt daſtardly manner on the very firſt onſet; leaving thirty thouſand of their men dead on the ſpot, among whom were the two ſons of Eli, and abandoning the ark of God to the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

The fatal tidings of the loſs of the ark occaſions the immediate death of Eli. Ichabod is born.

A Young Benjamite, who eſcaped from the battle, having brought the dreadful news of this defeat, and the conſequent loſs of the ark, to Shiloh, the whole city was filled with the bittereſt ſorrow and lamentation. This being obſerved by Eli, who was ſitting in a chair at one of the gates, he directly ſuſpected that ſome diſaſter had befallen the army; and, calling the young man to him, learnt from him all the particulars of what had happened. The loſs of men which the Hebrews had ſuſtained in the battle, and the death of his ſons were circumſtances of which, as we have before obſerved, he had already been forewarned by a revelation from heaven; and he, therefore, ſupported this part of the intelligence with a becoming fortitude. But, when he learnt that the ark of God had fallen into the enemy's hands, he ſunk under the unexpected ſhock, and, falling backwards from his ſeat, yielded up his life, in the ninety-eighth year of his age, and the fortieth of his government. When the wife of Phinehas, who was at that time in the ſeventh month of her pregnancy, received the news of her huſband's death, ſhe inſtantly fell in labour, and died on the ſame day. The child, however, ſurvived, and was named Ichabod; ſignifying *ſhame* and *ignominy*, in alluſion to the diſgrace which the Iſraelites had incurred by the above defeat.

Eli was the firſt of the family of Ithamar, one of the children of Aaron, who was preferred to the high-prieſthood; for, till the time of his appointment to the office, it had regularly deſcended from father to ſon in the family of Eleazar, who was ſucceeded therein by Phinehas; from this latter it paſſed to his ſon Boccjas, from whom it devolved to Ozis, who was the immediate predeceſſor of Eli; and in his family the above dignity remained till the reign of king Solomon, at which time it reverted to the line of Eleazar.

End of the Fifth Book.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK VI.

Including the period from the year of the world 2850, to 2890.

CHAP. I.

The Philiſtines take the ark, which is removed to five cities, and attended by divers plagues.

THE Philiſtines conveyed the ark in triumph to * Azotus, and depoſited it among other trophies in the temple of Dagon. Upon repairing to the temple the next morning, in order to perform their devotions, they perceived that the figure of Dagon, which they worſhipped as their god, had fallen from its pedeſtal, and was lying before the ark. They replaced the idol, but on their return the following day, again found it on the floor of the edifice, in a poſture of adoration to the ark; and this was the caſe for ſeveral ſucceſſive days. They were greatly ſurprized at this preternatural moving of the image, which they conſidered as an indication of ill-fortune. In ſhort, the ſacrilegious temerity of the people of the city and province of Azotus was puniſhed by a terrible plague, by which great numbers were deſtroyed. This plague was a violent dyſentery, and rapid decay of the entrails, attend-

ed

* Aſhdod.

ed with the moſt excruciating tortures. They were alſo viſited with another plague by their lands being infeſted by ſurprizing numbers of mice, which entirely deſtroyed their corn and the other fruits of the earth. Being, at length, convinced that their impious violence upon the ark was the cauſe of theſe judgments, they diſpatched meſſengers to the people of Aſcalon, to ſolicit them to remove the ark from their city. This offer was joyfully accepted, but in a ſhort time, the people had occaſion ſeverely to repent their conduct; for when the ark had been conveyed to Aſcalon, that place was viſited with the ſame plagues which had prevailed at Azotus. It remained not long in this city, but was conveyed to different places, till it had paſſed through five of the Philiſtine cities, being conſtantly attended in its progreſs by the calamities abovementioned.

A council of the principal men of the five cities of * Gath, Ekron, Aſcalon, Gaza, and Aſhdod, was aſſembled to determine upon meaſures for diſpoſing of the ark. It was recommended by the one party, to return it to the people by whom it was originally poſſeſſed; for they believed, that the God who had ſpread ſuch devaſtation in their cities, would ſtill continue to exerciſe his diſpleaſure upon thoſe who ſhould keep the ark in their poſſeſſion. Others would not allow this to be the cauſe of the public calamities; and they argued that it was not probable the Lord entertained the reſpect which was pretended for the ark, as he had ſuffered the Iſraelites to be deprived of it, by an enemy, and eſpecially as that enemy profeſſed a different religion; and they adviſed that the prevailing troubles might be conſidered as occurrences produced in the common courſe of nature. A third party adopted ſentiments between the extremes of the two preceeding. They propoſed, that for each of the abovementioned cities a golden image ſhould be provided, and that theſe five images ſhould be conſecrated to the honor of God, as an inſtance of gratitude for having relieved them from the terrible affliction of the plagues, which human means were not able to eradicate. They alſo propoſed five golden mice, thereby referring to the vermin which had deſtroyed the produce of their grounds; and that a carriage, in the form of a waggon, ſhould be conſtructed for the purpoſe of receiving the ark, upon which was to be laid a box containing the images and golden mice; this carriage was to be drawn by two milch-kine, their calves being taken from them and confined, that they might not cauſe them to delay their progreſs. The vehicle was taken to a ſpot branching into three roads, and the beaſts being allowed to purſue their own courſe, it was to be underſtood that, if they purſued the Hebrew road, the misfortunes which the people of the five cities had ſuſtained, proceeded from the ark; but if they took any other direction, the public calamities were to be attributed to ſome different cauſe.

CHAP.

* In the original theſe cities are called, Gitta, Accaron, Aſkalon, Gaza, and Azotus.

CHAP. II.

The rejoicings of the Iſraelites on the recovery of the ark. The defeat of the Philiſtines.

THE animals being allowed the liberty of following their own courſe, immediately ſtruck into the Hebrew road, and, with as much regularity as if they had been impelled by the direction of a driver, proceeded towards a village belonging to the tribe of Judah, called Bethſhemeth, where they ſtopped, notwithſtanding a fertile and extenſive plain ſeemed to invite them to continue their journey. At this time the people were buſily occupied in getting in the harveſt, but they left their work, and being joined by great numbers from the town, proceeded towards the ark, the return of which afforded them inexpreſſible pleaſure. They took the ark and the box containing the images and golden mice from the carriages, and having placed them on a large ſtone, ſacrificed the vehicle on which the ark was conveyed, and the beaſts which drew it, as a burnt offering to the Lord. A number of the Philiſtines who had followed the ark, waited till the concluſion of the above ceremony, and then returned to their companions.

Seventy of the Bethſhemites, incurred the diſpleaſure of God on the above-recited occaſion, by touching the ark, which was a liberty granted only to thoſe inveſted with the authority and qualification of prieſthood. In the midſt of their rejoicings, the ſpirits of the multitude were exceedingly depreſſed by the fate of theſe men, whom they lamented, not as having diſcharged the common debt of nature, but, as falling judicial victims to their own temerity. This calamity convinced them that they were unworthy to be entruſted with the care of ſo ſacred a depoſit; and they, therefore, diſpatched meſſengers to the Hebrews, to inform them that the ark was brought back. Upon this intelligence being communicated, it was conveyed to Kiriath-jearim, in the neighbourhood of Bethſhemeth, and depoſited in the houſe of a Levite named Aminadab, who being a man of ſtrict piety and exemplary morals, was conſidered worthy of the ſacred truſt. To this man and his ſons the care of the ark was aſſigned, and, excepting the four months when it was detained by the Philiſtines, it remained twenty years in their poſſeſſion; and ſo worthily did they execute the office conferred upon them, that the public acknowledged themſelves to be perfectly ſatisfied with their conduct, and beſtowed upon them a high degree of reputation. During the period of the ark remaining at Kiriath-jearim, the people employed the greateſt portion of their time in the exerciſe of the religious duties: and Samuel availed himſelf of this favourable diſpoſition of the multitude, to harangue them on the ſubject of liberty.

"Experience muſt have convinced you (ſaid he) of the unrelenting ma-
"lice of our oppreſſors: but you are conſcious that our earneſt prayers for re-
"dreſs are graciouſly accepted by the Lord. It is neceſſary that you ſhould
"know, the deſire of liberty without a vigourous exertion of the means to

" obtain it, cannot prove effectual. Take especial care that you degrade " not your profession by a corruption of manners, but preserve an inviola- " ble regard to virtue and justice; purge your hearts from all evil propensi- " ties; adore the Lord, and worship him with a fervency of zeal; and let " the whole tenor of your lives manifest a due reverence of his sacred per- " son. It is on God that we must depend for the blessings of liberty, and a " triumph over our enemies; for without the divine assistance, all human en- " deavours will be in vain: but if we strictly adhere to the practice of piety " and moral rectitude, we shall infallibly enjoy those rewards which he has " been graciously pleased to promise."

This speech was received with the loudest acclamations of applause from the people, who unanimously engaged themselves in a solemn profession to submit themselves entirely to the pleasure of the Divine Being.

Samuel summoned the people to assemble at the city called Mizpeh (signifying *conspicuous*), and at this place they performed sacrifice, offering supplications to the Lord, and observing the day as a solemn fast. The Philistines gained information of this meeting, and advanced towards the spot with a powerful army, intending to make an attack by surprize. The formidable appearance of the foe threw them into the greatest consternation, and they repaired to Samuel, to whom they alledged, that they dreaded the event of engaging an enemy by whom they had been so frequently vanquished; adding that in compliance to his direction, they had assembled at Mizpeh for the purposes of offering up sacrifices and supplications to the Lord, and entering into a solemn engagement of fidelity; and that they now found themselves in a defenceless state, exposed to the mercy of the Philistines; wherefore they entreated him to exert his endeavours to prevail with the Lord to deliver them from the impending danger, which they could not hope to escape but through the intervention of the Divine Providence. Samuel encouraged them to hope for success; saying that the Lord would indisputably grant them the protection which he had been graciously pleased to promise. After this, he offered a sucking lamb as a sacrifice in the name of the Hebrews; supplicating the Lord to preserve them from the calamities threatened by the Philistines. This sacrifice proved agreeable to the Lord, who, in reply to the request of Samuel, promised that the Hebrews should obtain a compleat victory over their enemies. Before the sacrifice was entirely consumed, the Philistines formed themselves into the order of battle, and as they had not afforded the Hebrews time to put themselves in a state of defence, they entertained the most confident expectation of conquest. But the issue of this matter proved so contrary to the expectation of the Philistines, that it would scarcely have been credited had it been predicted by an oracle.

On the spot where the Philistines were stationed, the Almighty caused a violent trembling of the earth, which opened in different places and swallowed up great numbers; at the same time the most terrible thunder roared in the heavens, and the lightnings descended upon them in continued flashes, so dreadfully scorching them that they could neither make use of their arms against the Hebrews, nor see how to avoid the danger. They fled in the greatest

greateſt conſternation to Chore, and were purſued by the Hebrews, who committed a great ſlaughter upon them in their retreat. At this place Samuel cauſed a monumental ſtone to be fixed for the purpoſe of denoting the bounds of the ſpot whereon the victory and purſuit took place, and he diſtinguiſhed it by the name of the *ſtrong*, in commemoration of the powerful ſupport, which was manifeſted by the Almighty in behalf of the Hebrews.

Theſe events ſo effectually depreſſed the ſpirits of the Philiſtines, that they never re-aſſumed courage ſufficient to renew hoſtilities againſt the Hebrews. Samuel continued to make incurſions upon the enemy till he reduced them to a ſtate of hopeleſs ſubjection. He recovered the whole tract of country between Gath and Ekron, which had been conquered by the Philiſtines. Previous to this period the war between the Canaanites and the Hebrews had ſubſided.

CHAP. III.

At an advanced period of Life, Samuel reſigns the government in favour of his ſons, Joel and Abiah.

HAVING reinſtated the people in their poſſeſſions, and made ſome progreſs towards introducing a regularity of government, Samuel eſtabliſhed a plan for the adminiſtration of public juſtice. Certain towns were appointed, wherein the judicial buſineſs was to be tranſacted; and to each of theſe he reſorted twice a year, in order to enforce an inviolable obſervance of the laws of his nation. For a long ſeries of time, this ſyſtem of policy was practiced: but when the infirmities of advanced life had rendered him unequal to the arduous taſk of conducting the public affairs, he retired from the adminiſtration, and inveſted his authority in his ſons, Joel and Abiah. He commanded them to divide the people into two bodies, over each of which they were reſpectively to preſide; and that, at Bethel and Beerſheba, they ſhould each eſtabliſh a court for the purpoſe of attending to legiſlative appeals.

From the conduct of Joel (who was the elder ſon of Samuel) and his brother Abiah, we may learn, that children do not always inherit the good qualities of their parents, and that a virtuous offſpring may derive their origin from profligate anceſtors. Theſe degenerate ſons proceeded in a courſe diametrically oppoſite to the inſtructions and example of their father. They proſtituted the judicial character to intereſted conſiderations; for it was not according to the merits of the cauſe, but the eſtimated worth of the bribe, that judgment was pronounced. At the times they ſhould have been employed in the diſtribution of public juſtice, they were indulging themſelves in luxury and intemperance; and in every inſtance their conduct was a direct violation of the laws of God, and equally contrary to the commands of their father, whoſe attention had not been more materially engaged on any ſubject, than the obſervance of a neceſſary ſubordination of the people towards their ſuperiors, and common juſtice among themſelves.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Iſraelites importune Samuel to grant them a king, and the Almighty, in his wrath, orders him to comply with their requeſt.

THE licentious conduct of the ſons of Samuel incenſed the people to ſo high a degree, that, when he repaired to Ramah, where he then reſided, they loudly complained to him of the mal-adminiſtration of his children, and earneſtly preſſed him, in conſideration of his own infirmities, which rendered him incapable of ſupporting the weight of the government; and of the inſufferable diſorders committed by his ſons, that he would appoint a king to reign over them, under whoſe command they might revenge the injuries which they had ſo long ſuſtained from the Philiſtines.

This determination of the Iſraelites ſo greatly affected Samuel, who was naturally attached to the love of juſtice, and the abhorrence of all arbitrary power, that the reflection would neither ſuffer him to eat or ſleep. While he was under this anxiety, the Almighty appeared to him during the night, and addreſſed him in theſe words: "Be comforted, Samuel, and no longer "afflict thyſelf with reſpect to the application which the people have made "to thee: for it is not thy government, but mine, which they thereby mean "to reject. Such was their conduct alſo when they were firſt delivered from "the bondage of the Ægyptians. Suffer them, therefore, to purſue their "own inclinations; but they may be aſſured that the time approaches, when "they ſhall dearly repent of their ingratitude both towards me, and towards my prophet. But their repentance and compunction ſhall avail "them nought; for the deſign which they meditate, when once effected, "will be totally irremediable. However, it is my will that you ſhould give "them for their king the man whom I ſhall point out to you; after having "previouſly laid before them a ſtate of the miſeries which they are about to "bring upon themſelves by their perverſeneſs, and repreſented to them the "great unwillingneſs with which you accede to the propoſed innovation."

In conſequence of theſe orders and inſtructions, Samuel, on the next day, convened an aſſembly of the people, and gave them a poſitive aſſurance that he would aſſign them a king; but deſired permiſſion firſt to acquaint them with the evils and inconveniences which they muſt expect to endure under that particular form of government. "You are not apprized," ſaid he, "that your kings will compel your children to ſerve them in different capacities: ſome in their armies, both as common ſoldiers and officers; others "in attending on their perſons; ſome again as their huſbandmen and vine-dreſſers, and others as artificers in various branches. Your daughters alſo "will they doom to thoſe ſervile offices in which you have been accuſtomed "to employ the meaneſt of your ſlaves. They will give your lands, and "your flocks and herds, to their eunuchs and others whom they ſhall be "pleaſed to favour; and, in a word, you ſhall become the vaſſals, not only "of your ſovereigns, but of their ſervants alſo. When that period arrives, "you will then recollect my preſent endeavours to diſſuade you from your

" purpoſe, and, in the anguiſh of your ſouls, will addreſs your prayers to " the Almighty to be releaſed from ſo intolerable an oppreſſion. But he " will then reject your ſupplications and ſuffer you to languiſh under the " puniſhment which you will ſo juſtly have incurred by your folly and in- " gratitude."

The people were totally deaf to all that he could ſay upon the ſubject; alledging that they could not preſerve themſelves from a foreign bondage under any other form of government, and juſtifying their choice by the example of all the neighbouring nations. When Samuel perceived that all his arguments had not the leaſt effect upon them, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, with a promiſe that he would call them together again as ſoon as God ſhould have revealed to him on whom he pleaſed to confer the regal dignity.

CHAP. V.

Saul is proclaimed king. The city of Jabeſh is beſieged by Nahaſh, king of the Ammonites. Saul defeats the Ammonites, and obliges them to abandon the ſiege.

KISH, a perſon of virtuous character, of the tribe of Benjamin, had a ſon, named Saul, who was equally famed for his perſonal and mental qualifications. The father having loſt ſome aſſes, which were of a peculiarly excellent breed, ſent Saul, accompanied by one of his ſervants to ſeek for them. After a long and fruitleſs ſearch, Saul determined to return home, being apprehenſive that his longer abſence would create an uneaſineſs in the mind of his father. When they approached near to Ramah, the ſervant adviſed Saul to have recourſe to a certain famous prophet who lived in that city, for intelligence concerning the aſſes. Saul replied, that he was totally deſtitute of money to gratify the prophet for his information; having expended the whole of what he brought from home. The ſervant anſwered, that he had himſelf a quarter-ſhekle ſtill remaining, which he imagined would be ſufficient for the purpoſe: for he was not apprized that this man did not, like ſome others, make a traffic of his knowledge in hidden matters. Upon their arrival at Ramah, they met a number of damſels at one of the gates, who were coming out of the city to draw water. By them they were directed to the reſidence of the prophet; and the maidens further adviſed them to loſe no time in repairing to his houſe, as in caſe of delay they would not be able to obtain a conference with him that night; he having invited a number of gueſts to ſup with him.

Samuel had already been forewarned of God that the perſon whom he was to proclaim king over Iſrael was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, and that he ſhould come to his houſe that evening; and he was, in conſequence, waiting at home in expectation of the ſtranger's arrival. At the preciſe hour appointed by the Almighty, Saul arrived at the houſe of Samuel, who immediately diſcovered, by inſpiration, that he was the perſon whom God had choſen. Saul, addreſſing himſelf to Samuel with great courteouſneſs, deſired to be introduced to the prophet. Samuel replied that

he was the perſon; and, inviting him to partake of the repaſt which he had provided, informed him not only that the aſſes which he ſought were ſafe, but alſo that he was on the point of being advanced to the very ſummit of power. Saul anſwered, with great modeſty, that both his family and his tribe were too inconſiderable, to permit him to indulge the moſt diſtant hopes of acquiring ſo tranſcendent an honor. At ſupper, Saul was ſeated above the reſt of the gueſts, conſiſting of ſeventy perſons, with his ſervant next him, and Samuel ordered the attendants to ſet before Saul a royal meſs. At the hour of reſt the company retired, but Saul and his ſervant remained with the prophet that night.

The next morning by ſun-riſe, Samuel diſmiſſed his gueſt; accompanying him a ſmall diſtance on his way home. Being come to a convenient ſpot, the prophet deſired Saul to ſend his ſervant a little way on before, as he had ſomething of conſequence to communicate to him in private. His requeſt being complied with, he took out of his pocket a phial of oil, and, pouring it upon his head, pronounced and ſaluted him king of Iſrael; at the ſame time admoniſhing him that this diſtinguiſhed honour was conferred on him to the intent that he might revenge the injuries which the Hebrews had received from the Philiſtines, and defend them from all future attacks of their enemies. "To evince," ſaid Samuel, "the truth "of what I have now predicted to you, ſoon after your departure from "hence you ſhall fall into company with three young men going to Bethel "to ſacrifice, and carrying with them three loaves, a kid, and a bottle of "wine. They ſhall ſalute you with great reſpect, and ſhall make you an "offer of two of their loaves, which you are to accept. After quitting "thoſe men, you ſhall proceed towards the ſepulchre of Rachael, where "you ſhall receive information that the aſſes are found. From thence you "will continue your journey to Gabbatha, at which place, meeting with a "company of prophets, you ſhall find yourſelf ſuddenly inſpired with the "divine Spirit, and ſhall propheſy with the reſt, to the utter aſtoniſhment "of all who hear you. When all theſe events ſhall be accompliſhed, you "will then have no room to doubt that God diſtinguiſhes you by his pe-"culiar favour. You may afterwards return to your father's houſe, and "when I ſend to you, repair immediately to me at Gilgal, where we may "join in offering up oblations and thankſgivings to Almighty God." With theſe words they ſeperated, and Saul found the predictions of Samuel minutely verified.

When Saul returned home, he was cloſely queſtioned by his kinſman Abner, for whom he entertained a particular friendſhip, relative to the incidents of his journey, all of which he readily communicated to him, ſave that which regarded his advancement to the regal dignity; being apprehenſive, from his knowledge of the frailty of human nature, that, if this circumſtance ſhould obtain belief, he ſhould draw upon himſelf the envy and jealouſy of his relations; or incur the cenſure of being a weak and vain man.

An

An aſſembly of the people being ſoon afterwards convened at Mizpeh, Samuel addreſſed himſelf to them in the following terms: "It is God's "pleaſure that I ſhould recal to your remembrance, that it is to him that "you are indebted not only for your emancipation from the bondage of "the Ægyptians, but alſo for repeated and ſignal deliverances ſince the "above period. I am to remind you, that you have no otherwiſe repaid "thoſe mercies and favours than by the moſt ungrateful neglect and diſo-"bedience; having, as far as in you lay, rejected the government of the "King of Kings, and choſen for your ruler a man formed like yourſelves, "and ſubjected to the ſame paſſions and frailties: a ruler who ſhall conſider "you in no other light, than as inſtruments deſtined to procure him the "gratification of his libidinous appetites. However, as this is your abſo-"lute determination, and as you are above all reſtraint either of duty, ho-"nor, or conſcience, your demand ſhall be complied with; ſeperate your-"ſelves, therefore, into tribes and families, and let the lot decide on whom "your choice ſhall fall." They obeyed; and Saul, the ſon of Kiſh, of the family of Matri, of the tribe of Benjamin, was thus elected to the high office in queſtion. The very moment that the election was finiſhed, Saul privately withdrew himſelf from the aſſembly, in order to avoid the congratulations of his new ſubjects. A rare example of modeſty and prudence in one thus ſuddenly advanced from a private ſtation to the ſupreme government of a numerous and mighty people!

In the dilemma occaſioned by the retreat of Saul, the prophet applied to God, to be informed of the place where he had concealed himſelf, and, having obtained the requeſted information, he diſpatched ſome perſons to the ſpot, who quickly returned to the aſſembly accompanied by Saul, who, it was immediately obſerved, was taller by the head than any of the reſt of the people.

The prophet, upon the appearance of Saul, preſented him to the people, who received him with the loudeſt acclamations of joy; Samuel noticed to them, at the ſame time, the ſuperior height of his perſon, and his majeſtic mien; and read in the hearing of the multitude and Saul himſelf, the prediction which he had formerly delivered to them, reſpecting the evils which they were to experience under a monarchical form of government; after which he depoſited the book in the tabernacle; there to remain as a laſting teſtimony of the truth of what he had foretold.

He afterwards returned to Ramah, the place of his abode, and Saul repaired to Gibeah his native city. A numerous train of perſons accompanied him thither, from motives of duty and reſpect to their new ſovereign; but with theſe were intermingled a number of profligate wretches, who behaved with the moſt contemptuous inſolence, not only towards their loyal fellow ſubjects, but even towards the prince himſelf.

Within the courſe of a month after the acceſſion of Saul to the ſupreme authority, a war broke out between the Ammonites and the Hebrews, in the courſe of which he acquired conſiderable renown. Nahaſh, the king of the Ammonites, invaded the country of the Iſraelites beyond Jordan

dan with a powerful army, where he ſubdued ſeveral cities, and ſpread deſolation throughout the land. This prince, not contented with reducing the inhabitants to ſlavery, in order to prevent even the poſſibility of their revolting, put out the right eye not only of his priſoners, but alſo of thoſe who yielded themſelves on capitulation; and thus, as in battle the left eye was conſtantly covered with the buckler, rendered them totally incapable of ſerving in the field.

Nahaſh afterwards marched his army into the country of the Gileadites, ſituated on this ſide Jordan, and encamped near Jabeſh, the capital of the province. He ſent a ſummons to the inhabitants, peremptorily requiring them to ſubmit without delay to the cruel conditions abovementioned, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to deſtroy the place, and to put the citizens to the ſword. Theſe people were at firſt much divided in their ſentiments, whether they ſhould return a reſolute, or a ſubmiſſive anſwer to this ſummons, and they at length determined to ſteer a middle courſe, and ſent a meſſage to Nahaſh, requeſting that he would grant them a truce for ſeven days, during which time they might ſend to their allies for aſſiſtance; and promiſing, in caſe their applications ſhould prove unſucceſsful, either to yield themſelves upon the terms propoſed by him, or to march out and give him battle. To theſe conditions Nahaſh, influenced by the moſt conſummate contempt of the whole Hebrew nation, readily aſſented.

The Gileadites, accordingly, diſpatched expreſſes to all parts of the country, to acquaint their neighbours with the eminent danger to which they were expoſed; but, though their ſituation was univerſally deplored, yet no one dared to ſtir in their defence; and the people of Gibeah, where Saul kept his court, were not leſs infected than the reſt with this extreme dread and apprehenſion of the power of the Ammonites.

Saul, who had been ſome time abſent from the capital, chanced to return juſt at this time; and, having learnt the cauſe of the apparent ſorrow and conſternation of the people, he, actuated by a divine impulſe, ſent back ſome of the meſſengers, with orders to aſſure their fellow-citizens that he would deliver them from their enemies in the courſe of three days, and that the riſing ſun ſhould behold the total defeat and deſtruction of the haughty foe; and the reſt he retained with him, to ſerve him in the capacity of guides.

CHAP. VI.

Saul aſſembles an army, defeats the Ammonites, and is again anointed, and proclaimed king.

SAUL perceiving the great averſeneſs of the people to engage in this war, and being ſatisfied that in the preſent caſe, the utmoſt diſpatch was neceſſary in aſſembling an army, deviſed the following expedient to induce them to take up arms: he firſt cut off the legs of a certain number of his own oxen, and then iſſued a proclamation, that the ſame ſhould be done to the

the oxen of all ſuch perſons as ſhould either refuſe or neglect to appear in arms on the next day, on the banks of the river Jordan; thence to follow him and Samuel wherever it ſhould be deemed requiſite to lead them. The fear of incurring the above penalty influenced the people to that degree, that, at the preciſe time, they aſſembled to the number of 700,000 effective men, excluſive of a ſeperate body of 70,000, which were furniſhed by the tribe of Judah; as appeared by a muſter made near the city of Balam, which was the appointed place of rendezvous.

With this army Saul croſſed the river Jordan, and, after a march of about ten ſchæni during the night, at length halted on the ſpot which he had before fixed on for that purpoſe. At break of day the next morning, he ſeperated his army into three diviſions, and, ſuddenly breaking in upon the enemy's camp, defeated them with incredible ſlaughter; their king Nahaſh being among the number of the ſlain. He purſued the glorious advantage he had gained, and marched with his troops into the country of the Ammonites, which he utterly laid waſte, and re-conducted his army home, crowned with victory, and enriched by the ſpoils of their enemies. Theſe ſucceſſes acquired him great reputation, and thoſe of his ſubjects who had before taken every opportunity to manifeſt their contempt of him, were now the moſt zealous in his praiſe.

Nor did the multitude forget, on this occaſion, to compliment themſelves on the ſucceſs of their expedient in chuſing a king; and they even inſiſted that ſome of thoſe who had been moſt ſtrenuous againſt the meaſure ſhould be put to death; but Saul, thanking them for their zeal, declared, with an oath, that he would not, upon any account, permit the glories of their late victories to be ſullied with the blood of their friends; ſtrongly recommending it to them, at the ſame time, to conſign to utter oblivion the reflection on all paſt diſagreements and animoſities.

At this period Samuel propoſed that a ſecond convention of the people ſhould be held, with the view of confirming again the advancement of Saul to the ſupreme authority. They, accordingly, aſſembled at Gilgal, where the ſame ceremonies were repeated as had been uſed at the former election, in the ſight and hearing of all preſent.

Thus was the Hebrew government changed from a republican, to a monarchical form. During the whole term of the adminiſtration of Moſes and Joſhua it was ariſtocratic, and for the ſpace of eighteen years after the death of the latter, no one being inveſted with the ſupreme authority, the whole nation was involved in an abſolute anarchy. They were afterwards governed, for a conſiderable term of years, by certain magiſtrates who were denominated *judges*; and to this form ſucceeded that of the regal government.

When the aſſembly was on the point of ſeperating, Samuel addreſſed himſelf to them in the following ſpeech: "I conjure you, in the name of that "Almighty Power, who appointed thoſe admirable brothers, Moſes and "Aaron to conduct your anceſtors out of Ægypt, and to ſerve them as go-"vernors and guides, to declare freely, in the preſence of your ſovereign, "whether the whole of my conduct throughout my adminſtration has not

" been regulated by the ſtricteſt regard to juſtice; and whether I have " ever taken from any man either his ox, his ſheep, his aſs, or any other " part of his property. Not that I mean to inſinuate, in the moſt diſtant " manner, that either guilt or imputation is to be incurred, by the accept- " ance of ſuch articles as may be ranked under the head of the neceſſaries " of life. But, if you have any charge of this kind to produce againſt me, " I once more requeſt that you will now openly prefer it, without any manner " of reſerve." To this the whole multitude replied, with one voice, that his conduct during his government had been blameleſs and praiſe-worthy in the higheſt degree.

Upon this declaration in his favour the prophet proceeded in theſe words: " I am happy to hear you thus acknowledge, in the preſence of your ſove- " reign, that you have no complaint to make againſt my adminiſtration; and " I wiſh that I could ſay that your conduct has been equally faultleſs. But, " indeed, to deal ingenuouſly with you, you have acted with great impru- " dence. What could induce you, after having experienced ſo many ſignal " mercies and deliverances, while you continued under that form of go- " vernment preſcribed by God, now to chooſe an earthly ſovereign to rule " over you? You appear to have totally forgotten the miraculous increaſe " of the Hebrews, who, at the period of Jacob's arrival in Ægypt, whither " he was obliged to repair for food, amounted to no more than ſeventy per- " ſons, excluſive of himſelf. In like manner have you forgotten alſo the " deliverance which God was pleaſed to grant them, from the cruel op- " preſſion to which they were ſo long ſubjected in that country; not by the " intervention of a king, but by the miniſtry of his ſervants Moſes and " Aaron, who conducted them into the land which you at this time poſſeſs. " Had you, I ſay, recalled to mind theſe ſignal mercies and bleſſings, you " certainly would never have failed in that reſpect and obedience which you " owe to ſo generous a benefactor and protector. How often has your apo- " ſtacy compelled the Almighty to abandon you to all the miſeries of abſo- " lute ſlavery; yet, upon your humiliation and repentance have you been " freed from your bondage, and again received into his favour; did not the " ſame ſupreme Power alone enable you to ſubdue firſt the Aſſyrians, after- " wards the Ammonites and Moabites, and finally the Philiſtines; not by " the agency of kings, but under the direction of Jephthah and Gideon? " What infatuation, then, has influenced you to reject the government of a " heavenly ruler, and to prefer thereto that of an earthly ſovereign? How- " ever, as you were obſtinately bent on ſubjecting yourſelves to the yoke of " regal authority, God has been pleaſed to appoint a king to reign over " you. But, to convince you of the great diſpleaſure which the Almighty " has conceived at your conduct in this inſtance; I do now beg of heaven that " ſuch a ſtorm may inſtantly ariſe, as was never before ſeen in this country " in the preſent ſeaſon of ſummer." He had ſcarcely uttered theſe words, before ſo terrible a tempeſt of thunder, lightning, and hail aroſe, that the very diſſolution of nature ſeemed to be cloſe at hand; and the whole aſſembly, terrified in the higheſt degree at this dreadful phœnomenon, had immediate recourſe to their prayers; earneſtly ſoliciting the Almighty to pardon not only

only their preſent, but alſo their former tranſgreſſions; and requeſting the prophet alſo to interpoſe with God in their behalf. Samuel promiſed to comply with their requeſt, and gave them hopes of obtaining the object of their ſupplications; but, at the ſame time, he ſtrictly enjoined them to demean themſelves temperately and virtuouſly, and conſtantly to bear in remembrance the miracles which God had ſo frequently wrought in their behalf; and to pay an implicit obedience to his laws, communicated to them by his ſervant Moſes: warning them, at the ſame time, that a diſregard of theſe injunctions would inevitably involve both themſelves and their monarch in one univerſal deſtruction. After Samuel had thus a ſecond time confirmed Saul in his ſovereignty, he permitted the people to depart to their own habitations.

CHAP. VII.

The diſpleaſure of the Almighty againſt Saul. The Philiſtines are defeated by Jonathan. The raſh vow of Saul. Particulars concerning his offspring.

BEING eſtabliſhed in the regal authority, Saul aſſembled three thouſand men ſelected from the body of the people: and two thouſand of them he commanded to accompany him to his reſidence at Bethel, as a guard for his perſonal ſafety; he appointed the other thouſand to attend his ſon Jonathan, whom he had ordered to repair to Gibeah, near to which place Jonathan, with theſe thouſand men, attacked and conquered a caſtle belonging to the Philiſtines.

When the Philiſtines inhabiting the parts adjacent to Gibeah obtained advantage over the Hebrews, they did not only diſpoſſeſs them of their arms, but enjoined them againſt practicing any handicraft branch, in which iron was a material, thereby ſubjecting them to the neceſſity of employing Philiſtine workmen to provide the iron-work even for their domeſtic utenſils and implements of huſbandry. The Philiſtines poſſeſſed themſelves of the fords and paſſes, and having fortified their towns, they came into the field with an army of three hundred thouſand foot, thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſe, and eſtabliſhed their quarters at Michmaſh. When Saul had gained intelligence of theſe preparations, he repaired to Gilgal, and iſſued proclamations for all his people to take up arms againſt the enemy, whom he repreſented to be leſs formidable than they were in reality; but upon obtaining authentic information as to the military proweſs of the Philiſtines, an univerſal terror prevailed among the Hebrews, the greateſt part of whom paſſed the river Jordan, and fled to the tribes of Gad and Reuben for protection; the reſt concealed themſelves in caves, vaults, and ſuch other places as they imagined would ſhelter them from the vigilance of their adverſaries.

At this juncture Saul applied to the prophet Samuel, requeſting his advice for the regulation of his conduct in the preſent diſtreſsful ſtate of affairs. Samuel inſtructed him to remain in his preſent ſituation, and to prepare offerings to the Lord, ſaying, that at the expiration of ſeven days, he would himſelf attend the ceremony of oblation, after which he might give battle to

the enemy. The appointed time was now arrived, and being continually abandoned by his ſoldiers, Saul became exceedingly impatient, and proceeded to offer up his ſacrifice; immediately upon the concluſion of which ceremony, the arrival of the prophet was announced. He cenſured Saul for having arrogated to himſelf the office of performing ſacrifice to God. To extenuate the fault alledged againſt him, Saul urged, that he had waited the appointed time, but that the enemy having quitted Michmaſh, and directed their march towards Gilgal, had greatly intimidated his men, many of whom had deſerted; and that on theſe conſiderations he was compelled to offer up the ſacrifice leſt he ſhould be entirely abandoned by his followers. In reply to this, Samuel reproved him for having neglected a rigid obſervance of his direction, which he declared to be a meſſage from the Almighty himſelf; adding that a compliance therewith would have effectually ſecured the government to him and his poſterity; and he then returned home, much diſpleaſed with the conduct of Saul. Attended only by ſix hundred men and his ſon Jonathan, Saul removed to Gibeah, the Hebrews having been prohibited (as before obſerved) the manufacturing of iron, and the majority of his followers being deſtitute of arms.

The Philiſtine army being divided into three bodies, penetrated into the country of the Hebrews by three different roads, and as they proceeded, ravaged and laid waſte the territories of their afflicted adverſaries. Saul, Jonathan, and Abiah, the high-prieſt, beheld the mercileſs devaſtation from an eminence, and ſeverely regretted that they were not in a ſtate ſufficiently formidable to repel the invaders.

Theſe outrages ſo exaſperated Jonathan, that he determined upon a brave enterprize for the preſervation of his country; and queſtioned his armour-bearer whether he would ſhare with him the danger and glory of the generous attempt. He conſented, and bound himſelf by the ſolemnity of an oath to put his life on the iſſue of the plot. Jonathan propoſed that they ſhould ſecretly gain admittance to the camp of the enemy, and endeavour to throw them into confuſion by a ſudden and unexpected attack. The Philiſtines were encamped on a ſpot of ground of a triangular ſhape, bounded on all ſides by rocks, which rendered it nearly inacceſſible. Jonathan, to encourage his armour-bearer to behave himſelf couragiouſly on the occaſion, told him that if, in climbing up the rocks, they ſhould be diſcovered and ſpoken to by the enemy, he might conſider the circumſtance as a certain preſage of their ſucceſs; but, if the contrary ſhould happen, they muſt abandon the enterprize.

When they had nearly reached the camp, they were eſpied by ſome of the Philiſtines, who obſerved to each other in deriſion that there were two of the Iſraelites who had ventured out of their lurking holes; calling to Jonathan and his companion to draw nearer, to receive the reward of their raſhneſs. This incident afforded Jonathan the greateſt ſatisfaction; and having, with much danger and difficulty, at length attained the top of the rocks, he and his armour-bearer ſuddenly entered a part of the camp where the enemy were aſleep, and ſlew about twenty before they were ſenſible of his approach. The boldneſs of this attempt threw the Philiſtines into inexpreſſible confuſion;

fuſion; ſome abandoning their arms and endeavouring to ſave themſelves by flight; ſome part of the army being compoſed of different nations, fell by the hands of each other, their terror not permitting them to diſtinguiſh friend from foe; many ruſhed upon death merely from the very apprehenſion of it; and the number of thoſe who periſhed by theſe various means was very conſiderable.

Saul, having by this time received intelligence that an extraordinary commotion prevailed in the camp of the Philiſtines, ordered inſtant enquiry to be made whether any of his own people were abſent; and, being informed that Jonathan and his armour-bearer had ſecretly withdrawn themſelves, he commanded the high-prieſt to habit himſelf in his ſacerdotal veſtments, and to offer up prayers to God for inſtructions how to proceed on the occaſion. This being done, the high-prieſt acquainted Saul, that it was God's pleaſure that he ſhould immediately attack the enemy, in full confidence of obtaining a compleat victory; which injunction Saul joyfully obeyed. In the intermediate time, ſuch of the Hebrews as had concealed themſelves in the hidden-places of the rocks, having learnt what had happened in the camp of the Philiſtines, aſſembled to the number of nearly ten thouſand men, and, putting themſelves under the conduct of their king, attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that they ſoon put them to the rout, and purſued them to a conſiderable diſtance with great ſlaughter. But Saul, either through inadvertency, or infatuated, perhaps, with this unexpected and ſignal ſucceſs, fell into an error which nearly proved of the moſt fatal conſequence to his repoſe, and embittered even the ſweets of conqueſt. From a ſtrong deſire of taking a compleat revenge on the enemy, he ordered that the purſuit ſhould be continued, without intermiſſion, till night; and vowed to puniſh with death any perſon who ſhould allow himſelf the leiſure even to eat or drink, till the chace ſhould be at an end; and this denunciation was ratified by all the people who were with him at the time. Jonathan, however, who was totally unacquainted with the foregoing circumſtances, in paſſing ſoon afterwards through a wood, in the diſtrict of the tribe of Ephraim, perceived ſome bees at work, and taking a honey-comb, began to ſuck it; but, being informed by thoſe who were next him of all the particulars relative to his father's vow, he inſtantly deſiſted, and threw the comb to the ground, but not without ſome reflections on the impropriety of his father's conduct, in interdicting ſuch refreſhment to the people as might enable them to purſue the enemy with the greater alacrity.

At the concluſion of the chace, in the courſe of which a great ſlaughter was made of the Philiſtines, the Hebrews returned at night to pillage their camp; in which, excluſive of other plunder, they found a vaſt quantity of cattle; and many of theſe they, being hard preſſed with hunger, immediately killed, and, in direct violation of the laws of Moſes, eat the blood together with the fleſh. Complaint being made to Saul of this irregularity, he ordered a ſtone of a very large ſize to be placed in the midſt of the field, on which the animals were to be ſlain, and that they ſhould not be eaten till they were thoroughly cleanſed from their blood. The people univerſally

obeyed this mandate; and Saul erected an altar, being the firſt which he had cauſed to be ſet up ſince his acceſſion to the throne, and thereupon offered ſacrifices to God.

Saul was very deſirous of extirminating the wretched remainder of the Philiſtines; nor were the troops leſs anxious to effect this point than their leader. But he determined to conſult the will of God, with reſpect to the matter in queſtion, before he ſhould proceed in his deſign; and he, therefore, ordered Architob the high-prieſt to make application to God for his inſtructions on this head. Architob returned for anſwer that the oracle was ſilent. Saul obſerved that the ſilence of the Almighty, in this caſe, certainly proceeded from ſome ſecret and important cauſe, as, at other times, he had been accuſtomed to intimate his pleaſure to them, without any application on their part; adding, with a ſolemn oath, that he would put to death that perſon who ſhould be found by his iniquity to have ſubjected them to this dilemma, even ſhould his own ſon Jonathan be diſcovered to be the offender.

This declaration was highly applauded by the people, and Saul ordered the lot to be caſt; himſelf and his ſon ſtanding, during the time, ſome little diſtance from the reſt. When it was perceived that the lot had fallen upon Jonathan, his father bid him recollect what ſecret crime he had lately committed, and to make an open confeſſion thereof before all the people. Jonathan replied, that he had no fault to charge himſelf with, ſave that of having taſted, during the purſuit on the day before, a little honey; being totally ignorant, at the time, of the prohibition iſſued by his father. Saul aſſured him, with an oath, that his life ſhould pay the forfeiture of his diſobedience; as he preferred the religious obſervance of his vow, before every conſideration of parental tenderneſs and affection.

The generous youth, not at all diſmayed at the proſpect of death, calmly anſwered, that he ſhould readily relinquiſh his life, for the ſake of enabling his father to releaſe himſelf from the obligation of a ſacred bond; and that the reflection, that he had been, in ſome degree, inſtrumental in revenging the injuries which the Hebrews had ſo long ſuſtained from the Philiſtines, would afford him ample conſolation under all his ſufferings. The noble conſtancy manifeſted by Jonathan on this trying occaſion, affected the people to that degree, that they forcibly reſcued him out of the hands of his enraged father; unanimouſly declaring, with the moſt ſolemn oaths, that they would not permit the leaſt injury to be done to the man to whom they were ſo largely indebted for the victory of the preceding day; beſeeching God to pardon a fault into which he had been miſled by ignorance alone.

After this remarkable victory, in which the number ſlain on the ſide of the Philiſtines amounted to nearly ſixty thouſand men, Saul returned to his capital, where he long enjoyed an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity, and acquired immortal fame by the repeated advantages which he obtained over the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Philiſtines, the Edomites, and the people of Zoba. He had three ſons, whoſe names were Jonathan, Joſhua, and Melchi-ſhui; and two daughters, the eldeſt of whom was named Merab, and the other Michal. His army was commanded by Abner, the ſon of his

uncle Ner: Kiſh, the father of Saul, and Ner were the ſons of Abiel. He had a numerous army, of infantry, cavalry, and chariots; and from every encounter with his enemies he conſtantly returned victorious. His guards were remarkable for their martial appearance and deportment. In ſhort, under his reign the Iſraelites attained to a height of reputation and power, which rendered them at once both the envy and terror of all the neighbouring nations.

CHAP. VIII.

Samuel delivers a meſſage from the Lord, enjoining Saul to deſtroy the Amalekites. Saul incurs the diſpleaſure of God for ſparing the life of king Agag.

THE prophet Samuel repreſented to Saul, that he had received an expreſs command from the Almighty to remind him of his duty to the Creator of the univerſe, and the King of kings, who had exalted him to the regal dignity; and that it was the pleaſure of God he ſhould proſecute a war againſt the Amalekites, and utterly extirpate the whole race; that no advantage ſhould be made of the property of the people, and that their cattle, goods, and other poſſeſſions ſhould be entirely deſtroyed, and, according to the prediction of Moſes, even the name of Amalek expunged from the hiſtory of mankind. Theſe judgments were denounced againſt the Amalekites, as a juſt puniſhment for their iniquities.

Saul engaged to execute the inſtructions delivered to him by Samuel with all poſſible diſpatch. He now aſſembled his followers at Gilgal, and upon a review of his forces, they appeared to conſiſt of forty thouſand men, excluſive of the tribe of Judah, which muſtered thirty thouſand. With this army Saul prepared to attack the Amalekites: he ſtationed ambuſhes upon the paſſes of the rivers and woods, ſo that the enemy could not move from their quarters without danger of being attacked by ſurprize. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, a general battle took place, and the Amalekites were totally defeated, great part of them being ſlaughtered during the battle, and, excepting a very inconſiderable number, the reſt were effectually cut off in the purſuit.

After this victory, in conformity to the prediction of the Almighty, Saul proceeded to attack the walled and fortified towns and other places of ſtrength. He ſubdued ſome of them by ſiege, and others by ſtratagem, and the war concluded with a general ſlaughter, without reſpect to ſex or age: for the moſt extreme cruelties were not conſidered as indefenſible, provided they were exerciſed in a juſt war, or in obedience to the command of God.

King Agag was taken priſoner, and merely from his being of an agreeable and prepoſſeſſing perſon, Saul determined to preſerve him from the common ruin: and this act of diſobedience was the foundation of the calamities afterwards experienced by the Hebrews. A conduct ſimilar to that of the king was adopted by the people, who converted the cattle and other valuable effects to their own uſe, and deſtroyed only what was not worth preſervation. Saul ravaged and laid waſte the whole country, extending from Peluſium, on the

the confines of Ægypt, to the Red-Sea; but he attempted no injury or annoyance to the Sichemites inhabiting the land of Midian, towards whom the Hebrews entertained a particular attachment, on account of their ancient affinity, Raguel, the father-in-law of Moſes, being deſcended from them. Previous to the war, Saul cautioned them againſt connecting themſelves with the Amalekites, repreſenting to them the judicial vengeance denounced againſt that iniquitous people.

After theſe great achievements, Saul returned home, apparently reconciled to the idea that in the important work of reducing the Amalekites, he had inviolably obſerved the directions communicated by the prophet Samuel. But the Lord was incenſed againſt Saul for having diſregarded his commiſſion in ſparing the life of Agag, and ſuffering the people to make advantage of the plunder; and he was pleaſed to inform Samuel, that as Saul had proved himſelf inclined to purſue the dictates of his own inclination, rather than fulfil the orders entruſted to him, he repented having advanced him to the ſovereignty. The prophet was ſo greatly diſtreſſed by this revelation that he employed the following night in fervent ſupplications in favour of Saul. In anſwer to theſe interceſſions, the Lord was pleaſed to ſay, "that to excuſe "offences of ſuch magnitude as thoſe committed by Saul, would be an ill-"placed mercy, and an encouragement for the perpetration of additional "crimes."

Finding his prayers for obtaining the pardon of Saul to be ineffectual, he, the next morning, repaired to Gilgal. Upon his arrival, the king embraced him, and after a congratulatory thankſgiving for the late ſucceſſes, he obſerved, that he had, in every inſtance, acted in conformity to his commiſſion. Upon this, Samuel enquired reſpecting the bleating of ſheep which he heard in the camp. The king replied, that the ſound proceeded from ſome beaſts which the people had reſerved for ſacrifice, and ſaid he had ſo effectually deſtroyed the Amalekites, that only one man remained alive, and that he kept him priſoner that he might be inſtructed in what manner to diſpoſe of him. Samuel ſaid, it was not ſacrifices, but the righteouſneſs of mankind which proved acceptable to the Almighty, who accounted the only true ſacrifice an obſervance of his ſacred will, without which the fat of beaſts, and offerings of gold and ſilver he conſidered as oſtentations of pretended piety: but that from thoſe who inviolably obſerved the divine commandments, the moſt trifling offerings were received by the ſupreme Being with infinitely greater ſatisfaction than all the pomp of ceremony unaccompanied by a pious integrity of heart.

"I am now to reveal to you (ſaid Samuel) that you have incurred the diſ-"pleaſure of the Lord by the contempt which you have ſhewn towards his "commandments. By what means can you attempt to exculpate yourſelf "when you ſhall be called to anſwer for having reſerved a part of that ſa-"crifice, the whole of which the Lord had commanded you to deſtroy? As "a puniſhment for your diſobedience to the declared pleaſure and expreſs "command of God, you are doomed to be deprived of the ſovereignty, "and of the authority which you have groſsly abuſed, in violation of the "reverence due to the ſupreme Being, by whom you were exalted to the

"regal

" regal ſtate." Saul admitted that he had been guilty of an heinous tranſgreſſion in exceeding the commiſſion delivered to him by the prophet; and in extenuation of his crime, he uſed no other argument than that the ſoldiers were ſo reſolutely determined to plunder the enemy, that he dreaded the conſequence of an attempt to reſtrain their violence: and he entreated Samuel to obtain a pardon from the Lord, promiſing, that the offence of which he had been guilty ſhould be a warning for the better regulation of his future conduct. Having made this declaration of his ſincere repentance, he endeavoured to prevail upon Samuel to continue with him ſome time longer, and to perform ſacrifice, in order to avert the vengeance of heaven; but, being ſenſible that his mediation would prove ineffectual, the prophet departed.

CHAP. IX.

Saul is dethroned, and David proclaimed king of Iſrael.

IN order to delay his departure, Saul caught hold of the garment of the prophet, who endeavoured to diſengage himſelf, and in the conteſt the mantle was rent; which accident Samuel applied by an alluſion, telling Saul, that the government of the kingdom would be torn from him, and a man of piety, juſtice and probity, appointed as the ſucceſſor to his throne. " This ſentence (ſaid he) is paſſed, and the word of God is irrevocable." Having confeſſed that the diſpleaſure of the Almighty was due to his iniquities, Saul entreated the prophet to return with him, that he might humble himſelf before his offended creator: Samuel complied, and they joined in the worſhip of the Lord. The devotions being concluded, Agag, the king of the Amalekites, was brought forth. He had been heard to make uſe of ſome expreſſions concerning the terrors of death, and theſe were retorted upon him by the prophet, who ſaid to him: " Many an Hebrew mo-
" ther hath been overwhelmed with affliction by thy deſtructive ſword; it is,
" therefore, juſt that thy mother be numbered among thoſe who are child-
" leſs." Having given orders for putting Agag immediately to death, the prophet returned to Ramah. This was the laſt interview between Saul and Samuel.

Saul repaired to his palace at Gibeah (or the *little-hill*), in the full perſuaſion that his contempt of the divine commands had produced his ſad reverſe of fortune. Samuel was greatly diſtreſſed on account of the ſeparation: but the Lord commanded him to ſuppreſs his uneaſineſs, and, providing himſelf with a cruſe of holy oil, to repair to Bethlehem, and there anoint one of the ſons of Jeſſe, the ſon of Obed, king of Iſrael; ſaying that the party adjudged worthy to ſupport the regal dignity, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed to him from his brethren. On the arrival of the prophet, the people of Bethlehem anxiouſly enquired as to the cauſe of his journey: he gave them a general anſwer, ſaying that his buſineſs was to perform ſacrifice.

The holy ceremony being concluded, the prophet invited Jeſſe and his ſons to dine with him. He was ſtruck with admiration by the graceful form and deportment of the elder ſon; and concluded that he was the perſon deſtined to fill the throne. But upon aſking whether he was the man to be anointed, he was anſwered in the negative, and told that the Almighty judged not from external excellencies, but that the qualifications moſt acceptable to him, were piety, juſtice, fortitude, and the other virtues which harmonize and compoſe the beauty of the human ſoul. Upon this, Samuel requeſted the attendance of the other ſons, and five more appeared, who, in point of perſonal advantages, he found in no reſpect inferior to their elder brother.

The names of theſe ſix ſons of Jeſſe were Eliab, Abinadab, Samma, Nathanael, Rael and Aſa. Samuel, having conſulted the Almighty on which of theſe brethren he had determined to confer the ſovereignty, received for anſwer, that neither of them was the man on whom he had fixed his choice. The prophet then enquired of Jeſſe what other ſons he had, who replied that he had only one more, who was employed in tending his flocks, and was named David. Samuel deſired that he might be ſent for; ſaying it was but right that he ſhould be admitted to partake of the repaſt. The phyſiognomy of this youth prepoſſeſſed every beholder in his favour; he being of a florid complexion, with ſomething of a martial air, and a countenance highly expreſſive of modeſty and benevolence. Immediately upon his entrance, Samuel whiſpered Jeſſe that this was the youth whom God had deſtined to reign over his people. The prophet ſeated him next himſelf; the father and the reſt of his children taking their places below him. Samuel then anointed David, and told him in a whiſper, it was the pleaſure of the Almighty that he ſhould aſſume the government of the kingdom; enjoining him to a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, and a due reverence to the commands of God; and aſſuring him that, by ſuch a conduct, he would eſtabliſh himſelf in the government, ſubdue the Philiſtines, and all his other enemies, and perpetuate his fame to the lateſt poſterity.

Samuel afterwards returned home; and the ſpirit of God was transferred from Saul to David, who at this time began to propheſy. At the ſame period Saul was afflicted with an uncommon diſorder, attended with ſwoonings and difficulty of breathing, of which his phyſicians could not, after the matureſt deliberation, diſcover the cauſe: the ſymptons of this diſorder bore a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe exhibited by perſons poſſeſſed with a dæmon. The only remedy which the phyſicians could deviſe was, to cauſe a perſon to ſing and play on the harp before the patient, whenever he ſhould be attacked with the ſymptoms of this diſeaſe. Saul gave immediate orders to his attendants to make the ſtricteſt ſearch for a perſon thus qualified; and was informed by one of his domeſtics, that Jeſſe, the Bethlemite, had a ſon named David, who was famed for his ſkill in ſinging and playing on the harp, as well as for his bravery, and the comelineſs of his perſon. Saul, hereupon, diſpatched meſſengers to Jeſſe, requeſting that he would, without delay, ſend this accompliſhed youth to court. Jeſſe conſented; and David, being furniſhed by his father with proper preſents, repaired to the capital. He was

received

received upon his arrival, in the moſt favourable manner, and Saul admitted him into the number of his guards; and conſtantly expreſſed the higheſt eſteem for him; for, excluſive of the great ſatisfaction which the king found in his converſation, no one but David could afford him an interval of relief in the diſorder above-mentioned; and he, therefore, obtained the conſent of Jeſſe that he ſhould retain his ſon to attend his perſon.

CHAP. X.

The Philiſtines advance with a powerful army into the country of the Hebrews. Goliah, the champion of the Philiſtines, deſies the Iſraelites, and is ſlain by David.

SOME ſhort time afterwards, the Philiſtines entered the country of the Hebrews, and encamped with a vaſt army between the cities of Shecoth and Azekah. Saul obliged them to quit this ſituation; and they eſtabliſhed their quarters on a mountain oppoſite to that which was occupied by the Iſraelites. In the army of the Philiſtines was a man of prodigious ſtature and ſtrength, named Goliah, a native of Gath. He meaſured in height ſix cubits and a ſpan, and the armour which he wore was proportioned to his vaſt bulk and force; his coat of mail weighing five thouſand ſhekels, and the head of his ſpear, which was of iron, ſix hundred ſhekels: this ſpear he bore upon his ſhoulder, it being too ponderous to be carried in the hand, as lances uſually are.

Thus equipped, this progidy of nature deſcended into the valley between the above-mentioned mountains, accompanied by a numerous body of armed Philiſtines, and, with a voice in the higheſt degree expreſſive of his extraordinary ſize and ſtrength, he uttered the following deſiance in the ears of the Hebrews; "Prompted by a deſire of preventing the effuſion of human "blood, I come hither, ye men of Iſrael, to propoſe to you a deciſion of "the conteſt between the two nations by ſingle combat. I here offer myſelf "as a champion on the part of the Philiſtines; and, if you will ſend ſome "perſon with a like commiſſion from your nation, the prevailing differences "may eaſily be ſettled without proceeding to a general battle. If he chance "to vanquiſh me, then will we be your ſervants, but if I prove victorious, "ye ſhall be ſubjected to us; for it is better that one man only ſhould be ex"poſed to deſtruction, than a whole army." At the concluſion of his ſpeech he returned to the camp; and this deſiance he regularly repeated during the courſe of forty days; the Hebrews being highly chagrined to remain thus long inactive in ſight of the enemy.

Among the troops of Saul were three of the ſons of Jeſſe; but David had been ſent back to his father, at the commencement of the war, to his former employ of tending the ſheep. Having been diſpatched to the camp by Jeſſe on a certain day, to carry proviſions to his brethren, and to enquire after their welfare, he chanced to hear Goliah reproaching and execrating the Iſraelites, with more than uſual virulence, for their cowardice in declining his repeated challenges. David, who was engaged at the time in converſation with his brethren, could not contain his emotion on the occaſion, and

and reſolutely declared his willingneſs to encounter this haughty boaſter; but Eliab, the eldeſt of his brethren, ſharply reprehended him for his raſhneſs; bidding him, in deriſion, return to the care of his flocks, as being far the more ſuitable employment for one ſo young and inexperienced.

From reſpect for his brother, David was ſilent for the preſent; but, when he was about to quit the camp, having again mentioned, in the hearing of ſeveral of the ſoldiers, his deſire to engage the giant, they immediately carried the intelligence to Saul, who ordered him to be brought before him, and queſtioned him whether he had made any declaration of the kind related by the ſoldiers. David replied in the affirmative; and aſſured the king that, with his permiſſion, he would quickly render this arrogant Philiſtine as contemptible as he at preſent appeared to be formidable; adding that the glory redounding to the nation from ſuch a conqueſt would be the greater, as being obtained by a raw and inexperienced youth. Saul was ſtruck with amazement at the courage of David, but he dared not entruſt the deciſion of ſo important a cauſe to one whom he deemed, from his want of years and judgment, to be ſo inadequate to the taſk.

David, clearly perceiving in the countenance of the king what paſſed in his mind, endeavoured to diſpel his doubts by the following words: "It "is not, Sire, ſo much the Hebrew army, as the omnipotency of Heaven "itſelf which this wretch dares thus impiouſly to defy; nor ſhould the "combat be conſidered as a conteſt between Goliah and David, but be- "tween Goliah and the Lord of Hoſts, who ſometimes deigns to effect "the moſt glorious purpoſes by the agency of the weakeſt and meaneſt "inſtruments. I confide in that Almighty power for the like aid and pro- "tection which he has been graciouſly pleaſed to afford me on former oc- "caſions. It chanced on a time, as I was tending the flocks of my father, "that a lion entered the fold, and carried off a lamb: I purſued the fu- "rious beaſt, and, ſeizing him by the tail, daſhed him againſt the ground "with ſo much force, that he inſtantly yielded up his life at my feet. In "like manner I, ſome time afterwards, encountered a bear with ſimilar "ſucceſs. I do not conſider this Philiſtine as a more formidable foe than "a lion or a bear; but, on the contrary, am firmly perſuaded that God "will make me the humble inſtrument of that puniſhment which he will "inflict on this audacious and blaſpheming wretch."

Saul was now convinced, from the manner in which theſe words were uttered, that the youth was actuated by a Divine impulſe, and therefore no longer heſitated to grant the requeſted permiſſion. To prepare him for the combat he equipped him in his own ſuit of armour; but David found that theſe arms were likely to prove rather an incumbrance than a defence to him, and therefore deſired leave to lay them aſide; modeſtly obſerving, that they were better adapted to the uſe of the ſkilful warrior, than of the inexperienced ſhepherd. Having reſumed his own habit, he took his ſhepherd's ſtaff, and his ſling; and putting five ſmooth ſtones, which he had collected from the brook, into his wallet, he advanced towards his antagoniſt, who ran, as well as he was able under ſo cumbrous a load of armour, to meet him. When Goliah perceived the diminutive ſtature of his adverſary, and

the uncommon weapons with which he had provided himſelf for the encounter, he aſked him, with ineffable contempt, whether he imagined that he was come thither to beat a dog, or to engage in combat with one ſkilled in the uſe of arms. David replied, that he conſidered him as far worſe than a dog. Theſe words enflamed the Philiſtine with ſuch violence of rage, that he vented the moſt bitter execrations againſt David, and declared that he would give his dead careaſe for food to the fowls of the air, and the beaſts of the field. "You," ſaid David, "come to the field clad in a coat "of mail, and armed with a ſword and ſpear; but my armour is the com- "miſſion which I have received from the living God, who will this day, "by my agency, deliver both yourſelf and your army into the hands of the "Hebrews; and I ſhall, ere night, ſeperate your head from your body, "and throw your careaſe upon the dunghill, to be devoured by dogs, of "whoſe nature you ſo nearly partake. And this event ſhall convince man- "kind, that the God of the Iſraelites makes the ſafety of his people his "peculiar care; and that neither arms nor numbers can afford any protec- "tion to thoſe who incur his reſentment."

Goliah was ſo much prepoſſeſſed with a contempt of the youth and inexperience of his antagoniſt, that theſe words made not the leaſt impreſſion on him; and he eagerly preſſed forward to the combat.

CHAP. XI.

The death of Goliah. The Philiſtines are purſued and defeated by the Hebrews: In conſequence of certain incidents attending this event, Saul conceives a mortal envy and hatred againſt David.

THE eagerneſs which David manifeſted to proceed to action was not at all inferior to that of his adverſary, being incited by his all-powerful and inviſible protector; and, when the combatants had advanced within a certain diſtance of each other, David took one of the ſtones from his wallet, and, placing it in his ſling, hurled it with ſuch force at the giant, that it fractured his ſkull, and penetrated even into his brain; extending him at his length on the ground in the ſleep of death. David inſtantly ran towards the ſpot, and, unſheathing his enemy's ſword, ſtruck off his head therewith.

The army of the Philiſtines was thrown into ſo great a conſternation by this defeat of their champion, that they inſtantly diſperſed, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion; and were purſued by the Hebrews as far as the frontiers of Gath, and to the very gates of Aſcalon. On this occaſion full thirty thouſand of the Philiſtines were ſlain, and the wounded amounted to nearly double that number. The Hebrews, upon their return from the purſuit, plundered the enemy's camp, and afterwards ſet it on fire. The head of Goliah was preſerved by David as a trophy, and he offered the ſword as an oblation to the Lord.

When Saul was upon his return home with the army, he was met upon the road by the women and maidens of the ſeveral cities through which he paſſed, who came out in troops, to gratulate him on his ſucceſſes, with muſic and ſongs of triumph; the women leading the chorus with the words, "Saul has ſlain his thouſands!" and the virgins replying, "And David "his ten thouſands!" From this circumſtance, Saul conceived the ridiculous notion that he ſhould be no longer ſafe on his throne, while David continued about his perſon; and he, therefore, removed him from the poſt he held in his guards, and advanced him to the command of a thouſand men, in hopes that he might fall in ſome of the enterprizes in which, from the nature of his new dignity, he would be frequently engaged.

But David was ſo highly favoured by the Almighty, that he eſcaped all the ſnares ſpread for his deſtruction; and not only acquired the univerſal eſteem of the people for his valour and conduct, but alſo made a ſtrong impreſſion on the heart of Michal, the king's youngeſt daughter. Saul ſoon perceived the growing paſſion of the maiden, and would ſometimes inſinuate, in the courſe of converſation, that he ſhould not be altogether averſe to the match on certain conditions; meaning by this conduct to lure David into a ſnare which might lead to his deſtruction; to which point all his machinations tended.

Saul, at this time, made a declaration to ſome of his courtiers, that he was willing to give his daughter in marriage to David, on condition that he ſhould bring him the heads of ſix hundred Philiſtines. This propoſition he ſuppoſed would naturally engage David, who he knew was ever ready to attend the calls of glory, in ſome dangerous enterprize againſt the Philiſtines; preferring that he ſhould be taken off by their hands, rather than by his own immediate command. He alſo employed ſome of his emiſſaries to ſound David on the ſubject of the match in queſtion; who repreſented to him, that the favour which he had acquired both with the prince and the people was ſuch, that a report was current that Saul intended to confer his daughter on him in marriage; but David rejected their intelligence as improbable.

They were a ſecond time diſpatched by Saul on the ſame buſineſs, with inſtructions to acquaint David, in his name, that the want of riches he ſhould conſider as no objection in the perſon whom he ſhould conſent to accept as a ſon-in-law; being determined to beſtow, and not to ſell his daughter, whenever he ſhould part with her; and that he required nothing further from him, than to bring him the heads of ſix hundred of the Philiſtines; which would be the moſt acceptable preſent he could offer both to himſelf and his daughter, and would, moreover, by the bravery of the action, fully juſtify her in her choice to the world. David, totally unaware of the ſiniſter deſign of Saul in this propoſal, gave himſelf no concern with reſpect to the difficulty and danger of the enterprize, but inſtantly concerted the proper meaſures with his companions for carrying it into execution. He, accordingly, gave battle to the enemy, routed them with great ſlaughter, and delivered to the king the required number of heads.

CHAP. XII.

The evil practices of Saul againſt the life of David. Jonathan warns the latter of his danger.

ALTHOUGH Saul, to avoid the reproach of a breach of faith, had now given his daughter to David in marriage, yet this cloſe alliance did not in the leaſt alter his diſpoſition towards him. For, remarking that David increaſed daily in the favour and eſteem of God and man, he became violently apprehenſive that both his crown and life were in danger from the attempts of the youth, and, to ſecure both, reſolved to put him to death in the moſt ſecret manner poſſible; to the performance of which office he deſtined his own ſon Jonathan, and a certain number of his moſt faithful domeſtics. Jonathan was greatly amazed to ſee the late affection which his father bore to David thus ſuddenly converted into the extreme of hatred; and, ſtruck with horror at the baſe and treacherous deſign meditated by Saul, inſtantly communicated to David the whole matter, and adviſed him to fly with all ſpeed, as the only means of preſerving his life. Jonathan further promiſed to learn from his father the cauſe of this extraordinary enmity towards the youth, and to endeavour to influence him in his favour; obſerving that he knew of no fault committed by David, which could juſtify the king's indignation and diſpleaſure; and that, ſhould he accidentally have fallen into any trifling errors, the ſervices which he had rendered both to his ſovereign and to his country, made ample compenſation for them all. He then aſſured David that he would, from time to time, give him intelligence of his father's proceedings; after which they ſeparated, and David, in conformity to the advice of Jonathan, retired to a place of ſafety, to avoid the reſentment of the king.

CHAP. XIII.

Through the intervention of Jonathan, David is reſtored to the king's favour, and is re-inſtated in his poſt.

ON the following day, Jonathan, obſerving that his father was in a placid diſpoſition of mind, took the opportunity to ſpeak to him in favour of David. "It appears to me," ſaid he, "very extraordinary, that "you ſhould have conceived ſo violent a hatred againſt this young man, "without the leaſt apparent cauſe. Our whole nation is highly indebted "to him, both for the deſtruction of the Philiſtines, and for his victory "over the giant, whoſe repeated challenges, for the term of forty ſucceſſive "days, ſo deeply affected our national honour; and which no one had cou-"rage ſufficient to vindicate, ſave the youth in queſtion. He is doubly en-"titled to your eſteem, both as a man of great perſonal courage, and alſo "as being your ſon-in-law; an honour which he purchaſed on your own "terms, by preſenting you with the heads of ſix hundred Philiſtines. Re-

"flect,

" fleet, I pray thee, on the grief which our whole family muſt feel for the " loſs of this worthy youth; particularly your own daughter, who, by his " death, will be reduced to the pitiable condition of widowhood before ſhe " has experienced the happineſs of the maternal ſtate. Be pleaſed to re- " collect, alſo, the relief which you have received from him in thoſe hours " when poſſeſſed with that malignant ſpirit which has ſo often of late de- " prived you of your repoſe; and to entertain ſentiments more worthy of " yourſelf, and of the man to whom our family is ſo highly obligated." Theſe arguments made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the mind of Saul, that he declared, with a ſolemn oath, that he would never, in the ſlighteſt degree, be guilty of any violence towards David for the time to come. This welcome intelligence Jonathan immediately communicated ro David, who returned with him, thereupon, to court, and reſumed his attendance on the perſon of the king.

CHAP. XIV.

The Philiſtines are again vanquiſhed by David. He is preſerved by Michol from the deſigns of Saul, who had again determined to put him to death. Jonathan and David contract a ſolemn league of friendſhip. David reſorts to Nob, and alſo to Gath, at the former of which places he is kindly received by Abimelech. This circumſtance being communicated to Saul, he, in conſequence, puts to death not only Abimelech, but alſo the whole ſacerdotal race, ſave Abiathar, who eſcapes by flight. Particulars of the miraculous deliverances of David; and of the death of Samuel. David takes to wife Abigail, the widow of Nabal. He is received by Achiſh, who puts him in poſſeſſion of Zicklag, and retains him in his ſervice; being engaged at the time in a war with the Hebrews.

NEARLY about this period the Philiſtines again commenced hoſtilities againſt the Hebrews, and were defeated in a pitched battle by David, to whom Saul had entruſted the command of the army. Upon the arrival of David at court, with the intelligence of this glorious victory, he was received by the king with a ſullen and gloomy air, and in a manner little conſonant either to his expectation or his deſerts: for Saul was conſtantly apprehenſive of the increaſing reputation of David with the people.

On a certain day Saul, being ſeized with a return of his old diſorder, ſent for David, to ſing and play on the harp, as uſual; and, whilſt the latter was employed in the above manner, Saul ſuddenly ſtarting from his couch, with the utmoſt effort of his ſtrength, threw at him a javelin which he held in his hand; and which muſt have put a period to his life, had not David providentially avoided the blow, by ſlipping on one ſide. He immediately retired, in all haſte, to his own houſe, where he remained for the reſt of the day. When night arrived, a guard of ſoldiers were ſent to the houſe, with orders from the king to prevent his eſcape, and to ſeize his perſon in the morning; in order to his being put to death with all the formalities of a public execution. But Michol, who had received intimation of her father's deſign, gave David inſtant warning of his danger; adviſing him

him to fly before day-light; and, after mutual endearments and lamentations, ſhe let him down from a window at the back part of the houſe; and thus he eſcaped the imminent peril to which he was expoſed.

When the ſoldiers whom her father had ſent entered the houſe, and enquired for her huſband, Michol anſwered that he had been very ill during the night, and was juſt then fallen aſleep; and, to confirm her aſſertion, ſhewed them the bed, under the coverlet of which ſhe had purpoſely placed the liver of a kid newly killed, which, by its palpitation, they ſuppoſed to be the body of the ſick perſon. They, therefore, returned to Saul with an account of theſe particulars, but were inſtantly ſent back again, with orders to bring David away with them, in whatever condition they might find him; Saul being determined, at all events, to put him to death. Having repaired a ſecond time to the houſe of David, they diſcovered the deception which had been put upon them; and, acquainting the king therewith, he ſeverely chid his daughter for thus leaguing againſt her father with his greateſt enemy. But Michol excuſed herſelf on the plea that her huſband had compelled her to conceal him, and to aſſiſt him in his eſcape, by threats of inſtant death if ſhe refuſed; and by this pretence ſhe pacified her father's wrath.

David fled to Ramah, where Samuel then reſided, and acquainted the prophet with all the particulars of Saul's conduct towards him; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he had been guilty of no fault which could afford the ſlighteſt pretext for the king's preſent inveteracy againſt him.

Samuel, hereupon, in order to ſhelter David from the danger with which he was menaced, repaired with him to Galbaah, where they remained together for ſome time. But no ſooner was Saul made acquainted with the place of their retreat, than he diſpatched thither a number of armed men, with orders to ſeize the perſon of David, and to bring him away in chains. When the meſſengers arrived at Galbaah they found Samuel in company with ſeveral other prophets, and, the ſpirit of God falling upon them at the inſtant, they alſo began to propheſy with the reſt; and the like happened to thoſe alſo whom Saul ſent afterwards on the ſame buſineſs. Saul, at length, went thither himſelf; but, as ſoon as he came within ſight of Samuel, he found himſelf poſſeſſed with the ſame ſpirit; and, upon a nearer approach, he threw off his garments, and propheſied naked before Samuel and David, for the ſpace of a whole day and a night.

David, conſcious of the irreproachableneſs of his conduct, bitterly complained to Jonathan of the injuſtice of the king in ſeeking his life. Jonathan aſſured him that he had been miſled by the reports which he had heard on that ſubject, as the king his father never formed any reſolution of importance without acquainting him therewith, previouſly to the carrying it into execution. But David perſiſted, with an oath, that his fears were too well founded; adding that, as Saul was acquainted with the ſtrict friendſhip which ſubſiſted between them, it was not probable that he ſhould communicate to his ſon any deſign of a like tendency to that in queſtion.

Jonathan was at length convinced; and deſired his friend to conſider in

what manner he might render him the moſt effectual ſervice. " I am fully " perſuaded," ſaid David, " of your affection for me, and ſhall, therefore, " requeſt of you, that, as to morrow is the feaſt of the new-moon, when " your father ſhall enquire the reaſon of my abſence, you will tell him that " I obtained your permiſſion to go to Bethlehem, for the purpoſe of cele- " brating the day with my own tribe. If he, thereupon, makes uſe of any " expreſſion of kindneſs towards me, either that he wiſhes me a good jour- " ney, or the like; you may from thence conclude that he no longer en- " tertains any enmity to me; but, if the contrary ſhould happen, it will be " a proof that his reſentment againſt me has not yet ſubſided; and in ei- " ther caſe, you will acquaint me with all that paſſes on the occaſion. This " favour I requeſt of you by the ſolemn and inviolable friendſhip to which " we have reciprocally bound ourſelves, and by your regard to my peace " of mind under my preſent misfortunes. But, if you ſhould be of opi- " nion that I have merited the reſentment of your father, and, conſequent- " ly, have rendered myſelf unworthy of your affection and ſupport, do not " wait for the orders of the king to put me to death, but plunge your ſword " into my boſom without heſitation."

The implied ſuſpicion contained in theſe laſt words gave great uneaſineſs to Jonathan, and he replied to the youth in the following terms: " To that " God who fills and governs the univerſe, and to whom are known my moſt " ſecret thoughts, even at the very moment of their conception; to that " God do I now appeal for the ſincerity of my regard for you. Be aſſured " that I will exert all my endeavours to diſcover the real ſentiments of my " father reſpecting you; and, whether they be favourable or otherwiſe, I " will not fail to acquaint you therewith, as early as poſſible. God will " bear evidence to my deſire and intention of rendering you every ſervice " in my power; and you may be confident that he will avenge you of your " enemies; which is my earneſt prayer, even though my father and myſelf " ſhould be found amongſt the number. In the mean time, be mindful of " this declaration, and, ſhould you ſurvive me, manifeſt your regard for " my memory by affording your protection to my children."

Jonathan then directed David to a certain ſpot without the city, there to remain concealed till his return; promiſing that, when he ſhould have diſcovered the diſpoſition of his father towards him, he would come to the ſpot with his bow and arrows, attended by one page only; that he would let fly three arrows, and, if the intelligence he brought him was favourable, he would order the page to fetch them again to him; but, if he gave him no ſuch order, David was from thence to conclude that his perſon was in danger from the king's reſentment: he finiſhed his diſcourſe with recommending his children once more to his protection.

At the feſtival of the following day, Saul, having firſt purified himſelf in the cuſtomary forms, took his ſeat at the table with Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the general of his army, on his left; the ſeat which, in virtue of his office, belonged to David remaining vacant. Saul, obſerving this circumſtance, imagined that David had not regularly purified himſelf, and therefore paſſed it over in ſilence; but, remarking that he ſtill did not attend

attend on the ſecond day of the feſtival, Saul, with a conſiderable degree of aſperity, queſtioned Jonathan why David had thus abſented himſelf, for two ſucceſſive days, on ſo ſolemn an occaſion. Jonathan replied that he had granted him permiſſion to repair to Bethlehem, to ſolemnize the feſtival with his own tribe; adding that, from the ſincere affection which he bore to the young man, he ſhould be glad to have his majeſty's leave to repair thither to him.

Theſe laſt words ſo highly irritated Saul, that he could no longer conceal his hatred to David; and, loading his ſon with the injurious epithets of traitor, and confederate with the enemy of his family, he ordered him forthwith to ſend ſome perſons to Bethlehem, to bring David from thence, that he might be puniſhed according to his demerits; obſerving that it muſt be apparent to every one who did not wilfully ſhut his eyes againſt the truth, that his perſonal ſafety could be no otherwiſe ſecured than by the death of David. Jonathan, in the moſt reſpectful manner, deſired his father to inform him by what heinous offence David had thus drawn upon himſelf his reſentment; but the queſtion had nearly coſt him his life: for Saul, ſeizing a javelin which ſtood near, would infallibly have killed him therewith on the ſpot, but for the interference of ſome of the attendants, who wreſted it out of his hand.

This action clearly evinced to Jonathan the violence of that hatred which his father had conceived againſt David; and he immediately retired from the company, deeply affected with the reflection on the danger which threatened both his friend and himſelf. Having ſpent the night in ſleepleſs anxiety, he roſe at an early hour in the morning, and, taking with him his bow and arrows, he repaired, with one page only, to the ſpot where David was concealed. He firſt diſcharged his arrows, and, in token that the intelligence he brought was unfavourable, inſtead of ſending the page to pick them up, he re-diſpatched him to the city, on a feigned errand, that he might be at liberty to converſe with his friend with the greater privacy.

Immediately upon the departure of the lad, David came forth from his hiding-place, and, proſtrated himſelf at the feet of his benefactor, who raiſed him up in the moſt affectionate manner; and they joined in deploring the malignity of their fate, which thus compelled them to a ſeparation, to which death itſelf was, in the opinion of each, far preferable. After ſome time ſpent in theſe mutual condolements, and in renewing, with the moſt ſolemn proteſtations, the league of friendſhip they had formerly contracted, they took a final leave of each other, and Jonathan returned back to the city.

In order to avoid the unceaſing perſecution of Saul, David fled to Nob, the reſidence of Abimelech the high-prieſt. As he came without a ſingle attendant, Abimelech could not conceal his ſurprize at the circumſtance; but David informed him that, being charged by the king with the execution of a commiſſion of a moſt ſecret and important nature, he had, for the greater privacy, diſmiſſed his ſuit for the preſent; and had appointed them a certain place where they ſhould meet him. Under this pretext he obtained from Abimelech a ſupply of money, and alſo the ſword of Goliah, which, as we

have already obſerved, had been hung up in the temple, and dedicated to God; and, being thus provided, he retired to Gath in the land of the Philiſtines, where Achiſh, the king of the country, then kept his court. It chanced that the whole of the foregoing converſation between David and Abimelech was overheard by a Syrian, named Doeg, who was employed by Saul in the capacity of a groom.

Immediately upon the arrival of David at Gath, he was recogniſed by ſeveral of the king's ſervants, who ſeized him and conducted him before their maſter, with loud complaints of the many ſignal injuries which their nation had ſuſtained from this man. David, now perceiving himſelf involved in a worſe dilemma than before, ſuddenly aſſumed the behaviour of an idiot; drivelling at the mouth, and uſing other actions of a like kind; which expedient ſucceeded ſo well, that Achiſh, in a violent paſſion, bid his ſervants remove him from his preſence, and drive him out of the city: and thus David eſcaped the imminent danger to which he had been expoſed.

From Gath he retired into the diſtrict of the tribe of Judah, where he remained concealed for ſome time, in a cave ſituated in the field of Adullam. Hither numbers of his friends, relations, and other perſons repaired to him, ſome being influenced thereto by an affection for himſelf, others by their hatred and fear of Saul, and others again by the hopes of retrieving their ruined fortunes; and with theſe, amounting in the whole to about four hundred perſons, he put himſelf under the protection of the king of Moab, who entertained him and his followers with the greateſt hoſpitality, during the whole time that they remained in his dominions, from whence, by the advice of the prophet Samuel, they removed to Hareth in the land of Judah.

Saul quickly received the alarming intelligence that David had been ſeen at the head of an armed force; and, being well acquainted with the courage and enterprizing genius of the man, he was greatly apprehenſive that he might enter upon ſome attempt, which might, at leaſt, perplex the peace of his kingdom, and might probably endanger even the ſecurity of his crown and government. He, therefore, convened an aſſembly of the people at Gibeah, and, being attended by all his officers in the various departments of the ſtate, he delivered the following harrangue from his throne, which was placed on the occaſion in the open field: "As I am confident that the wealth "and honors which I have conferred on you muſt ſtill be recent in your me-"mories, I could wiſh that you would reſolve me this queſtion: whether you "imagine that the ſon of Jeſſe will be more liberal of his favours towards "you than I have been. For it is evident that you are all ſtrongly attached "to him, and that you are therein encouraged by the example and authority "of my own ſon Jonathan, who ſecretly ſupports the arch-traitor with all "his intereſt and power. But theſe circumſtances, by which my crown and "dignity are ſo much affected, make not the leaſt impreſſion on your minds; "and you wait patiently for the event with all the indifference and uncon-"cern imaginable."

A general ſilence ſucceeded to this ſpeech, till Doeg, the Syrian formerly mentioned, preſented himſelf before the king, and related to him the particulars

ticulars of the converſation, to which he had been witneſs, between David and Abimelech, and of the conſequent conduct of the latter thereon.

Saul immediately ordered Abimelech and the reſt of the prieſts to be brought before him, and upon their arrival addreſſed the high-prieſt in theſe words: "What offence had I given you, that you ſhould thus favourably re-"ceive the avowed enemy of my perſon and government; furniſhing him "with money and arms, and encouraging him in his perfidious deſigns, by "communicating to him the reſponſes of the oracle relative thereto? You "cannot be unacquainted that he is at the preſent time a fugitive, merely "from the apprehenſion of receiving the puniſhment to which his inveter-"ate malice againſt my perſon and family has juſtly rendered him ob-"noxious."

Abimelech did not attempt to diſprove the charge, but alledged, in vindication of his conduct, that he had conſidered David, not as the enemy, but, on the contrary, as the friend and faithful ſervant, as well as the ſon-in-law of the king. He added, that it was in conſideration of theſe qualities that he had afforded him the aſſiſtance he had requeſted, on the plea that he had been ſent by the king to execute a commiſſion, which required the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch; that, with reſpect to the circumſtance of his conſulting the oracle at the deſire of David, it was nothing more than what he had repeatedly done on former occaſions: and, finally, that, whatever deſigns it might appear David had formed againſt the perſon or government of the king, he beſeeched his majeſty to do him the juſtice to believe that, either directly, or indirectly, he had not the leaſt ſhare or concern therein.

This juſtification, tho' highly plauſible, Saul, being prepoſſeſſed by his fears, totally diſregarded, and inſtantly commanded his guards to ſeize Abimelech and the reſt of the prieſts, and to put them to death on the ſpot. But, it being prohibited by the law of Moſes to ſpill the blood of any perſon inveſted with the ſacerdotal function, the Hebrews unanimouſly and ſteadily refuſed to comply with the king's order; and the execution of this barbarous commiſſion was, in conſequence, committed to Doeg, the Syrian, and a band of ruffians whom he ſelected for that purpoſe: the number of thoſe who were thus inhumanly maſſacred, amounted to three hundred and eighty-five perſons.

The vengeance of Saul not being yet ſufficiently glutted, he diſpatched his infernal agents to Nob, the reſidence of the prieſthood, with orders to put the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction either of ſex or age: this ſavage commiſſion was executed in its fulleſt extent; no one eſcaping the general deſtruction, ſave Abiathar, the ſon of Abimelech, who was preſerved by a miraculous interpoſition of the divine providence. Thus was verified the revelation which God had diſcloſed to Eli the high-prieſt, intimating that the guilt of his two ſons would, in the courſe of time, be puniſhed with the utter extirpation of his family.

The deteſtable cruelty exerciſed by Saul on this occaſion may ſerve as an example of the exceſſes to which mankind are liable, from the inherent corruption of their nature. Man in an humble ſtation is compelled to an outward obſervance of the laws, by the fear of incuring the pains and penalties

annexed to the breach of them. But no ſooner has he ſhaken off theſe ſhackles, and attained to the envied height of ſupreme power and authority, than, like a ſtage-player, who changes his character with his dreſs, he aſſumes a conduct diametrically oppoſite to that which he had formerly exhibited; becomes haughty, proud and inſolent; and, in ſhort, conducts himſelf as if he imagined his late elevation had either endued him with the power of concealing his crimes from the eye of the Omniſcient, or that it had placed him above the reach of chaſtiſement, even from the hand of Omnipotence itſelf, without beſtowing one reflection on the nature of his preſent ſtation, in which, not only his actions, but even his very ſentiments are ſubjected to the public cenſure.

When rulers are thus infatuated, of what numerous miſchiefs is their government productive? Although the major part of their determinations are influenced by partiality, yet it is expected that we ſhould conſider them as being ſtamped with the approbation of heaven. Thoſe, indeed, who have rendered any ſignal ſervice to theſe lords of mankind, are commonly recompenſed either with wealth or honors: but it muſt be remembered, alſo, that they are conſtantly liable to be deprived, not only of their riches and titles, but even of their lives, by the baſe calumnies of every inſidious informer; even without being admitted to the privilege of juſtifying themſelves from the accuſations preferred againſt them.

The truth of theſe obſervations is ſtrongly exemplified in the foregoing inſtance of the conduct of Saul, the ſon of Kiſh, who was the firſt king of Iſrael, after the abolition of the ariſtocracy, and of that form of government in which the ſupreme authority was veſted in thoſe perſons who were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *judges*. He cauſed near four hundred prieſts and prophets to be put to death, together with their wives, children, and all their relations; and razed their city from its foundation, merely on the bare ſuſpicion which he entertained of the diſloyalty of Abimeleeh; thus at once deſtroying, to the utmoſt of his power, the whole race of thoſe whoſe office it was to attend the ſervice of the altar.

Abiathar, the ſon of Abimeleeh, who was the only perſon, as we have before obſerved, that eſcaped the general maſſacre, repaired to David, with the afflicting intelligence of all that had paſſed. David condoled with him on the occaſion; expreſſed great ſorrow to have been in any reſpect the cauſe of ſo dreadful a calamity, of which he had from the firſt been apprehenſive, from the circumſtance of Doeg's being preſent at the interview between him and Abimeleeh; and concluded with recommending it to Abiathar to continue with him, as the beſt means of ſheltering himſelf from the purſuits of Saul.

Nearly at this period David received intelligence that the Philiſtines had invaded the province of Keilah with a numerous army; ſpreading univerſal devaſtation wherever they came. David reſolved to oppoſe them; but previouſly conſulted the oracle; and, having received a favourable anſwer, advanced with his ſmall force againſt the enemy, routed them with a conſiderable ſlaughter, and acquired a valuable booty. After this victory, he continued ſome time at Keilah, to protect the inhabitants during the ſeaſon of harveſt.

harveſt. When the intelligence of this victory, which was repreſented much to the advantage of David, and the circumſtance of his ſhutting himſelf up in the city of Keilah, were communicated to Saul, he inſtantly diſpatched a body of forces to beſiege the place, with orders not to abandon the ſiege till David was delivered into their hands. But David, being forewarned by the oracle, that if he continued at Keilah, the people would ſurrender him, in order to make their peace with the king, he retired from thence, with his four hundred followers, and encamped upon a hill of great natural ſtrength, named En-gedi, which was ſituated in the deſert.

But, when Saul received information that David had quitted Keilah, he countermanded the orders which he had before given, reſpecting the ſiege; and David again changed his quarters, retiring to Cœna, in the diſtrict of Ziphe. At this place he had an interview with Jonathan, who exhorted him to ſupport himſelf with reſolution under his preſent troubles; aſſuring him that in a ſhort time he would be inveſted with the ſupreme government; and repreſenting to him that ſuch exalted dignities were not attainable without much toil and danger. They then renewed their friendſhip, denouncing the heavieſt curſes on either party who ſhould fail in the performance of his engagements; after which Jonathan returned home.

The people of Ziphe, with the view of ingratiating themſelves with the king, gave him notice of the place whither David had retired; and engaged, if Saul would furniſh them with a body of troops, to ſeize his perſon; which, they alledged, might eaſily be effected, by ſecuring certain paſſes, whereby his retreat would be rendered totally impracticable. Saul expreſſed his acknowledgements for this intelligence, and immediately diſpatched a party to carry the deſign into execution; promiſing to follow them at the head of a larger force, with all convenient diſpatch. The Ziphites ſerved as guides to the troops ſent by Saul, and afforded them every aſſiſtance in their power towards executing the commiſſion with which they were charged. Thus did theſe wretches, merely from intereſted motives, engage themſelves to deliver a religious and innocent man into the hands of his cruel and inveterate foe.

But God would not permit their wicked deſigns to take effect; for David, having received information of the king's approach, retired in all haſte to a large rock in the deſert of Maon. Hither he was ſo cloſely purſued by Saul, that he appeared to be deprived of every hope of eſcaping, when intelligence was brought to the king that the Philiſtines had invaded his dominions, and were ravaging the country without controul. This circumſtance induced Saul to abandon the purſuit of David, and to turn his arms againſt the invaders; conſidering it as highly imprudent to riſk the total loſs of his kingdom, merely for the ſake of gratifying a pique againſt a particular perſon. In this manner was David preſerved from the apparently inevitable deſtruction with which he was threatened; and from hence he marched with his troops to the ſtreights of En-gedi.

As ſoon as Saul had routed the Philiſtines, and compelled them to return to their own country, he ſelected three thouſand of his choiceſt troops, and, putting

putting himſelf at their head, renewed the purſuit of David, of whoſe retreat to En-gedi he had now obtained the moſt indiſputable information. When he had arrived very near to the ſpot, he retired, for a ſhort time, without any of his attendants, into a dark and ſpacious cave, in which it ſo happened that David and his companions were concealed; one of them recollecting the perſon of Saul, inſtantly acquainted David with his diſcovery, and adviſed him to avail himſelf of the opportunity which God had thus afforded him, of eſtabliſhing his own ſafety by the death of his implacable foe. But David rejected this advice with horror, and contented himſelf with cutting off a piece of the ſkirt of Saul's robe; and even this action created a ſtrong compunction in his breaſt, as he conſidered it as an unwarrantable violence committed againſt the perſon of one whom God had been pleaſed to ſet over him in the quality of his ſovereign.

Immediately upon the departure of Saul from the cave, David followed him, and, in the moſt reſpectful manner, addreſſed him in theſe words: "It is the common misfortune, Sire, of all princes to be ſurrounded with "numerous ſycophants, whoſe conſtant practice it is to fill their minds with "injurious ſuſpicions of their ſincereſt and moſt approved friends. Pro-"feſſions may deceive, but the man who acts in conformity to his duty, "gives an incontrovertible teſtimony of his affection and reſpect for his ſo-"vereign. I have been accuſed to your majeſty of crimes which never "entered into my imagination; and you, in conſequence, purſue my life "with the moſt unremitting ardour. But I truſt, Sire, that the example "of my conduct on the preſent occaſion will convince you how totally un-"deſerving I am of the rigour which I have experienced at your hands. "For it was equally in my power to have deprived you of your life, as to "cut off this piece of your garment, which you now ſee in my hand: but "even all the provocation which I have received could not induce me to be "guilty of ſo vindictive an action. Judge then, Sire, whether you can, "without the moſt palpable injuſtice, continue to perſecute me. I ſubmit "my conduct to the judgement of the Almighty, and he will decide by "whom the charge of guilt hath been incurred."

Saul reflecting on the imminent peril which he had eſcaped, and on the great moderation exhibited by David on the occaſion, heaved a deep ſigh, which being re-echoed by David, Saul obſerved that it was himſelf alone who had cauſe of grief, having repaid all the benefits and ſervices which he had received from him with the baſeſt ingratitude and cruelty. He further acknowledged that David, by his conduct on that day, had proved himſelf to be poſſeſſed, in the higheſt degree, of the virtue and generous ſentiments of their forefathers, who gloried in ſparing the lives of ſuch of their foes as Providence had delivered into their hands; adding, that he was from hence convinced, that it was the intention of the Almighty to confer on him the ſupreme government of the Hebrew nation; and conjuring him, when that period ſhould arrive, to ſhew mercy to his children. After David had bound himſelf to the king, by a ſolemn oath, to a ſtrict obſervance of his requeſt, they ſeparated, and David removed with his troops to the ſtreights of Mizpeh.

Nearly at this period the Hebrews were deprived of the prophet Samuel; a man whoſe numerous virtues had juſtly endeared him to the whole nation. He died at Ramah, his native city, and was interred with a magnificence highly expreſſive of the affection which the people entertained for him. He held the ſupreme authority twelve years ſubſequent to the death of Eli, and died in the nineteenth year after the introduction of the monarchical form of government.

In the city of Emma, ſituated in the diſtrict of Ziphe, and near to the ſpot on which David had encamped his troops, dwelt a certain perſon named Nabal, whoſe flocks were ſo numerous that they were computed to amount to three thouſand ſheep and one thouſand goats. David ſtrictly prohibited his people from committing the ſlighteſt depredation on the poſſeſſions of this man, and even permitted them to aſſiſt the ſhepherds of Nabal in tending their flocks; flattering himſelf that he ſhould thereby confer an obligation on a perſon who was deſerving of his favour. But the diſpoſition of Nabal was naturally churliſh and moroſe, whilſt his wife was equally remarkable for the graces of her perſon and mind.

When the ſeaſon of ſheep-ſhearing arrived, David ſent ten of his men to compliment Nabal, in his name, and to requeſt a ſmall ſupply of proviſions, for which he would, when opportunity offered, make him ample compenſation. They were further ordered to repreſent to him that, during the whole time of their abode in the deſert, they had never once injured him in his property, but, on the contrary, had done him ſome ſervice by the aſſiſtance which they had afforded his ſervants. Nabal enquired from whom they came, and, being informed that they were ſent by David, the ſon of Jeſſe, he not only peremptorily refuſed to comply with their requeſt, but accompanied his refuſal with many opprobrious expreſſions reſpecting David, whom he ſtyled a fugitive, who had left his maſter from an apprehenſion of receiving the puniſhment due to his crimes.

When David was informed of this behaviour of Nabal, he inſtantly put himſelf at the head of a party of four hundred of his followers, and, leaving the remaining two hundred to guard the baggage, began his march towards the dwelling of this man, with a full determination utterly to extirpate his whole family, and deſtroy his habitation: and this he bound himſelf by an oath to perform before the next day's dawn.

In the intermediate time, ſome of the ſervants of Nabal, who had been preſent at the converſation between their maſter and the perſons ſent by David, communicated to Abigail, the wife of Nabal, the particulars of all that had paſſed; at the ſame time ſuggeſting to her their fears leſt this conduct of their maſter ſhould be attended with fatal conſequences to himſelf and his family. Upon this intelligence Abigail, without mentioning a ſyllable of her deſign to her huſband, who was, at the time, in a ſtate of intoxication, ordered a number of aſſes to be laden with refreſhments of various kinds, and immediately began her journey to meet David on the way.

When ſhe arrived near the foot of the mountain, ſhe perceived David and his men deſcending into the valley, and, upon a nearer approach, proſtrated herſelf

herſelf before him, and earneſtly ſolicited him to pardon the contemptuous expreſſions uttered by Nabal, whoſe name (which ſignifies, in the Hebrew, *a fool and a madman*), ſtrictly accorded with his diſpoſition. She aſſured him, that ſhe was not preſent when his meſſengers came to her huſband; obſerved that he ought to return thanks to heaven for preſerving him, by her agency, from the guilt of blood; and expreſſed her wiſhes that he might ever continue free from that pollution, as a means of ſecuring the favour and aſſiſtance of God in all his conteſts with his enemies. She readily admitted the juſtice of his reſentment, but earneſtly beſought him to ſet due bounds to his vengeance, and to reflect that nothing gave ſo great a luſtre to the character of a perſon deſtined to rule over others, as the virtues of moderation and clemency; concluding with a requeſt that he would condeſcend to accept from her hands the refreſhments which ſhe had brought with her, as a ſmall token of her reſpect and good will.

David received her in the moſt favourable manner; accepted her preſents; and aſſured her that God himſelf had certainly inſpired her with the deſign of atoning for her huſband's offence in the manner ſhe had adopted; and that ſhe, otherwiſe, would never have ſeen the morning's light, as he had ſolemnly ſworn never to cloſe his eyes till he had utterly deſtroyed the habitation of Nabal, and had put every individual of his family to the ſword. He added, however, that, although he was content, upon her account, to paſs over the affront which he had received from her huſband, yet Nabal would certainly be puniſhed in due time by the hands of the Almighty.

Abigail, upon her return home, found her huſband ſo much intoxicated, that ſhe perceived it would be in vain to acquaint him that night with what had paſſed. When Nabal learnt, on the next day, the imminent danger which he had eſcaped, he was affected ſo ſtrongly, that he was immediately ſeized with a numbneſs which pervaded his whole body; and in this condition he continued to the time of his death, which happened on the tenth day. When David was informed of this event, he obſerved that Nabal had merited the puniſhment he had ſuffered; and returned thanks to God, for his goodneſs in preſerving him from the guilt of blood. This example may ſerve to convince mankind, that the providence of God ſuperintends and directs all the affairs of this world, and that the virtuous and the wicked will be rewarded or puniſhed according to their works.

David diſpatched a meſſenger to the widow with propoſals for taking her in marriage. She replied, that ſhe was unworthy even to waſh the feet of David; but in compliance to his deſire, ſhe repaired to him, and they were eſpouſed. The virtues of her mind and the beauties of her perſon obtained her this honourable preferment. Michol, the firſt wife of David, was diſpoſed of by her father to Phalti, the ſon of Laiſh of Gallem; after which he contracted a marriage with a woman of Abeſar, named Ahinoam.

The people of Ziphe informed Saul that David was returned to their quarters, and that he might be repulſed with a moderate force. Hereupon Saul repaired immediately to Zicklag. David diſpatched ſpies to learn the ſituation of the enemy, and upon receiving intelligence that Saul had pitched his tents at Zicklag, he roſe in the night, and attended only by Abiſhai, the

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ſon of his ſiſter Zeruiah, and Abimelech the Hittite, privately departed and gained admittance to the royal tent, where he found the king aſleep, Abner, his general, and his guards being in the ſame ſituation. Abiſhai was deſirous of putting Saul to death, but this deſign was oppoſed by David, who ſaid, that however iniquitous, conſidered as a man, the perſon of the king was ſacred, ſince he had been exalted to a throne by the appointment and authority of the Almighty; and that for the abuſe of power he was accountable only to the Supreme Being by whom that power was delegated. He ſaid, though he would not avail himſelf of the advantage afforded him, he would take away the lance and pitcher of water from the bed-ſide, as teſtimonies to prove how abſolutely the king depended upon his mercy.

He now left the camp, and having croſſed the river, aſcended a mountain, whence he called aloud to Abner and the guards; and the general, ſurpriſed to hear himſelf thus addreſſed by name, demanded whence the voice proceeded. David acknowledged himſelf, and ironically aſked Abner, whether the general of an army, the favourite of a prince, and the profeſſed guardian of his perſonal ſafety, did not greatly exalt his character by indulging himſelf in ſleep at the time his maſter's life was in danger. He mentioned the circumſtance of the lance and pitcher of water being taken from the king's tent, obſerving that, whether the opportunity of removing them was afforded through neglect or treachery, Abner had merited to be condemned to the loſs of his head.

Saul knowing the voice of David, and finding that he had been a ſecond time in the power of this generous friend, whom he conſidered as an implacable enemy, publickly thanked him for having ſpared his life, and deſired him to return home, in a full aſſurance that all enmity ſhould ſubſide on his part, for he was convinced that his life and ſafety were not dearer to himſelf than they were to David, who, in return for repeated baniſhments and attempts upon his life, the loſs of friends and other injuries, had manifeſted a ſteady attachment towards him, by an uninterrupted ſeries of friendly offices. David deſired a meſſenger to be diſpatched, by whom he might return the lance and the pitcher, calling God and man to witneſs, that when he took them from the tent, the king's life was equally in his power.

Saul now returned to his palace; and David, at the head of his ſix hundred men, marched into the land of the Philiſtines, from whom he had obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh his reſidence among them. David and his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, met with a liberal reception from Achiſh, the king of Gath. But conceiving himſelf to be degraded by remaining a burthen on the public, his ſituation became extremely irkſome; and he determined to petition Achiſh to grant him a portion of land. In conſequence of his application, the king aſſigned Zicklag to himſelf and his heirs in perpetuity; and for this place he entertained a great partiality, even after his exaltation to the throne.

David remained in Zicklag four months and twenty days, during which ſpace he made frequent incurſions upon the Sarites and Amalekites, from whom he obtained great numbers of mules, camels and other ſpoil; but he avoided taking any priſoners leſt they ſhould betray his proceedings to Achiſh.

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He diſpoſed of part of the booty in preſents to the king, who often queſtioned him reſpecting the manner of his obtaining the gifts. His anſwer was, that he had made inroads on the ſouthern parts of Judah.

About this time the Philiſtines were making preparations for commencing a war againſt the Hebrews, and a day was appointed for a general rendezvous at Rengam, whence Achiſh was to lead his troops to the encounter. The king requeſted the aſſiſtance of David, with his ſix hundred men, and to this he readily conſented, obſerving that the period was approaching when he ſhould be afforded an opportunity of making an honourable compenſation for the bounties he had received. In return, the king promiſed, that if he proved victorious in the engagement, he would appoint David to the command of his guards, and inveſt him with every honourable diſtinction within the compaſs of his power.

CHAP. XV.

The ghoſt of Samuel predicts the defeat of Saul, and the death of himſelf and his ſons. Ziclag pillaged and burnt by the Amalekites, who are purſued and cut off by David.

SAUL had already baniſhed from his kingdom the ſoothſayers, fortune-tellers, and all other vain pretenders to a ſkill in foretelling future events; but the prophets were not included in the proſcription. Intelligence being communicated that the Philiſtines had pitched their tents upon a plain at Sunem, Saul drew up his forces oppoſite to the camp of the enemy, near the mountain of Gilboah. The armies being within ſight of each other, Saul obſerved that the Philiſtines had a great ſuperiority both in point of numbers and diſcipline; and his ſpirits being greatly depreſſed by this circumſtance, he reſolved to conſult the prophets in relation to the iſſue of the expected engagement. The queſtion being propoſed, and no anſwer given, his uneaſineſs increaſed to abſolute deſperation; for he conſidered the ſilence of the oracle as a certain indication of approaching calamity. Notwithſtanding this, and a conſciouſneſs that he had forfeited the favour of the Almighty, he had recourſe to wizards and conjurers, in order to obtain the knowledge of future events, and employed agents to find out ſome woman ſkilled in the myſteries of divination. Being informed that a woman of this deſcription reſided at Endor, he immediately repaired thither, being diſguiſed, and attended by two confidents. Upon his arrival, he requeſted her to call up the ſpirit of a perſon he ſhould name, as a proof of her ſkill. In conſideration of the king's edict which had prohibited this mode of divination, on the penalty of baniſhment, ſhe declined a compliance, entreating him not to lead her into an act of diſobedience, the diſcovery of which would inevitably prove her deſtruction. Saul continued his importunities in a more urgent manner, invoking the moſt bitter imprecations to befall him, if he ſhould divulge any part of the proceeding, and on the credit of his aſſurances, ſhe at length conſented to gratify his deſire.

Saul desired her to call up the ghost of Samuel. Being entirely unacquainted with the person of Samuel, she was greatly astonished by the divine figure of the spectre; and turning to Saul, she asked him, if he was not the king (this Samuel had intimated to her): and he replied in the affirmative, desiring to know the cause of the confusion by which she appeared to be affected. She said the apparition caused her disorder, being the resemblance of an aged man, encompassed with a glory, and in the attitude of ascending from the earth. He questioned her as to the age, figure, and habit of the spectre, and was answered that it appeared to be an ancient and venerable man in a sacerdotal garment. Hence Saul concluded it to be the ghost of Samuel, and prostrated himself on the earth. The spirit asked Saul, for what reason he had called him from his peaceful abode; and the king replied, that being threatened with a powerful army, and having no prophets to consult with, or visions imparted for the regulation of his conduct, and being abandoned by the Lord, he was compelled into the present measure by the most urgent necessity, finding his last resource for advice to be in Samuel, whom he had, on various occasions, found to be steadily attached to his interest. The ghost reproved Saul for his unseasonable desire of learning what should befal him; but added that, as he had expressed himself so anxiously on the subject, he would foretel his fate. The ghost proceeded to inform Saul, that himself and his sons would be slain in battle the next day, and that David would succeed to the government, and effect an happy termination of the war; adding, that he was doomed to the loss of his crown and life for his disobedience to the commands of God, respecting his conduct towards the Amalekites.

Upon hearing this sentence pronounced, the vital powers seemed to desert the king, and he fell to the ground; but whether this was the effect of sudden surprize, or having remained without food for the space of four and twenty hours, may admit of a doubt. However, upon his recovery, the woman urgently pressed him to take the necessary refreshment for the support of nature, that he might be able to return to the camp. Her repeated solicitations, at length, induced him to compliance; and she killed a calf, and, having dressed it, set it before her royal guest and his attendants. After the repast, the king departed, and the same night joined the army.

It remains to be observed that a singular degree of generosity was displayed in the conduct of this woman, who, uninfluenced by motives of interest, and from a principle of affording assistance to a stranger in distress, consented to stake her safety on the exercise of a prohibited art, unconscious, at that time, that the party who urged her to the act was the identical man who had passed the prohibition into a law. She killed a calf, and entertained Saul and his followers, leaving herself entirely destitute, for in that calf consisted her whole property. In return for this, she could expect no reward, knowing the king was to die. Conscious that he was doomed to death, and that his whole family was to be involved in his ruin, Saul still maintained an unshaken resolution to oppose his fate, and to fall in the defence of his government, rather than expose the dignity of his station to the public scorn. Thus

did he afford an exemplary inſtance that a mediocrity of courage and fortitude is but a reproach upon the character of princes, and others who fill the exalted ranks of life.

The Philiſtine troops were aſſembled, according to their ſeveral diſtributions into tribes, kingdoms and governments; Achiſh, the king of Gath, and his men being drawn up behind the other forces, and David with his party of ſix hundred, in the rear of him. The Hebrews being obſerved by the Philiſtine commanders, they demanded whence they came? By whoſe order? and for what purpoſe? Achiſh replied, that the leader of the Hebrews (pointing to David) had been ſervant to Saul, whoſe diſpleaſure he had incurred; and (continued he), judging his life to be in danger, he fled into my dominions for ſanctuary, attended by the party whom he now commands; in gratitude for the aſſiſtance I afforded him, and from a principle of reſentment againſt his late maſter, he has engaged, on the preſent occaſion to exert his utmoſt efforts in ſupport of our cauſe. The Philiſtines unanimouſly diſapproved of repoſing confidence in a declared enemy, urging that in the important cauſe depending, the moſt dangerous conſequences might ariſe from the treachery of the party in queſtion; they, therefore, requeſted that Achiſh would order him to leave the army, and return to the place appointed for his reſidence; adding that David was the man by whom many thouſands of the Philiſtines had been ſlaughtered, and whoſe exploits were ſo highly celebrated in the ſongs ſung by the virgins. Theſe objections were ſo reaſonably founded, that they were readily admitted by Achiſh. He aſſured David, that experience had convinced him of his bravery and ſteady attachment, and that on theſe conſiderations he had received him as an ally; but he deſired him to decline taking a further part in the preſent expedition, and to return to Zicklag, in order to guard the people againſt any advantage which might be meditated by the enemy during the abſence of the army, obſerving that by this commiſſion he would be able to render himſelf as effectually ſerviceable, as by remaining with the troops. Achiſh having declared, that the friendſhip he had conceived had ſuffered no abatement, David departed for the place of his deſtination.

The Amalekites availed themſelves of David's attendance upon the Philiſtine army, and attacked Zicklag, which they fired, and entirely deſtroyed, and committed great devaſtation in the adjacent country, after which they retired, making booty of all the effects which they were able to remove. David finding his habitation to be laid deſolate, and that his wives, thoſe of his fellow-ſoldiers, and their children had been made priſoners, gave way to the moſt paſſionate lamentations, tearing his garments, and by other extravagant actions proving the exceſs of his ſorrow. His companions were ſo exaſperated on this occaſion, that they formed a reſolution of ſtoning David to death, as being the cauſe of their preſent diſtreſs, but they did not carry this deſign into execution.

When the violence of his grief had ſubſided, David requeſted Abiathar the high-prieſt, to habit himſelf in his pontifical robes, and conſult the Lord, whether, upon purſuing the enemy, it would be granted to the Hebrews to recover their women and children, and to take revenge for the in-

juries they had ſuſtained. Abiathar directed him to follow the Amalekites, ſaying ſucceſs would attend the expedition. Thus encouraged, David put himſelf at the head of his troops, and cloſely purſued the enemy as far as the brook of Beſor. At this place they perceived a man, who it appeared had loſt his road in the deſert, and was on the point of ſtarving, having remained three days without ſuſtenance. After taking ſome refreſhment, the man ſaid, in reply to the queſtions put to him by David, that he was an Ægyptian, who had attended his maſter at the deſtruction of Zicklag, and that on the return of the troops, his ſtrength failed him, and he was left in the deſert. David appointed this Ægyptian to be a guide in the purſuit of the Amalekites, whom he, at length, overtook, and found in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder, ſome being engaged in a vain contemplation of the ſpoils they had obtained, others in the indulgence of gluttony; ſome unarmed, and thoſe who were provided with weapons, ſo much intoxicated as to be unable to uſe them. In this confuſed ſituation, they were vigorouſly attacked by David and his followers, who committed ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that not more than four hundred men eſcaped, and theſe were indebted for their ſafety to the ſpeed of their camels. The purſuit continued from noon till evening, and during the action the women and children belonging to David's party were recovered, as were the effects which had been pillaged from Zicklag.

On this expedition David was attended by only four hundred men, having ſtationed the other two hundred of his party as a guard to the baggage. The four hundred who were engaged in the action, objected to the other two hundred being admitted to ſhare in what had been recovered from the enemy, inſiſting that their wives and children only ſhould be reſtored. David remonſtrated againſt arrogating to themſelves the merit of the victory, which was to be attributed only to the Almighty; urging that the injuſtice of excluding the party of two hundred men from their proportion of the booty; as, while the others were engaged in purſuit of the enemy, they had guarded the baggage, the preſervation of which was eſſentially neceſſary to the common cauſe. This determination was admitted to the authority of a law, which ſtill remains in force, whereby ſuch as guard the baggage are declared to have an equal right to the ſpoil with thoſe who are more actively engaged in the war. Upon his return to Zicklag, David diſpatched meſſengers with a part of the ſpoil, as preſents to his friends in the tribe of Judah.

The armies of the Philiſtines and Hebrews joined battle in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Gilboah. Saul and his ſons, Jonathan, Aminadab and Melchi fought with aſtoniſhing bravery: they foreſaw that they muſt inevitably fall in the conteſt, but reſolutely determined that the enemy ſhould have but little cauſe to boaſt of the victory. They were oppreſſed by a great ſuperiority of numbers; and when they had ſubdued one party, they were attacked by others in ſucceſſion, till, at length, they yielded up their lives in the heat of the battle. Upon the death of Jonathan, Aminadab, and Melchi, the army fled, and was purſued by the Philiſtines with a terrible ſlaughter. Saul maintained a defence at the head of a ſmall party ſome time longer; but from the wounds he had received from the darts and arrows of the Philiſtines,

Philiſtines, his ſtrength was ſo much exhauſted, that he became incapable of further reſiſtance, and even the power of depriving himſelf of life. In this extremity of his fate, he commanded his armour-bearer to diſpatch him: but the man, from a veneration he entertained for the king, excuſed himſelf from the office; in conſequence of which, Saul ruſhed on the point of his own ſword; but this not fully anſwering his purpoſe, he applied to a young Amalekite, requeſting him effectually to prevent his being taken alive by the enemy. The Amalekite immediately killed the king, and taking his crown and golden bracelets, made a precipitate retreat. When the armour-bearer perceived that his royal maſter was dead, he immediately put an end to his life; and of thoſe who compoſed the king's guard, not a man ſurvived his royal maſter.

The Hebrews inhabiting the valley beyond Jordan and the cities upon the plains, having learnt the event of the battle, and that Saul and his ſons had periſhed in the action, quitted their open towns and ſtrong holds, and the Philiſtines poſſeſſed themſelves of the places which the others had evacuated. On the day following that of the battle, the Philiſtines returned to the field, and finding the bodies of Saul and his ſons, they ſtripped them, cut off the heads, and expoſed the trunks under the walls of the city of Bethſhan, which at this time bears the name of Scythopolis. The people of Jabeth-Gilead being highly incenſed againſt the Philiſtines for theſe violences, formed a party of enterprizing men, who determined to take down the bodies; and after privately travelling all night, they arrived at the ſpot and effected their purpoſe. The death of Saul and his ſons was ſeverely regretted by the people of Jabeth, who afforded a teſtimony of their eſteem by a public interment of their remains in the chief part of the country. On this occaſion all ranks of people were enjoined to a ſtrict obſervance of faſting and mourning for the ſpace of ſeven days. Thus was Saul puniſhed for his diſobedience to the command of the Lord, reſpecting the war againſt the Amalekites, the maſſacre of Abimelech and his family, and the deſtruction of the ſacerdotal city. Saul continued in the government * eighteen years previous to the death of Samuel, and twenty two years after that period.

* This is denied by Gataker, in his diſſert. de Stylo N. T. c. XVI.

End of the Sixth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK VII.

Containing the hiſtory of the tranſactions from the year of the World 2890, to 2931.

CHAP. I.

David expreſſes the deepeſt ſorrow for the death of Saul and Jonathan. He is proclaimed king by the tribe of Judah; but the other tribes, at the inſtigation of Abner, declare themſelves in favour of Iſhboſheth. Abner aſſembles an army and marches againſt David. The forces of Abner are defeated by thoſe of David, under the command of Joab. In the courſe of the purſuit, Hazael, the brother of Joab, is ſlain by Abner. In conſequence of a diſguſt received from Iſhboſheth, Abner abandons his intereſts, and joins the party of David; and is, ſoon afterwards, treacherouſly aſſaſſinated by Joab. The great affliction of David on the occaſion; and the diſtinguiſhed honors which he pays to the memory of the deceaſed.

THIS battle, ſo fatal to the Hebrews, was fought on the ſame day in which David obtained the aforementioned victory over the Amalekites; and, on the third day after his return to Zicklag, a perſon arrived there, who had eſcaped from the encounter in which Saul and his ſons were ſlain. He preſented himſelf before David with his garments rent in various parts, and his head covered with aſhes, and acquainted him with the

defeat of the Hebrews, and the death of the king and his ſons; adding that he was an Amalekite by birth, and that Saul, after having received many wounds, attempted to thruſt himſelf through with his own ſword, in order to avoid the diſgrace of falling alive into the enemy's hands; but, wanting ſtrength to execute his purpoſe, he had earneſtly requeſted him to perform the above office, with which requeſt he found himſelf under the neceſſity of complying; and, in confirmation of the truth of his aſſertions he, at the ſame time, delivered into the hands of David the royal bracelets and diadem.

Upon receiving this intelligence, David rent his cloaths, and devoted the whole of that day to lamentation for the loſs which both the nation and himſelf had ſuſtained on the occaſion. But his grief aroſe chiefly from the conſideration of the ſincere affection and friendſhip which had ſubſiſted between him and Jonathan, to whom he had more than once been indebted for the preſervation of his life. As a proof of the generous diſpoſition of David, he not only thus publicly lamented the cataſtrophe of Saul; but, uninfluenced by any conſideration of the manifold injuries which he had received from him, he alſo condemned to immediate death the wretch who had confeſſed himſelf to be his murderer; and who, by his regicidal principles, clearly evinced from what country he derived his birth. David compoſed various elegies and epitaphs, in praiſe of Saul and his ſon Jonathan, all which are ſtill extant.

When the term of the mourning for Saul and his ſons was expired, David conſulted the oracle in which of the cities of Judah he ſhould take up his reſidence, and was directed to fix upon the city of Hebron for that purpoſe. He accordingly repaired thither, with his two wives and thoſe perſons who conſtituted his body-guard, and was quickly followed by his whole tribe, who, in an aſſembly held for that purpoſe, unanimouſly proclaimed him king of Iſrael.

David at this time received information of the valorous and grateful conduct above related of the inhabitants of Jabeſh, in carrying off the bodies of Saul and his ſons, and interring them with the honors due to their rank; and he, in conſequence, ſent meſſengers to return them his ſincereſt acknowledgments for the regard which they had manifeſted for the memory of thoſe princes; and alſo to acquaint them that the tribe of Judah had unanimouſly conferred on him the regal dignity.

Abner, the ſon of Ner, and the late general of the army of Saul, no ſooner heard of the death of that prince and three of his ſons, than he inſtantly repaired to the camp, in ſearch of Iſhboſheth, another of the children of Saul, whom he conducted to the further ſide of Jordan, in order to preſerve him from danger, and cauſed him to be acknowledged and proclaimed king of Iſrael, by all the tribes ſave that of Judah; fixing on Meanahaim, which ſignifies *the Camp*, for the place of his reſidence. The conduct of the men of Judah, in electing David for their king, had given ſuch offence to Abner, that, aſſembling a numerous army, he marched into their country, with the deſign of puniſhing them ſeverely for their temerity. The forces of David were commanded by Joab, the ſon of Suri and Zeruiah, the ſiſter of David;

and Joab was accompanied in the expedition by his two brothers, Abiſhai and Hazael.

When the two armies arrived in ſight of each other, in the neighbourhood of Gibeon, they drew up in order of battle: but, previous to the commencement of a general engagement, Abner propoſed that each party ſhould ſelect a certain number, to make trial of their valour in a ſeparate combat. This propoſal being accepted by Joab, twelve men on a ſide were choſen for the purpoſe; and, in the ſpace between the two armies, they attacked each other firſt with their darts, and afterwards with their ſwords, with ſuch fury, that, in the end, they all fell lifeleſs upon the ſpot. The two armies then joined battle, and, for a while, the conteſt was maintained with equal obſtinacy; but, at length, the troops of Abner were utterly defeated, and put to flight.

Hazael, the brother of Joab, poſſeſſed a ſwiftneſs of foot, in which he was ſurpaſſed by very few horſes. This man, without paying any attention to the reſt of the fugitives, confined himſelf wholly to the purſuit of Abner, who, perceiving that his adverſary gained ground on him at a very conſiderable rate, repeatedly deſired him to deſiſt from following him, and offered to compenſate him with a full ſuit of arms; repreſenting to him how unwilling he ſhould be to kill him, even in the defence of his own life, as he was ſenſible that he ſhould thereby draw upon himſelf the irreconcileable enmity of his brother Joab. But when Abner obſerved that all his arguments were loſt upon Hazael, he ſuddenly darted his lance at him, and ſtretched him breathleſs on the ground.

Such of the purſuers as were behind Hazael at the time halted when they came to the ſpot where his body lay, to contemplate the ſpectacle; but Joab and Abiſhai, enflamed with a deſire of revenging their brother's death, continued the purſuit till near ſun-ſet, as far as a town named Mathon, which, in the Hebrew tongue, ſignifies *the aqueduct*. Here Abner made a halt, with that diviſion of his army which was compoſed of the tribe of Benjamin, and, addreſſing himſelf to Joab from a neighbouring eminence, earneſtly expoſtulated with him on the injuſtice of purſuing thoſe of his own country with ſo revengeful a determination; adding that he had been compelled to put Hazael to death merely from the motive of ſelf-preſervation.

The juſtice of the plea urged by Abner was ſo apparent, that Joab found himſelf under the neceſſity of cauſing a retreat to be ſounded; and he encamped on the ſpot that night; but Abner paſſed over Jordan with his troops, and continued his march till he arrived at Meanahaim, where Iſhboſheth kept his court. On the following day Joab cauſed the ſlain to be interred; and their number was found to be three hundred and ſixty on the ſide of Abner, and nineteen only on that of David; excluſive of Hazael, whoſe body was conveyed by his brethren to Bethlehem, and laid in the family ſepulchre; after which they repaired to the court of David, at Hebron.

This conteſt for the ſupreme authority, between David and the ſon of Saul, produced a civil war which was of conſiderable duration, but terminated, at length, in favour of the former.

In

In the intermediate time, David had ſix ſons born to him, by as many wives, and in the following order: viz. By Ahinoam he had Ammon; by Abigail, Daniel; by Maachah, the daughter of Tolmai, king of Geſhur, he had Abſalom; Adonijah by Haggith; Sphacia by Abithal, and Jethrakam by Egla.

The valour, diſcretion, and popularity of Abner were, throughout the whole war, the chief ſupport of the pretenſions of Iſhboſheth; but that prince, having received information that a familiar connection ſubſiſted between Abner and Rizpah, the daughter of Sibeth, who had formerly been one of the concubines of his late father Saul, reproached him on the ſubject with ſo much acrimony, that Abner, from that hour, determined, in revenge, to quit the party of Iſhboſheth, and to unite himſelf with that of David.

In purſuance of this reſolution, he diſpatched one of his friends ſecretly to Hebron, with inſtructions to inform David that he was ready to enſure him the poſſeſſion of the kingdom with the general conſent of the whole people, by bringing over to his intereſts thoſe tribes which had been hitherto adverſe to his pretenſions, on condition that he ſhould bind himſelf by an oath to confer upon him the office of his prime miniſter, as ſoon as he ſhould have made good his engagements. David eagerly cloſed with the propoſal, and deſired that Abner, as a proof of his ſincerity, would cauſe his wife Michol, whom he had obtained from her father at the imminent hazard of his life, to be immediately reſtored to him. Michol was, accordingly, taken from Phalti, on whom her father had beſtowed her after the diſgrace of David, and was again delivered up to her firſt huſband; and this was done with the privity and conſent of Iſhboſheth, who however expreſſed a ſtrong conviction of the reaſonableneſs of the requiſition.

At this period Abner convened an aſſembly of the principal perſons of the ſeveral tribes, and addreſſed them in theſe words: "Some time ago, "when you were inclined to have preferred David to Iſhboſheth, I oppoſed "your wiſhes; but I now leave you at full liberty to act as you ſhall judge "moſt proper in the above reſpect: for the prophet Samuel, under the in- "fluence of the divine inſpiration, has given us the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that "David is the perſon whom God has deſtined to rule over the Hebrews, and "under whoſe conduct alone we are to expect deliverance, and conqueſt over "the Philiſtines." The whole aſſembly, perceiving clearly from this ſpeech in what manner Abner ſtood affected, readily coincided in his views, and from that day openly ſupported the pretenſions of David; and the Benjamites, who compoſed the body-guard of Iſhboſheth, made not the leaſt ſcruple to adopt the ſentiments of the other tribes.

After theſe proceedings Abner repaired to David at Hebron, with a band conſiſting of twenty perſons, whom he had ſelected for the purpoſe; the intent of his journey being to ſettle matters with David in perſon, and to acquaint him with the progreſs he had made towards the completion of his engagements. Upon his arrival at the court of David, he was received in the moſt friendly manner by that prince, who entertained him and his attendants with the utmoſt magnificence for the ſpace of three days, at the expiration of

of which time Abner requeſted to be diſmiſſed, that he might finiſh the undertaking in which he had embarked.

It chanced that, during the above three days, Joab, the general of the army of David, was abſent from Hebron; but he returned juſt at this juncture, and entered the city at one gate as Abner quitted it by another. Having been made acquainted with all that had paſſed during his abſence, he inſtantly conceived a ſuſpicion that Abner, with whoſe abilities he was well acquainted, would effectually ſupplant him in the king's favour, even, perhaps, to the depriving him of the honourable office of commander of the forces.

He endeavoured, therefore, at firſt to impreſs the mind of David with ſentiments diſadvantageous to Abner, whom he repreſented as a perſon, whoſe ſole intention it was to miſlead him by his profeſſions, that he might with greater facility ſecure to the family of Saul the poſſeſſion of the throne. When he perceived that all his ſuggeſtions were ineffectual, he formed the execrable deſign of ridding himſelf of his rival by aſſaſſination; and, accordingly, ſent meſſengers after Abner, to deſire him, in the name of David, to return immediately; he having omitted to mention a particular matter to him which was of great moment. Abner was overtaken by the meſſengers at Sirah, about twenty furlongs from Hebron, and, not ſuſpecting any miſchief, he readily accompanied them back to the latter city, at the entrance of which he was met by Joab and his brother Abiſhai, who, the better to conceal their infamous purpoſe, received him with the moſt flattering profeſſions of regard and eſteem. When, under the pretext of private buſineſs, they had drawn him on one ſide, to a diſtance from his attendants, Joab ſuddenly thruſt him through with his ſword.

Joab pretended to juſtify this baſe and treacherous deed on the plea of reſentment for the death of his brother Hazael; but his ſole motive to the commiſſion of the fact was, the fear leſt Abner, by his ſuperior merit and ſervices, ſhould prove a dangerous rival to him in the favour of the king. Thus we ſee that the votaries of ambition and avarice are ever reſtleſs, while they perceive any man who is poſſeſſed of a larger ſhare of intereſt or power than themſelves; and that they ſcruple not to be guilty of the moſt heinous crimes, to enable them to attain, and, more particularly, to preſerve thoſe advantages, the poſſeſſion of which conſtitutes the whole happineſs of their lives.

David expreſſed the greateſt affliction for the untimely fate of Abner, and, in the moſt ſolemn manner, declared his utter ignorance of the barbarous deſign; venting, at the ſame time, the moſt bitter execrations on the perpetrators and and abettors of ſo nefarious an action. He ordered all the honors of a public mourning to be paid to his memory; and attended his funeral in perſon, as chief mourner, accompanied by all the great officers of ſtate. On this occaſion his whole deportment manifeſted the real eſteem he had entertained for Abner whilſt living, and the ſincere grief he felt for his death. He cauſed the body of Abner to be interred, with the utmoſt magnificence, at Hebron; and inſcribed on his tomb an epitaph of his own compoſition,

in which he highly extolled the bravery and other numerous virtues of the deceaſed. By this conduct David conciliated the affection of the people in general, but eſpecially of the friends of Abner; and they unanimouſly exculpated him from all imputation of being acceſſary, either directly or indirectly, to the barbarous treachery of Joab.

At the concluſion of the ceremony of the interment, David delivered to the ſpectators a ſhort oration in praiſe of Abner; repreſenting to them the great loſs which both himſelf and the whole nation had ſuſtained by the death of ſo experienced and valiant a commander; appealing to heaven for his incapacity to puniſh the offenders, on account of their great influence over the army; and concluding that, however thoſe perſons might eſcape puniſhment for a time, they would certainly, ſooner or later, experience the vengeance of an incenſed Deity.

CHAP. II.

The aſſaſſination of Iſhboſheth by Baanah and Rechab. They carry his head to David, who cauſes them to be put to death, with various tortures. The ſeveral tribes unanimouſly concur in electing David for their king. He aſſembles an army, and makes himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem. Joab is the firſt perſon who mounts the parapet of the citadel.

ISHBOSHETH was extremely afflicted at the loſs of Abner, not only on account of his relationſhip, but alſo as by his intereſt and influence alone he had been advanced to the throne of his father. But that prince did not long ſurvive him, being treacherouſly murdered by Baanah and Rechab, the ſons of Rimmon. Theſe men, who were two of the principal perſons of the tribe of Benjamin vainly, imagining that they ſhould thereby recommend themſelves to the higheſt preferments in the ſervice of David, determined to aſſaſſinate Iſhboſheth whenever an opportunity ſhould offer. Accordingly, at a time when that unfortunate prince had retired to repoſe himſelf, on account of the violent heat of the weather, they entered his chamber, his attendants being all aſleep, and, after having deprived him of life, they cut off his head, and then retired with the ſame privacy with which they had entered.

They immediately began their journey to Hebron, at which place, after travelling with the utmoſt expedition during the whole night, they arrived on the next day. But when they appeared before David, and preſented him with the head of Iſhboſheth, magnifying the ſervice they had rendered him by thus ridding him of his competitor for the kingdom, he, to their utter aſtoniſhment, expreſſed his abhorrence of their conduct in the following terms: "The atrocious action of which you have been guilty calls aloud "for the moſt exemplary puniſhment. Can you be ignorant of the manner "in which I requited the wretch who brought me the tidings of the death of "Saul, whom he boaſted he had ſlain with his own hand? Yet it was at the "requeſt of Saul himſelf that he committed this action, to preſerve him from "the ignominy of falling alive into the hands of his enemies. Do you "imagine

" imagine that I have at this time adopted ſentiments leſs worthy of me than " thoſe by which I was influenced on the above occaſion, and that I am ca- " pable of countenancing the horrid perfidy of which you have been guilty " to the moſt bountiful and moſt indulgent of maſters? If ſuch are your ſen- " timents, you ſhall quickly be undeceived. Prepare yourſelves, therefore, " immediately to receive that death which you have ſo juſtly merited." At the concluſion of this ſpeech he ordered them to be taken from his preſence, and to be put to death with a variety of tortures: and he cauſed the head of Iſhboſheth to be placed in the tomb of Abner, with ſuch funeral ſolemnities as were due to the exalted ſtation of the deceaſed.

Soon after this event, the principal perſons of the ſeveral tribes, and the officers of the army repaired in a body to Hebron, where they ſolemnly acknowledged David as their king, vowed allegiance to him, and made him a formal tender of their lives and fortunes; repreſenting to him the predilection they had always manifeſted for him, even during the reign of Saul; adding that they were convinced, from the declaration of the prophet Samuel, that he and his deſcendants were deſtined by the Almighty to rule over them for a ſucceſſion of ages, and that the important work of ſubjugating the Philiſtines, and, conſequently, of eſtabliſhing the kingdom on the firm and ſolid baſis of peace and ſafety was reſerved alone for him. David expreſſed his acknowledgements, and aſſured them that he would exert all his endeavours to fulfil their expectations. After having regaled them with the utmoſt magnificence for the ſpace of three days, he diſmiſſed them, with inſtructions to ſelect out of each tribe all thoſe who were capable of bearing arms, and to conduct them, properly equipped, to Hebron.

The number of thoſe who aſſembled at Hebron, in conſequence of the above orders, were as follow: of the tribe of Judah, excluſive of thoſe who had declared themſelves in favour of David immediately after the death of Saul, 6,800 men, all compleatly armed with ſhield and ſpear: of the tribe of Simeon, 7,100: of the tribe of Levi, 4,700: and theſe were headed by Jehoida, and the high-prieſt Zadock, and twenty-two of the chief perſons of his family: of the tribe of Benjamin the number was 4000 only, the remainder being poſſeſſed with a notion that the government would finally revert to the family of Saul: of the tribe of Ephraim, 20,800, all men of note for their ſtrength and valour: of the half-tribe of Manaſſes, 18,000: of the tribe of Iſſachar, 20,000, excluſive of 200 perſons famed for their ſkill in the art of divination: of the tribe of Zebulon 50,000; which number included the whole tribe; and theſe were armed in the ſame manner as the tribe of Gad: viz. with ſhield, ſpear, ſword, and helmet: of the tribe of Naphthali, there came an almoſt innumerable multitude, under the command of a thouſand perſons of eminent bravery: of the tribe of Dan, 27,000: of the tribe of Aſſer, 40,000: and of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the remaining half-tribe of Manaſſes, all of whom reſided on the further ſide of Jordan *, 120,000; and theſe were all provided with ſhields, ſpears, ſwords and helmets.

* L'Eſtrange ſays 22,000; but a French tranſlation publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1701, ſays 120,000, (ſix-vingt mille) which we deem far more probable.

mets. It is to be obſerved alſo, that the ſword was a weapon indiſcriminately uſed by all the other tribes, as well as by thoſe laſt-mentioned.

Theſe were the troops that repaired to David at Hebron; bringing with them corn, wine, and all other neceſſaries in the greateſt plenty. They unanimouſly ſaluted David with the title of king, and, after having ſpent three days in public rejoicings on the occaſion, he put himſelf at their head, and marched againſt Jeruſalem; which city was then inhabited by the Jebuſites, who were deſcended from the ancient Canaanites. Upon the approach of David, they ſhut their gates, and, to ſhew their contempt of the force he had brought againſt them, they placed their blind and their lame on the walls, thereby intimating alſo their confidence in the natural ſtrength of the place.

David was ſo highly incenſed at this inſult, that he determined to attack them in the moſt vigorous manner, without any further delay; hoping, by the capture of this place, to ſtrike ſuch a terror into the inhabitants of all the other cities, as ſhould induce them to ſubmit upon the very firſt ſummons. Having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, he advanced to the walls, at the head of a ſelect body of his troops, and, by making a general aſſault, ſoon became maſter of the place: but the garriſon retired into the citadel. This fortreſs was of very conſiderable ſtrength, and David, conſidering how much his honor was concerned in the ſubjection of it, endeavoured to animate the courage of his ſoldiers and their leaders, by promiſes of pecuniary gratifications to the former, and by engaging to confer on him, among the latter, who ſhould firſt make good his ſtation on the parapet of the citadel, the poſt of commander in chief of all his forces. The proſpect of theſe rewards inſpired the Hebrews with ſo ſtrong an emulation, that each man performed miracles of valour on the occaſion: but it was the fortune of Joab to reach the top of the battlements, before any of his companions.

CHAP. III.

David repairs and beautifies Jeruſalem; eſtabliſhes his court there, and changes its title to that of the city of David. The king of Tyre ſends ambaſſadors to David, to negotiate an alliance with him. The number and names of the children of David.

AFTER the capture of the citadel, David repaired the fortifications of the place, and gave it the additional title of the city of David; and he removed his court thither, where it continued for the whole ſubſequent term of his reign. At the time of transferring his court from Hebron to Jeruſalem, he had reigned over the tribe of Judah alone ſeven years and ſix months; and, by the continual embelliſhments which he beſtowed on the latter place, it became, at length, the ſeat of the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence.

At this period ambaſſadors were ſent by Hiram, king of Tyre, to ſolicit an alliance with David; and theſe perſons brought with them a valuable preſent of cedar-wood, and alſo a number of ingenious workmen, in different branches, for the purpoſe of conſtructing a palace for his reſidence in Jeruſalem.

ſalem. David united the fortreſs abovementioned to the city, and encompaſſed both with a wall.

It was not till after the extirpation of the Jebuſites that this city acquired a new name. In the time of Abraham, the founder of our race, it bore the title of Solyma, and many perſons are of opinion that Homer alludes to this place, when he makes mention of the people of Solyma; as the word hieron * ſignifies, in the Hebrew language, both a *temple*, and alſo *ſecurity*, or a *fortreſs*. From the period when Joſhua divided amongſt the Hebrews the lands which they had conquered from the Canaanites, to that in which David made himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem, was computed to be 515 years; and during this whole term, the Jebuſites maintained themſelves in the above city, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Iſraelites to diſpoſſeſs them.

I muſt not omit to mention that David, in the midſt of the ſlaughter and devaſtation conſequent on the capture of the city, preſerved the life and effects of Orphan, a Jebuſite of great wealth, who had, on various occaſions, manifeſted a peculiar kindneſs both for him and for the Hebrew nation in general.

David married ſeveral wives, excluſive of thoſe already mentioned, by whom he had nine ſons, whoſe names were Amnon, Ellus, Ebas, Nathan, Solomon, Jebar, Eliel, Phalna, Ennaphen; and one daughter, named Thamar, who was ſiſter, by the ſame mother, to Abſalom; and beſides theſe he had two illegetimate ſons, whoſe names were Jonas and Eliphel.

CHAP. IV.

Various ſignal victories obtained by David over the Philiſtines and their allies. The ark is conducted to Jeruſalem. The preſumption of Uzzah, in touching the ark, is puniſhed with inſtant death. David ſings and dances before it; and is reproached therewith by his wife Michol.

WHEN intelligence was communicated to the Philiſtines that the ſovereignty of David had been recognized by all the tribes, they marched into the country of the Iſraelites, and encamped on a ſpot, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from Jeruſalem, which bears the name of the Valley of the Giants. David, having conſulted the Oracle, as was his conſtant cuſtom before he entered upon any enterprize of importance, and having received a favourable anſwer, immediately marched againſt the enemy, whom he ſurprized in their camp, and routed with a prodigious ſlaughter.

Although this victory was obtained with great facility, and with a very trifling loſs of men on the ſide of the Iſraelites, it muſt not be from thence inferred that the enemy were deficient either in numbers or bravery; they having called to their aid the Syrians, Phœnicians, and ſeveral other warlike nations; their frequent loſſes in former conteſts with the Hebrews having ren-

* Maſius, in his commentary on Joſhua, Chap. X. fully expoſes the futility of this notion; which is, however, as ſtrenuouſly defended by If. Voſſius, in his epiſtle to Colvius, p. 395, 396.

dered them incapable of ſupporting a war without ſuch aſſiſtance. Their martial ſpirit, however, was not depreſſed, for they again appeared in the field, with an army thrice as numerous as that with which they laſt invaded the country of the Hebrews, and encamped on the ſame ſpot on which they had been defeated by that people.

David once more conſulted the Oracle, and was ordered to poſt his army in a certain foreſt, named the Grove of Mourning, and to lie quiet till he ſhould perceive a ſupernatural agitation in the leaves and branches of the trees, without the ſlighteſt breath of air to occaſion it; immediately upon which ſignal he might attack the enemy, with the moſt perfect confidence of ſucceſs. Theſe orders David cloſely obſerved, and the Philiſtines gave way on the firſt onſet, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion as ſoon as the Iſraelites advanced ſo near as to be able to make uſe of their ſwords. The Hebrews continued the purſuit, with great ſlaughter, as far as Gazer, which is ſituated on the frontiers of the country of the Philiſtines; after which they returned to plunder the enemy's camp, where they found an immenſe booty, and alſo the idols of the Philiſtines, which they utterly deſtroyed.

This war being terminated ſo ſpeedily and fortunately for the Iſraelites, David, with the advice of the elders and chief perſons of the ſeveral tribes, determined to march with his whole army, accompanied by the prieſts and Levites, to Kiriath-jearim, for the purpoſe of conducting the ark of God from thence to Jeruſalem; which city was deſtined to be the place at which the people were to aſſemble in future, to offer up their oblations, and to perform all the other offices of their religion; a proper obſervance of which duties would have preſerved Saul from the fatal cataſtrophe which he experienced.

When the neceſſary preparations had been made, the ark was removed from the houſe of Aminadab, by the prieſts and Levites, who placed it on a carriage conſtructed for the purpoſe, and drawn by oxen, and delivered it into the care of their ſons, and the other perſons of their families. David took the lead in the proceſſion, and was followed by a numerous body of the people, dancing and ſinging hymns of praiſe to the Almighty, in which they were accompanied by various performers on the harp, cymbal, and other inſtruments. In this order they proceeded towards Jeruſalem; and, when they arrived at the ſpot which is diſtinguiſhed by the title of the Threſhing-floor of Chidon, or Nachon, the oxen which drew the carriage chancing to ſtumble, Uzzah, who happened to be cloſe to the ark at the time, put forth his hand, to ſave it from falling, and was immediately ſtruck dead by the judicial vengeance of heaven, in conſequence of his preſuming to touch it: a privilege enjoyed ſolely by the prieſts and Levites. The unhappy fate of this man greatly affected both David and the people in general; and the place was, from that day, entitled Perez-Uzzah, or *the Tranſgreſſion of Uzzah*.

The ſeverity of the puniſhment inflicted on Uzzah ſo much alarmed David, that he was apprehenſive leſt a ſimilar fate ſhould attend himſelf, if he perſiſted in his deſign of removing the ark to Jeruſalem: he, therefore, depoſited it in the houſe of Obed-Edom, a Levite of great reputation for the ſanctity

ſanctity of his manners, who lived in the open country, at ſome diſtance from that city, where it remained for the ſpace of three months. During this period, Obed-Edom, whoſe circumſtances had been hitherto much contracted, acquired a degree of wealth, which rendered him at once the envy and admiration of all who knew him. This incident being communicated to David, he no longer entertained any doubts of the propriety of conducting the ark to Jeruſalem; and he, accordingly, gave immediate orders for its removal, which was performed in the following form:

A certain number of the prieſts went firſt, carrying the ark on their ſhoulders, and theſe were accompanied by a band of ſinging men, at the head of whom was the king himſelf, who danced and ſung with the reſt, to the ſound of his harp; and the proceſſion was cloſed by an infinite multitude of the people. Upon the arrival of the ark at Jeruſalem, it was placed in the tabernacle which David had cauſed to be built purpoſely for its reception; and ſo numerous were the oblations offered up in conſequence of this event, that each man, woman and child, who were preſent at the ceremony, received a piece of fleſh and a cake of bread.

When David returned to his palace, he was congratulated by his wife Michol, the daughter of Saul; but, at the ſame time, ſhe could not refrain from reproaching him with an indecency of conduct, in dancing before the ark, in the manner abovementioned, and thus expoſing himſelf to the deriſion of his ſervants and handmaids. But David juſtified the action, as being, he maintained, pleaſing to that Almighty Power, who had preferred him before the king her father, and all the reſt of his countrymen. Michol had no children by David, but by Phalti, whom Saul had compelled her to eſpouſe when David fell under his diſpleaſure, ſhe had five ſons, of whom further mention will be made hereafter.

The uninterrupted felicity which David now enjoyed inſpired him with the deſign of building a ſumptuous temple, for the public worſhip of the Deity; deeming it in a high degree criminal any longer to permit the ark of God to remain in ſo unworthy a building as a tabernacle, at a time when he reſided in a palace conſtructed and ornamented with the utmoſt profuſion of elegance and ſplendor; and to this he was further incited by an ancient prediction of Moſes on that ſubject. Nathan the prophet alſo, to whom the king communicated the reſolution which he had formed, highly approved of the deſign; and encouraged him to execute it with all convenient diſpatch.

But on the following night, the Lord ſpake thus to Nathan: "Inform "David that I approve his propoſal for dedicating a temple to my worſhip; "but that on account of the hoſtilities in which he has been engaged, having rendered him a man of blood, I cannot conſent to the deſign being "carried into effect in his days. Inſtruct him that on the concluſion of a "long reign of felicity, he ſhall charge the execution of this important buſineſs to his ſon Solomon, who ſhall experience from me the tendereſt care "of a father towards an only child. You are further commiſſioned to ſay, "that if Solomon ſhall degenerate into wickedneſs, the land ſhall be viſited "by ſickneſs or famine, but that the government ſhall not be tranſlated to "another family." Nathan immediately repaired to David, and related

this

this meſſage from the Almighty. David proſtrated himſelf before the ark, and worſhipped the Lord. " Almighty God (ſaid he) thou haſt exalted thy ſervant from the ſheep-fold, to the eminence of regal power and dignity. " For all thy benefits and mercies, glorified be thy holy name. I bleſs thee, " O God, for thy providences towards myſelf, thy gracious promiſe to my " poſterity, and for the many protections and deliverances of thy people." Having accompanied this benediction with an hymn to the honor of God, he departed.

CHAP. V.

The Philiſtines, the Moabites, and the Sophenians ſubdued by David.

BEING naturally averſe to a life of inactivity, David determined to commence hoſtilities againſt the Philiſtines; and to proſecute this deſign he was animated by the prediction that having effectually vanquiſhed all his enemies, he ſhould leave the government to his ſucceſſor in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity.

In preparation to the conqueſt he had meditated, he called a general rendezvous of his forces, and when he judged them to be in a proper condition to march, he invaded the country of the enemy, and made ſeizure of very conſiderable tracks of land, which he annexed to the juriſdiction of the Iſraelites. He declared war againſt the Moabites, upon whom he committed a terrible ſlaughter. About one third of the enemy eſcaped the rage of battle, and they were rendered tributaries to David. Near the Euphrates he encountered and obtained a complete victory over Adrazar, the ſon of Arach, who was king of the Sophenians. In this action he deſtroyed twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. He took from the enemy a thouſand chariots, one hundred of which he reſerved, and the reſt he burnt.

CHAP. VI.

David conquers Adad, King of Syria and Damaſcus. His victory over the Idumæans. He makes a generous proviſion for Mephibohſheth, the ſon of his deceaſed friend Jonathan. He declares war againſt the King of the Ammonites, who had treated his ambaſſadors with indignity.

ADAD, the king of Syria and Damaſcus marched a formidable army to the aſſiſtance of his friend and ally Adrazar, expecting thereby to remove the ſeat of war from the country of the Sophenians. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, a general engagement enſued near the Euphrates, wherein twenty thouſand of the troops of Adad were deſtroyed, and the reſt were put to flight. In the fourth book of his hiſtory, Nicolaus mentions this Adad in the following terms: " Adad, a man of ſingular bravery, and a native of the " place, held the government of Damaſcus and Syria, but his juriſdiction " did not extend over Phœnicia. Several encounters took place between " Adad and David the king of the Jews, but, at length, in a battle at Eu-

" phrates, the latter obtained a compleat victory over his antagoniſt, who, " however, diſplayed a degree of intrepidity worthy the character of a great " prince, and the commander of a numerous army." Reſpecting the poſterity of Adad, the ſame author ſays: " The government was tranſmitted from " father to ſon to the tenth generation, and the ſucceſſor conſtantly aſſumed " his father's name, as was the practice with the Ptolomies of Egypt. The " ſecond in the order of ſucceſſion from this Adad, who was the moſt conſpicuous man of the line, being inſpired with a generous zeal to remove " the reproach which his family had incurred through the defeat of his " grandfather by David, made a vigorous attack upon the Iſraelites, and " ravaged and laid waſte Samaria, and the adjacent country." This writer has given a faithful account; for certain it is that Samaria was invaded by the laſt mentioned Adad in the reign of Ahab, king of Iſrael, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more particularly hereafter.

David made conqueſt of Damaſcus and the other parts of Syria, and eſtabliſhed garriſons in ſuch places as he judged to be convenient; and having ſubjected the whole country to contribution, he returned to Jeruſalem, taking with him the golden quivers and other rich trophies obtained in the battle with Adad. He dedicated this ſpoil to the Lord, in gratitude for the victory obtained through the favour of divine providence. At the ſiege of Jeruſalem, the above and other precious articles were made prize of by Syſack king of Egypt, who maintained a war againſt Rehoboam, ſon of Solomon. But the particulars of this matter will be related in the proper place.

David continued to purſue his conqueſts under the evident favour and protection of heaven. He beſieged two of the moſt conſiderable cities in the dominions of Adrazar, which were called Bettea and Machon, and acquired gold and ſilver to an immenſe value, excluſive of a conſiderable quantity of a kind of braſs, held in greater eſtimation even than gold itſelf; and this metal Solomon cauſed to be uſed in forming the beautiful baſons and the extenſive veſſel called the ſea, by which the temple was decorated.

Toi, the king of Hamath, having received intelligence that David had ſubdued the army of Adrazar, he judged it expedient to provide for his own ſafety by connecting himſelf to the victor in a league of amity. He furniſhed his ſon Joram with a variety of magnificent preſents, conſiſting of antique veſſels in gold, ſilver, and braſs, curiouſly wrought, and in the higheſt perfection, and commiſſioned him to congratulate David on his victory over Adrazar, and to propoſe an alliance. David graciouſly received the ambaſſador, accepted the preſents, and gave an honourable aſſurance that he acquieſced in the propoſed alliance. Theſe gifts, and the remaining part of the ſpoil obtained from the enemies he had conquered, he dedicated to the Lord, to whom he attributed the whole honor of his victories. David's ſucceſs was not confined to thoſe undertakings wherein he was perſonally engaged; for the Almighty favoured his cauſe in the enterprizes which were attempted by the officers he deputed, as will appear in the following inſtance: Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, being commiſſioned to lead an army againſt the Idumæans, encountered and cut off eighteen thouſand of the enemy, and

having ſecured the entire ſubmiſſion of the reſt by the eſtabliſhment of a number of garriſons, made them tributaries, and impoſed a tax upon the whole people by the head.

David was a man of ſuch ſtrict integrity in the execution of his judicial character, that in all the appeals ſubmitted to his deciſion he never pronounced a ſentence that was not ſtrictly conſiſtent with the principles of juſtice. He appointed Joab, the ſon of Zeruiah, to be his general, and Joſephat, the ſon of Ahilud, keeper of the records; from the houſe of Phinehas, he ſelected his friends Abiathar and Zadock to be his prieſts; and he nominated Seraiah his ſecretary; his perſonal guard, into which his elder ſons were incorporated, was commanded by Benaiah, the ſon of Jehoiada.

Having regulated and eſtabliſhed his domeſtic concerns, the king directed his attention towards his deceaſed friend Jonathan; enquiring what ſons, friends, and relations he had left, with a view to make them the ſubjects for the exerciſe of his gratitude; for among his virtues was that of remembering paſt benefits, which he ever made it a point of conſcience to acknowledge and requite. A man named Ziba, who had been in the ſervice of Saul, was brought to David as the moſt likely perſon to ſatisfy his enquiries; and from this man he learnt that a ſon of Jonathan, named Mephiboſheth was ſtill living, and that he was lame of one leg, the nurſe having let him fall from her arms upon hearing of the terrible engagement wherein his father and grandfather were ſlain. Upon further enquiry, the king was informed that the ſon of his friend had been brought up by one Machir, of the city of Lodeba, where he ſtill remained. The king immediately ſent for the young man, who being ſoon brought into his preſence, proſtrated himſelf at his feet, and ſhewed him other marks of reverence. David encouraged him with the aſſurance that he might rely upon a continuance of the favour and protection of his ſovereign. He ſoon after gave him poſſeſſion of the eſtates and other effects left by his father and grandfather; receiving him as his particular gueſt, and appointing him to eat at his own table. Mephiboſheth having made grateful acknowledgments to his benefactor, Ziba was called, whom David commiſſioned to ſuperintend the grounds; and at ſtated periods, to deliver the profits to the ſon of Jonathan, who took up his reſidence with the king, and was on all occaſions treated with the reſpect due to a child of the family. The king further ordered that Ziba, his fifteen ſons and twenty others of his family, ſhould be the attendants upon Mephiboſheth. His iſſue was a ſon called Micha.

Nahaſh the king of the Ammonites, the friend and ally of David, died about this time, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Hanum; to whom David diſpatched an ambaſſy to offer condolements in his affliction, and aſſurances of maintaining the league of amity which had ſubſiſted between him and the deceaſed. The principal people among the Ammonites falſely inſinuated to their king that theſe meſſengers, under the pretext of being charged with a compliment of ſtate, had been ſent by David for the purpoſe of examining into the ſtrength and defenſive ſtate of the country; and they adviſed him to act with circumſpection, leſt the opportunity ſhould eſcape of fruſtrating the treacherous deſigns which they pretended to have been meditated by the

king of Iſrael. Hanum being prevailed upon by theſe unmerited calumnies, diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors with one half of their beards and one half of their veſts cut off. In this condition they returned, and having repreſented to David the ignominious treatment they had received, he became highly incenſed againſt Hanum for his contempt of the laws of nations, honor, and hoſpitality, and determined to avenge the groſs inſult which had been offered to him, in the perſons of his ambaſſadors, by an immediate declaration of war. The Ammonites being convinced that their perfidious conduct would not admit of excuſe, prepared to defend themſelves againſt David, who they learnt had formed the reſolution of vindicating himſelf by force of arms. Hanum diſpatched ambaſſadors to Syrus, king of Meſopotamia, with a preſent of a thouſand talents, in order to engage him in an alliance; Syrus conſented, and obtained the aſſiſtance of the king of Zoba, in ſupport of the cauſe of the Ammonites. The joint forces of theſe kings amounted to twenty two thouſand foot. The aſſiſtance of the king of Maachab, and of king Iſhtob was likewiſe purchaſed, and they alſo muſtered twenty two thouſand men equipped for war.

CHAP. VII.

Joab obtains a victory over Hanum and the confederate powers. David defeats the king of Syria, and commits a terrible ſlaughter upon his army. David becomes enamoured of Bathſheba, and, having gratified his paſſion, contrives the death of her huſband. Amnon violates Thamar, and her brother Abſalom meditates his deſtruction.

CONSCIOUS of the ſupport of an all-powerful God in a juſt cauſe, the courage of David ſuffered no diminution on account of the powerful confederacy which was formed againſt him. He intruſted the conduct of the army to Joab, who proceeded on his march, and encamped before the principal city of the enemy, which was called Rabbah. The troops marched out of the town, and the auxiliaries were drawn up in order of battle in the open field, while the Ammonites were ranged under the walls of the town, facing the Hebrew army. Joab made a ſimilar diſpoſition of his army, and giving the command of one body to his brother Abiſhai, with orders to attack the Ammonites, he put himſelf at the head of the other, which was compoſed of choſen men, and prepared to engage Syrus. It being agreed that in caſe of either being hard preſſed by the enemy the other ſhould repair to his aſſiſtance, and Joab having enjoined his brother to an honourable diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him, they proceeded to their reſpective deſtinations. Joab gave battle to Syrus, who for ſome time maintained a courageous defence, but a conſiderable number of his men being cut off, the reſt declined the conteſt and made a retreat. This circumſtance ſtruck the Ammonites with ſuch terror that they retired into the town before Abiſhai approached to offer them battle. Joab now led his army in triumph back to Jeruſalem.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding this ſignal defeat, the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Ammonites ſtill remained unſubdued: and they applied to Chalama, king of the Syrians, who was ſtationed on the other ſide the Euphrates, for an auxiliary force, which he undertook to provide on condition of receiving a ſtipulated price. Chalama appointed Shobac, his lieutenant general, to lead an army of eighty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe to the aſſiſtance of the Ammonites. In conſequence of the formidable reinforcement which the enemy had received, David judged it to be no longer expedient to intruſt the conduct of the war to his deputies; and therefore he aſſumed the command of his whole army, and having paſſed the Jordan, proceeded to an engagement, in which he killed forty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe: Shobach, the general of Chalama, received a wound in the action which cauſed his death. The preſumption of the Meſopotamians being effectually humbled by this event, they ſent ambaſſadors with preſents to David; and with ackowledgments of ſubmiſſion to his power, they were commiſſioned to entreat that he would decline a further proſecution of the war. David now returned to Jeruſalem.

Joab was again diſpatched againſt the Ammonites, whom he obliged to retire into Rabbah, to which place he a ſecond time laid ſiege, and committed great havock in that city and ſeveral other parts of the enemy's country.

Though David was a man of great piety and juſtice, he was not exempt from the frailties of human nature; for he was guilty of an heinous crime, whereby he incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almighty. In the cool of the evening as he was walking on the terras of his palace, he perceived a woman of moſt exquiſite beauty who was bathing. He inſtantly conceived a moſt violent paſſion for her, and cauſed her to be brought to his bed. She became pregnant, and repreſenting to the king that if her fault ſhould be diſcovered, the laws of her country would condemn her to death, ſupplicated him to devize ſome means for keeping the affair profoundly ſecret. Uriah, Joab's armour bearer, and the huſband of this woman, who was named Bathſheba, was ordered into the preſence of the king, who queſtioned him concerning the ſtate of the army and the progreſs of the ſiege. He replied that things were in the moſt favourable train for ſucceſs. David invited him to ſupper, and after the repaſt, bad him repair to his habitation and repoſe that night with his wife. Uriah remained among the guards in the palace; and when this was known to the king, he aſked him on what account he had neglected the opportunity of viſiting his wife after ſo long an abſence. Uriah anſwered, that he judged it not conſiſtent with the honor of a ſoldier to indulge himſelf in the embraces of his wife at a time when his general and fellow ſoldiers lay on the earth in the open country of an enemy. The king commanded him to remain another night, ſaying he ſhould return to the camp on the following day. He was again called to ſupper with David, and he plied him with liquors in expectation that in the gaiety of his heart he would go to Bathſheba, but he was diſappointed, for Uriah ſpent this night as he had done the preceeding one, among the guards. This proved ſo highly aggravating to the king, that he wrote to Joab, informing him, that being juſtly incenſed againſt Uriah, he was determined to puniſh him according to his

his merits: this letter further expreſſed that to prevent any reproach falling upon David, Joab ſhould appoint Uriah to undertake ſome deſperate enterprize, and that his companions ſhould be inſtructed to deſert him to the mercy of the enemy. David having written this letter, and ſealed it with the royal ſeal, committed it to the care of Uriah, to be delivered to Joab, who having received it, obeyed the royal mandate by ordering Uriah to undertake a moſt dangerous expedition; but, to put a face of plauſibility on the matter, commiſſioned ſeveral men of acknowledged bravery to ſecond him; and told him that, if any difficulty aroſe as to his entrance into the town, he ſhould be ſupported by the whole army. Joab likewiſe recommended it to him, to ſupport the character he already held in the opinion both of the king and the army, by every poſſible exertion of his military courage. Uriah accepted the commiſſion with great readineſs; but Joab gave private orders to thoſe who attended him, to deſert him when they found that he was ſurrounded with the utmoſt difficulties. As the Hebrews preſſed hard upon the wall, the Ammonites were apprehenſive that they would enter the town by force; on which they threw open their gates, and ruſhed out in great numbers; which ſerved as a hint to thoſe who attended Uriah, that this was the preciſe moment to obey the orders of Joab, by deſerting him. Thus, then, they left him at the mercy of his enemies, againſt whom he fought with aſtoniſhing reſolution, and did wonders with his ſingle arm againſt an oppoſing multitude; but after being wounded in ſeveral places, he fell breathleſs on the ground; and with him fell a ſmall number of his friends, who had not been informed of the plot laid againſt him.

As ſoon as the conteſt was ended Joab ſent an expreſs to David, acquainting him that, to put a ſpeedy end to the ſiege, he had made an aſſault on the town, but had been compelled to retreat to the camp, with the loſs of ſeveral of his men. Joab gave private inſtructions to the perſon who carried this expreſs, that if David appeared affected with his information, he might add that Uriah was among the ſlain.

The meſſenger, on his arrival, told the ſtory to David; who cenſured the raſhneſs of Joab in expoſing his men againſt bare walls, rather than having recourſe to mines and engines. "The fate (ſaid he) of Abimelech, the ſon "of Gideon, might have been a warning to Joab. Abimelech loſt his life "at Thebes, by an old woman caſting a ſtone from the battlements on his "head. He was, in other reſpects, a gallant man; but his raſhneſs was "the cauſe of his deſtruction: in matters of war, prudence is as valuable as "courage, and thoſe who recommend caution are the beſt counſellors. Ex"perience and the knowledge of hiſtory are found ſerviceable in the conduct "of war; and leaders ought to determine how to act, by a recollection "of what has been ſucceſsful, or otherwiſe, in former ſimilar circum"ſtances."

David having thus expreſſed his diſapprobation of the conduct of Joab, the meſſenger mentioned, as a caſual circumſtance, the death of Uriah; on which the king obſerved, that it was but an effect of the common chance of war, and that ſoldiers muſt be alike prepared to meet every change of circumſtances.

cumſtances. "Acquaint Joab (cried he) with what I ſay; but tell him alſo "that I wiſh him to prefer the uſe of machines, or the throwing up of "works, to any other mode of proceeding: but, upon the whole, inform "him it is my pleaſure that he ſhould level the city with the ground, and "that the ſword ſhould deſtroy all its inhabitants without diſtinction."—The meſſenger returned to Joab immediately on receiving theſe inſtructions.

The intelligence received of Uriah's death occaſioned Bathſheba to ſhut herſelf up for ſome time, while ſhe paid the tribute of mourning to his memory; but no ſooner was the ſeaſon of ſorrow at an end, than David eſpouſed her, and ſhe ſoon afterwards made him the mother of a ſon. So contrary was this match to the will of heaven, that Nathan the prophet was informed, in a dream, of the diſpleaſure of God on the occaſion, and commiſſioned to reprimand David for his crime. Nathan, who poſſeſſed great knowledge of mankind, conſidering how little regard princes paid to the admonition of reaſon, particularly while they were under the influence of their paſſions, inſtead of directly informing David of what he had learnt in the viſion, introduced his inſtructions by way of narrative, as will be ſeen in the following recital.

"Two men (ſaid he) dwelt in the ſame city, one of whom was diſtinguiſh-"ed by his affluence, having plenty of oxen, ſheep, and all other kinds of "cattle. The other was a very poor man, poſſeſſed of only one ſingle "lamb, which he reared and fed with his children, and loved it as tenderly "as if it had been his own child. It happened that the rich man had a vi-"ſitor came to ſee him, whom he could not do leſs than entertain in an hoſ-"pitable manner; but rather than furniſh his table from his own abundant "ſtore, he cauſed the poor man to be robbed of his only lamb, to furniſh a "ſupper for the viſitor."—"Wretch that he is (cried the king) to be guilty "of ſo inhoſpitable an action; he ought to make fourfold reſtitution to the "injured party, and forfeit his life as a farther atonement;"—On which Nathan inſtantly ſaid "Thou art the man, and ſtandeſt condemned from the "words of thy own mouth."—After this declaration the prophet related the particulars of his viſion, ſaying how highly God was offended with the conduct of David: reminded him of his ingratitude to that providence which had advanced him to the throne, ſubjected the ſurrounding nations to his command, and repeatedly delivered him from the hands of Saul. "And "now (ſaid Nathan) ſhall you, who have a number of legal wives, compel "in defiance of all laws divine and human, the wife of another man to co-"habit with you, and then betray the huſband to certain death from the "hands of the enemy! What, after ſuch conduct, can you expect, but that "the vengeance of Heaven ſhould overtake you?"—Nathan farther ſaid that David ſhould live to know that one of his ſons had committed a rape on his women, and ſhould find that ſon brought to condign puniſhment. The prophet moreover added that this child by Bathſheba ſhould die in a ſhort time. The terrors of theſe words affected David to ſuch a degree that he trembled with apprehenſion, and confeſſed his ſins with tears expreſſive of his contrition. In conſideration of the good tenor of his life, and that except in this caſe of Uriah, he had acted as a righteous man, God took com-

paſſion upon him, and accepted his repentance, promiſing, by his prophet, the continued poſſeſſion of his life and kingdom.

The prophecy of Nathan having been thus delivered, he took his leave of the king; but he had not been long departed, when the child of Bathſheba, by David, was ſmote with a ſevere illneſs, which afflicted David to ſuch a degree, that he retired to his chamber, and remained there ſeven days, refuſing all kinds of food, laying on the ground wrapped in ſackcloth, and praying inceſſantly for the life of that child to whoſe mother he was ſo much attached. The child died on the ſeventh day; but ſtill the family avoided acquainting the king with it, as they conceived that he whoſe grief was ſo exceſſive, as to induce him to refuſe the common neceſſaries of life only on account of the child's illneſs, would not hear with any kind of patience the news of his death.

The looks of the domeſtics ſufficiently apprized David that ſomething unuſual had happened, of which they were afraid to give him intelligence; and attributing the matter to its true cauſe, he acquainted one of the ſervants with his ſuſpicions, who owned that the child was dead. Hereupon David aroſe from the ground, waſhed himſelf, put on clean garments, and having ordered his ſervants to provide ſupper againſt his return, went to the tabernacle to worſhip God. A conduct ſo extraordinary and unexpected filled the relations and domeſtics of David with aſtoniſhment: they thought it ſtrange that he ſhould ſo calmly reſign to the death of the child, when his dangerous illneſs only had given riſe to ſo extravagant and ungovernable a degree of grief. Curioſity prompting them to know the real cauſe of this alteration in David's conduct, they hinted their wiſhes to him, and he replied, that "While the "child was living, and there were yet hopes of his recovery, he was un-"wearied in prayer to God to ſpare his life; but when he was abſolutely "dead, it would have been equally fooliſh and preſumptuous to weary "heaven any longer with his prayers; or to grieve for an irrevocable "event." Theſe ſentiments of David were generally approved by all who heard them. Some time after this Bathſheba had a ſon by David, to whom he gave the name of Solomon, in conſequence of the advice of the prophet Nathan.

The Ammonites were by this time extremely diſtreſſed by Joab, who had prevented their receiving ſupplies of proviſions, and cut off all their water except one ſmall ſpring, which they were obliged to uſe very ſparingly, leaſt that alſo ſhould fail them; ſo that they were on the verge of periſhing through hunger and thirſt. At this juncture Joab diſpatched to David a minute account of the ſituation of affairs, requeſting his perſonal attendance at the deſtruction of the city, as at an event that would be worthy to be recorded among the other diſtinguiſhed actions of the king's life. No ſooner had David received Joab's diſpatches, than, convinced of his zeal and loyalty, he aſſembled his army, and marched at the head thereof to the aſſault of Rabbah, which being taken by ſtorm, the king allowed his troops all the plunder, which was of immenſe value, excepting a crown of gold weighing a talent, on which was a ſardonyx ſtone, which was afterwards conſtantly worn by David. The inhabitants of Rabbah were put to death with circumſtances

of

of great torture; and all the other rebellious Ammonite cities ſhared the ſame fate.

Soon after the iſſue of this diſtinguiſhed victory, its glory was tarniſhed by a moſt unfortunate circumſtance. David had a maiden daughter, named Thamar, who was deemed, beyond all compariſon, the greateſt beauty of the age in which ſhe lived; and ſhe was born of the ſame mother as Abſalom. With this daughter, Amnon, the eldeſt ſon of David, fell violently in love; but as ſhe was ſtrictly guarded, and was poſſeſſed of an innate modeſty, he ſaw no proſpect of ſucceſs in addreſſing her, and pined away through exceſs of grief. This change in Amnon, which daily encreaſed to an alarming degree, being obſerved by Jonathan who was his friend and relation, and a perſon of uncommon ſagacity and penetration, he aſked him the cauſe of his indiſpoſition, and particularly queſtioned him if love was not at the bottom of it; which Jonathan really imagined to be the caſe. To this Amnon replied, that he was enamoured of his own ſiſter; on which, Jonathan gave him a hint how he might gratify his wiſhes. "Feign your-"ſelf ſick (ſaid he) and when David pays you a viſit, tell him that you wiſh "for the company of your ſiſter, whoſe kind attendance you think will "tend greatly to the reſtoration of your health." This advice was followed by Amnon, who, on ſeeing David, requeſted his ſiſter's company. This being granted, he begged her to make him ſome cakes; which ſhe made, and baked in his preſence, and preſented them to him; but he refuſed to touch them, and directed the ſervants to leave the apartment, ſaying that he wiſhed to compoſe himſelf. They were no ſooner gone than he begged his ſiſter to carry the cakes into a private room, which ſhe complied with; and he following her, made uſe of every poſſible argument to induce her to gratify his unnatural paſſion. The harmleſs maiden expoſtulated with him, called out for aſſiſtance, and entreated him not to think of ſacrificing the honour of his family of ſuch an extravagant luſt. "Let me be gone, (cried ſhe) for God's "ſake, and learn to regulate your deſires by the dictates of honour, reli-"gion and law: or think how you may obtain your father's conſent, nor "ſeek to gratify your paſſion by violent means." All her entreaties, however, were in vain; his paſſion made him deaf to the voice of reaſon, and notwithſtanding all her endeavours to the contrary, he forcibly violated her perſon.

The paſſion of Amnon was no ſooner gratified, than the violent love he appeared to have had for his ſiſter was changed into as violent a degree of hatred, and in a moſt imperious tone, he commanded her to quit his apartments. Shocked at this treatment, ſhe aſked if, after having been thus injured, ſhe was to be expoſed to the public, and diſmiſſed, by day-light, to tell the world how ſhe had been inſulted. "This treatment (ſaid ſhe) even "aggravates, if any thing can aggravate the horror of the crime of which "you have been guilty; for in the former inſtance at leaſt, the prevalence "of an ungovernable paſſion might be pleaded." All her remonſtrances, and even her ſtruggles were fruitleſs; for Amnon ordered his ſervants to turn her out of the houſe; and they complied. As ſhe went through the ſtreets, with her veſt torn, and aſhes on her head, lamenting the ill uſage ſhe had received,

ceived, ſhe was met by her brother Abſalom, who, ſurprized at the ſingularity of her appearance, demanded what had happened to her; on which ſhe related the particulars of the ſhocking ill uſage ſhe had received. By way of conſolation, Abſalom ſaid that ſhe was not ſo blameable, as the crime was perpetrated by her own brother; and Thamar becoming thereon ſomewhat pacified, went with Abſalom to his houſe, and reſided with him a conſiderable time.

When David was acquainted with this affair, he was afflicted beyond expreſſion; but as Amnon was his eldeſt and moſt beloved ſon, he declined to puniſh him as the crime deſerved. In the mean time Abſalom waited for a proper opportunity to be revenged on Amnon; and after the expiration of two years from the rape of Thamar, he invited his father and brothers to attend at a ſheep-ſhearing at Baal-Hazor, a city in the tribe of Benjamin. David urged the trouble and extraordinary expence, as a reaſon for his non-attendance; on which Abſalom requeſted that his brothers only might come; to which David conſenting, Abſalom iſſued orders to his ſervants to attack and kill Amnon when he was in liquor, on a ſignal to be given by their maſter.

CHAP. VIII.

The brothers are terrified at the death of Amnon. Abſalom retreats to Geſhur, Joab obtains permiſſion for his return; and, after a while, to wait on David, whoſe leave he procures to go and pay a vow at Hebron, where he gets himſelf proclaimed king, and is joined by Achitophel. David retires from Jeruſalem. Abſalom, by the advice of Achitophel, is guilty of a heinous offence.

THE ſervants of Abſalom, watching the proper opportunity, executed the orders of their maſter. This outrage on the life of Amnon affected the reſt of the brothers to ſuch a degree, that, conceiving the plot to be intended equally againſt them all, they mounted their horſes, and haſtened away to their father. In the interim a meſſenger arrived, and informed David that Abſalom had cauſed all his brothers to be ſlain. This afflictive news had ſuch an influence on the mind of David, that, without waiting for a confirmation of it, or reflecting on its incredibility, he abandoned himſelf to the extremity of grief, tore his garments, and proſtrating himſelf on the ground, lamented equally the horrid crime of the murderer, and the unhappy fate of the deceaſed.

When this news arrived, Jonathan the ſon of Shimei, the brother of David, being with him, adviſed him to have patience, till he had conſidered the improbability of the circumſtance, and received farther information: "For (ſaid he) as there is not the ſhadow of reaſon why all "your ſons ſhould be ſlain, I cannot give credit to the ſtory: with regard to "Amnon, indeed it is not improbable but Abſalom may have taken this op-"portunity to wreak his vengeance on him, for the inſult offered to his ſiſter." During their converſation they heard the feet of horſes, and the noiſe of people as juſt come off a journey; and, on enquiry, they found that the ſons of

David, who had eſcaped from the houſe of Abſalom, were juſt then arrived.

This meeting between David and his children was very affecting, and mutual tears flowed in abundance. The father wept at once with joy at the ſight of thoſe ſons whom he ſuppoſed to be no longer living, and through grief at the recollection of him whom he knew to be dead: while the ſons lamented the murder of their brother, but were conſoled at the thought of returning ſafe to their father; ſo that the whole ſcene was wonderfully pathetic. In the interim Abſalom departed to Geſhur, where he remained about three years with his grandfather by the mother's ſide, who was a man of conſiderable rank and influence.

By the expiration of this time the anger of David towards his ſon Abſalom was in great meaſure ſubſided, and he became diſpoſed to recal him to his favour and friendſhip; and this diſpoſition of the king being obſerved by Joab, the friend of Abſalom, who was continually with David, he conſidered how to improve it to the advantage of his friend. To effect his purpoſe he had recourſe to an ancient and venerable woman, whom he cauſed to be cloathed in deep mourning, and inſtructed her to lay her caſe before the king, which ſhe repreſented, by way of petition, in the following manner; viz. That two of her ſons, who reſided in the country, having had an unfortunate quarrel, which grew to that height that they came to blows, one of them was unhappily killed in the conteſt: whereupon ſome of the friends of the deceaſed demanded juſtice to be done on the murderer. Wherefore ſhe ſolicited the king to ſpare the life of her ſon, who, notwithſtanding his offence, was the only comfort of her old age. She added, that her ſon's enemies were ſo determined in their malice, that nothing could protect him but the interference of the royal authority; and that ſhe had no hope of relief but in the mercy of her ſovereign. Having acted her part with great ſkill, the king was induced to comply with her requeſt: upon which, having made many acknowledgements of his conſiderate goodneſs to a mother who ſolicited the life of an only child, ſhe yet beſought his majeſty to grant one farther favour, as a proof that ſhe ſhould not fail to reap the benefit of the royal promiſe; and this was, that he would let the pardon of her child be preceded by that of his own ſon Abſalom: for by extending his compaſſion to him, there could remain no doubt but the intended mercy would be ratified in the caſe of her own child. She added, that as his majeſty had already the misfortune to have loſt one ſon, it would be very inhuman for himſelf to be the deſtruction of another.

David now began to conjecture that this application of the woman's was in conſequence of the advice of Joab, and interrogating her on the ſubject, he found it to be as he ſuſpected; wherefore calling Joab to him, he acquainted him that his device had ſucceeded, that his anger againſt Abſalom had ſubſided, that he freely pardoned him, and that Joab might recal him whenever he thought proper. This was joyful news to Joab, who having made the moſt grateful acknowledgements to his ſovereign, repaired inſtantly to Geſhur, and brought back his friend Abſalom to Jeruſalem. When the king was informed of the return of his ſon, he ſent a meſſage to him, importing

porting that he muſt abſtain from appearing before him for the preſent, for that he could not yet be reconciled to the ſight of him; whereupon Abſalom remained within the walls of his own houſe, that he might by no means come into the preſence of the king. The trouble and anxiety he had for ſome time paſt encountered, together with the manner of his living, had been rather incompatible with his rank as the ſon of David; yet the ſingular manlineſs and grace of his perſon was not in the leaſt diminiſhed, ſo that he was deemed the wonder of his age. Once in eight months he uſed to cut his hair, and in that ſhort ſpace of time it would grow to the weight of two hundred ſhekels, which are equal to five pounds.

He lived in Jeruſalem, in the private manner abovementioned, about two years, and by this time had become father of four children, viz. three ſons, and a daughter, the latter of whom was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by her beauty, and was afterwards the wife of Rehoboam, the ſon of Solomon, by whom ſhe had a ſon called Abia. As Abſalom grew uneaſy from his mode of living, he ſent to his friend Joab, to obtain permiſſion for him to wait on his father, in hopes that a perfect reconciliation might be the conſequence of an interview. Having in vain expected an anſwer for ſome time, he diſpatched ſome of his ſervants into a field belonging to Joab, to burn his corn on the ground, as it was growing. This coming to the knowledge of Joab, he went to Abſalom, complained of the injury, and demanded the reaſon of ſuch proceeding; to which the latter replied, that he had no other way of obtaining ſight of him; that he had written to requeſt his interceſſion with his father, but that he had done nothing in the buſineſs: and added a wiſh that he would endeavour to pacify the king; "for (ſaid he) if he ſtill "continues inflexible, baniſhment itſelf would be preferable to my preſent "condition." This addreſs affected Joab ſo much, that he made immediate application to David, and was ſo ſucceſsful in his ſuit, that the king gave orders for his ſon to be admitted to his preſence. This favour being obtained, Abſalom threw himſelf at the feet of his father, and humbly ſued for pardon of all his paſt offences: on which David extended his right hand, raiſed him up, and gave him the moſt ſolemn aſſurance that all former crimes ſhould be buried in everlaſting oblivion.

Within a ſhort time Abſalom became ſo much ingratiated in the favour and affection of the king, that he was permitted to keep a ſplendid equipage, to retain fifty men as his body guard, and to have a great number of ſervants and dependants, beſides chariots and horſes in proportion. He was conſtantly one of the moſt officious in perſonal attendance on the king, yet at the ſame time ever ready to beſpeak, by the moſt plauſible behaviour, the affections of the people. When any perſon who had a cauſe in litigation came to ſue for juſtice, he would treat him in the moſt familiar manner, demanding his name, country, buſineſs, &c. and aſk if he could be perſonally ſerviceable. On the application of ſuch as appeared diſcontented at the paſſing of a hard ſentence, or when verdicts had gone againſt them, he uſed to obſerve that "bad men were about the king; that his majeſty was ſometimes miſtaken as well as other people; and hinted that if himſelf had been in the place of others, things would not have happened as they had done:" he

he would then wiſh the perſons who applied great ſucceſs, and, in the moſt artful way imaginable, endeavour to ripen their ſentiments to the promotion of the ſcheme he had in view.

By theſe inſidious methods he ſoon gained over a large party to his intereſt, and, in the fourth year from the reconcilement to his father, thinking his plan then ripe for execution, he aſked permiſſion to repair to Hebron, there to fulfil a vow which he had made during his baniſhment. David readily granting his requeſt, he invited a great number of people to attend him, and was followed by many others; among whom was Achitophel, the Gilonite, the king's principal miniſter, who was attended by two hundred inhabitants of Jeruſalem: but neither theſe nor Achitophel knew of the intended deſign, which was to proclaim Abſalom king, which was ſoon afterwards done, by the common conſent of the people.

Information of this atrocious act being brought to David, he ſtood aſtoniſhed at the inſolence and ingratitude of his ſon, who after having obtained the royal pardon and being taken into favour, could ſo ſoon embark in ſo rebellious a plot; for it ſeems that the ſcheme was, not only to ſeize on the kingdom, which was the gift of God to David, but to attempt his life alſo. In this perplexing ſituation the king deliberated with his friends on the ſteps moſt proper to be taken; and it was agreed that he ſhould go over the river Jordan, to ſome place of greater ſecurity, committing to ten of his concubines the care of the royal palace. Having reſolved, then, to leave the event of this affair to the Almighty, he ſet out on his journey, attended by immenſe numbers of people, who voluntarily embarked in the cauſe of their ſovereign, particularly his ſix hundred friends, who had heretofore ſo faithfully attached themſelves to him when he was perſecuted by Saul. Abiathar and Zadock the high-prieſts, together with the Levites, would gladly have taken the ark with them, and attended David; but he adviſed them not to think of removing, and enforced his requeſt by obſerving that the preſence of the holy ark would not be neceſſary for his protection, as he ſhould be immediately under that of heaven. His laſt advice was that they would deviſe ſome private method of informing him, from time to time, of ſuch news as it might import him to be acquainted with: and theſe inſtructions were afterwards admirably obeyed by the good conduct of Jonathan the ſon of Abiathar, and Ahimaaz the ſon of Zadock. With regard to Ittai the Gittite, though adviſed to the contrary, he inſiſted on a perſonal attendance on his ſovereign, whom he accordingly attended.

As David, ſurrounded by the weeping multitude, was walking barefooted up mount Olivet, a perſon arrived expreſs with information that Achitophel had deſerted his duty, and taken part with the rebellious Abſalom: which new ſo ſhocked the king, that he beſought the Almighty to deprive him of his ſenſes. Achitophel was a man of ſo great penetration and ſubtilty, that there was nothing David dreaded ſo much as the pernicious effects of his counſels.

David had no ſooner reached the ſummit of the mountain, than he caſt his eyes on the city, and wept while he lamented the loſs of his government: on this ſpot he met with the loyal and friendly Huſhai, who, with his cloaths

torn, and ſtrewing aſhes on his head, was regretting the uncertainty of all ſublunary enjoyments. David encouraged him to bear up under the misfortune with reſolution; and earneſtly adviſed him to return to Jeruſalem, where he might be of eſſential ſervice, by pretending to ſide with the friends of Abſalom, which would give him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the counſels, and perplexing the ſchemes of Achitophel. Huſhai, convinced by theſe reaſons, went back to Jeruſalem, to which place Abſalom likewiſe ſoon after repaired.

In the interim David continuing his journey, was met by Ziba, a ſervant to Mephibоſheth, to whom the king had committed the management of an eſtate which he had given to the ſon of his friend Jonathan. Ziba, who was driving a couple of aſſes, complimented David and his attendants with their choice of any part of the burden of his beaſts. Ziba being aſked where his maſter was, replied, that he was at Jeruſalem, entertaining hopes that, in honor of the memory of Saul, the people might be induced to take advantage of the preſent diſturbances, to elect him their ſovereign. David was ſo enraged at this inſtance of ingratitude, that he reſumed the eſtate abovementioned, which he committed to the care of Ziba, who deemed himſelf highly gratified by the truſt.

When David, in the courſe of his journey, arrived near Bahurim, Shimei, the ſon of Gera (a relation of Saul) advancing towards him, threw ſtones at and curſed him; and abuſed him the more violently, the more his friends took the part of their ſovereign. Shimei attributed all the public calamities to David, whom, with moſt opprobrious language, he directed to quit the country; thanking God that his own ſon had retaliated upon him the inſults which David had heretofore offered to his father. All the company preſent were ſhocked at this behaviour, and he would certainly have fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of Abiſhai, but for the interpoſition of David, who adviſed him to reſtrain his paſſion, and not ſeek to encreaſe the preſent calamities. "Things are already (ſaid he) bad enough, do not make them worſe. The "inſults of this wretch I regard but as the noiſe of a mad dog, which God "has permitted to attack me; and I ſubmit to the Divine Will. The in-"ſults of Shimei ought not to ſurprize you, when you ſee in how ungrateful "a manner I am treated by my own ſon. But God is all-gracious, and I truſt "in his mercy for conqueſt over all our enemies, and final deliverance from "every oppreſſion: let us therefore put our confidence in him, and purſue "our journey in full reliance on his protection." Having ſaid this, David proceeded ſlowly on one ſide of the mountain, while Shimei went on the other ſide, curſing him as he advanced. At length David and his followers arrived on the bank of the river, where they halted to take refreſhment after their tedious march, the troops being muſtered on the occaſion.

About this time Abſalom and Achitophel arrived at Jeruſalem, where prodigious crouds of people received them with every demonſtration of joy; nor did Huſhai fail to make one of the number, to cry "God ſave the king," and to wiſh that his reign might be long and proſperous. Abſalom, ſtruck by this circumſtance, demanded how it happened that the zealous Huſhai

ſhould deſert his king, and attach himſelf to the intereſt of another; to which Huſhai artfully replied, that the will of God, and the approbation of the people were not to be reſiſted: "While theſe are on your ſide (ſaid he) my "attachment may be depended on: your kingdom is the gift of heaven; "and if I may be deemed worthy of your confidence, I will convince you "that my zeal for your ſervice is not leſs ardent than it formerly was for that "of your father. It would be unreaſonable for a man to complain of his ſi- "tuation, while we are governed by the ſon of our former king, and the "line of royalty is unbroken." This ſpeech lulled all ſuſpicion that Abſalom might have entertained of Huſhai.

Achitophel was now conſulted what was proper to be done in the preſent poſture of affairs; and his advice was that Abſalom ſhould lay with all David's concubines; and he enforced his advice by ſaying that when matters were thus advanced beyond a poſſibility of reconcilement, the people would infer that the ſtate was more ſecure. "In the preſent ſtate of things (added "he) they may think a reconciliation may be effected, in which caſe their "ſafety would be endangered by declaring in your favour." This advice was followed; and a tent being erected in the palace for the occaſion, Abſalom in the view of the people, lay with the king's concubines. Thus the prophecy of Nathan, reſpecting what would befall David, was fulfilled.

CHAP. IX.

Achitophel adviſes the deſtruction of David; but this advice is oppoſed, and overruled by Huſhai. Achitophel hangs himſelf in his own houſe. Amaſa being created general by Abſalom, engages David in battle, and is routed. Abſalom found hanging on the bough of a tree, by the hair of his head. Joab ſtrikes Abſalom, with his javelin, through the heart.

ACHITOPHEL's late advice had no ſooner been carried into execution, than conſultations were held how to proſecute a war; when he ſaid that if he might be entruſted with the command of ten thouſand ſelect men, he would bring the head of David, or be content to forfeit his own: adding, that the loſs of David's life would ſecure the government to Abſalom, and ſafety to the public. This propoſal appeared highly agreeable to Abſalom; but before he came to a reſolution he thought it prudent to take the advice of Huſhai, whoſe opinion being demanded, he gave it to the following purport: "It is unneceſſary for me to remind you, Sir, of the ac- "knowledged valour of your father, and of the numbers of brave men "in his ſervice, in conjunction with whom he hath always been victorious. "You are equally well acquainted with his courage and his ſkill. Our ad- "vances will undoubtedly be announced to him; and 'tis probable that his "troops will wait to engage us, in ſome wood, valley, or behind a rock; or "ſhould we advance to attack them, they would probably retreat by de- "grees till we are ſurrounded, and the whole body fall upon us at once. I "would wiſh you, Sir, to conſider, that in an emergency, ſuch as I ſpeak of, "whether the encouragement given to the enemy, joined to the conſter-

"nation

" nation into which we ſhould be thrown, would not create a confuſion very " diſavourable to your army. You will now, Sir, pleaſe to conſider whe- " ther my advice or that of Achitophel is moſt proper to be purſued. But " having preceded thus far, let me inform you what I think, in our preſent " ſituation, would be the moſt rational mode of acting. Give orders that the " whole body of the Hebrews aſſemble, at a fixed time and place, to wage " war with David; and when they are come together do you aſſume the com- " mand of them all, without delegating your authority to any other per- " ſon. This being done, David muſt either retire to the walled towns, " ſtrong holds, or other ſecure places, or take the open field: in the latter " caſe, your numbers will be ſufficient to deſtroy him, and among them will " be a multitude whoſe pride and ambition will ſtimulate them to appear " foremoſt in the ſervice of their prince and country. Thus the ruin of " David, will be certain: but, if he ſhould act only the defenſive part, and " ſeek ſecurity by ſecreting himſelf: there are many ways of reducing him " to ſubmiſſion, ſuch as ſtarving, mining, or battering." Huſhai had no ſooner delivered his opinion, than it was determined to follow his advice, in preference to that of Achitophel; and even Abſalom voted in favour of this reſolution; but it ought to be remembered that the hand of Providence guided this event.

This determination was no ſooner made than Huſhai haſtened to Abiathar and Zadock, the high-prieſts, with an account of the reſult of the conference; entreating them to ſend away inſtantly an expreſs to David, conjuring him to paſs over the river Jordan that night; for that his enemies might attack him in his preſent ſituation, if they ſhould learn where he was, or if any alteration ſhould happen in their ſentiments.

To forward any intelligence of this kind, the high-prieſts had procured lodgings for their ſons without the city, and had a truſty maid-ſervant to carry the diſpatches to them; and no ſooner was the information received, than the young men haſtened to obey their orders: but they had not proceeded a quarter of a mile on their journey, before they were diſcovered by ſome horſemen; and Abſalom, being ſoon apprized of the circumſtance, gave orders for apprehending them. The young men having learnt the danger they were in, quitted the high-road, and went towards Bahurim, a little village not far from Jeruſalem, where a woman undertook to hide them, which ſhe effected by putting them down into a well, over which ſhe threw the ſkins of ſome beaſts. They were but juſt got ſafe into this retreat, when ſome men came after them, and enquired if ſhe had not ſeen ſuch people. She confeſſed that two men anſwering the deſcription had drank at her gate, and were gone forward; nor could there be any doubt of overtaking them in a ſhort time. This did not ſatisfy the purſuers, who ſought for them a long time in vain, and then returned to Jeruſalem. When the woman was certain they were at a proper diſtance, ſhe releaſed the young men from the well, who immediately purſued their journey, and informed David of the proceedings of Abſalom. Though their arrival was late, David managed ſo as to get his people acroſs the river before morning.

Achitophel

Achitophel was ſo much chagrined that Huſhai's advice had been preferred to his, that he got upon his aſs, and retired to his houſe at Galmon, and, aſſembling his family, acquainted them what counſel he had given to Abſalom, who had rejected it; adding, that the rejection of this advice would ſoon prove ruinous to him, for that David would conquer him, and recover the ſovereign authority: "And now (ſaid he) it is leſs diſgraceful for me to "meet death while I can boaſt my freedom, than to wait the re-eſtabliſhment "of the king, when I ſhall be ſacrificed by the father for the ſervices I have "done the ſon." He had no ſooner thus expreſſed himſelf, than he retired to a private room, and hanged himſelf, from a conſciouſneſs of his own demerits; and he was buried by his relations.

David had now paſſed the river Jordan, and arrived at Mahanaim, one of the moſt capital cities in that part of the country; when Siphar, a prince of Ammon, Barzillai and Machir, two of the chief inhabitants of Gilead, treated him with the utmoſt liberality and affection, as did alſo all the principal perſons of that diſtrict; not only in his preſent diſtreſſed circumſtances, but from the recollection of his former rank and dignity. Such was the kind affection of theſe people, that David and his retinue were amply ſupplied with meat, bread, wine, lodging, and every other article that could contribute either to their ſupport or accommodation.

During theſe tranſactions, Abſalom having aſſembled a large army to oppoſe David, croſſed the river Jordan, and encamped near Mahanaim, a town of Gilead. Of this army Amaſa was appointed general, in the room of Joab: now Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, and Abigail, the mother of Amaſa, were both the ſiſters of David.

On a review of the army, David found himſelf able to muſter only four thouſand men; yet with this ſmall number he determined rather to act offenſively, than to wait till he ſhould be attacked by Abſalom: he therefore ſeparated his army into three diviſions, and appointed proper officers to each; giving the firſt diviſion to Joab, the ſecond to Abiſhai, and the third to Ittai, the Gittite. The king would willingly have been preſent with the army; but in this he was oppoſed by his adherents, who urged, that if they ſhould be vanquiſhed while he was in the field, their whole plan would be fruſtrated, and the conteſt at an end; whereas, on the contrary, if one of the diviſions ſhould be routed, the reſt might retreat to him, and ſome mode might be adopted to recruit the army: and, excluſive of this conſideration, the king's abſence from the field might induce the enemy to think that he had another army which had not made its appearance. By theſe arguments David was influenced to remain at Mahanaim: but he bound his adherents, by every ſacred tie, to diſcharge their duty manfully; requeſting that if Providence ſhould decree the victory in their favour, they would ſpare the life of his ſon Abſalom; for, in caſe of his death, his own life would become of no value. Having expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe, he diſmiſſed his friends, with all good wiſhes and prayers for their ſucceſs.

Abſalom no ſooner remarked the diſpoſition of Joab's diviſion, which was on a plain, with a wood behind them, than he oppoſed his own troops to them in a ſimilar ſituation. As ſoon as the two armies engaged, equal va-

lour appeared to inſpire either party; the one anxious to recover David's loſs, the other no leſs ſo to ſupport Abſalom in his unjuſtly uſurped authority: the adherents of David were determined to do and ſuffer every thing, to puniſh the guilty ſon for his rebellion againſt his father. For a conſiderable time Abſalom's people fought moſt courageouſly, aſhamed of being vanquiſhed by the few forces of David; while, on the other hand, the royal party had in view the honour of putting ſo many ſuperior thouſands to the rout. At length, however, the veterans of David, with a bravery that diſdained all oppoſition, broke the enemy's ranks, totally routed them, and purſued the flying diviſions through woods, over mountains and precipices, or wherever they ſought for ſafety. Great numbers were loſt in the purſuit, many taken priſoners; and the number killed on the field of battle was eſtimated at twenty thouſand.

The perſon of Abſalom was ſo diſtinguiſhable, both for his height and comelineſs, that he was the univerſal mark at which they wiſhed to aim: in order, therefore, to avoid being taken priſoner, he mounted his ſwifteſt mule, and rode off at the full ſpeed; but the wind blowing his long hair above his head, it catched hold of a bow of a tree, and the mule continuing her ſpeed, left Abſalom hanging in this ſituation. This being obſerved by one of David's troops, he informed Joab of the circumſtance, who ordered him to go and ſtab Abſalom, and his reward ſhould be fifty ſhekels of ſilver. This the ſoldier refuſed, ſaying that two thouſand ſhould not bribe him to ſuch an act, eſpecially as David had given orders that the young man's life ſhould be ſpared. Joab now enquired where Abſalom was hanging, and having at length found him, ſtruck his javelin through his heart. Joab's armour-bearers being preſent at this ſcene, lifted the body from the tree, and buried it in a pit, over which they erected a kind of rude ſepulchre, by piling a number of ſtones upon it. This ceremony being ended, Joab ordered a retreat to be ſounded, to ſtop the purſuit, and ſave the unneceſſary effuſion of blood. Some time before this, in a place denominated the king's valley, adjacent to Jeruſalem, Abſalom had cauſed a marble column to be erected, to which he gave the name of the "Hand of Abſalom," and intended it as a laſting memorial of himſelf, in caſe (as he himſelf expreſſed it) he ſhould die childleſs; but he left three ſons and a daughter, which laſt became the wife of Rehoboam the ſon of Solomon, and the mother of Abia: but of this we ſhall ſee farther in the ſequel.

CHAP. X.

The death of Abſalom lamented by David. Joab's remonſtrance on the occaſion. Shimei ſolicits and obtains pardon. The tribe of Judah adhere to David: and Sheba perſuades the reſt to revolt. Amaſa diſpatched by David after Sheba. Joab meets Amaſa, and ſtabs him. Sheba's head brought to David by Joab. A famine among the Iſraelites, in conſequence of Saul's breach of faith with the Gibeonites. David numbers the people, and a peſtilence enſues.

THE immediate diſperſion of Abſalom's troops was the conſequence of his death: and now a kind of conteſt aroſe who ſhould carry the news of the victory to David. Ahimaaz, the ſon of Zadock the high prieſt, beſought Joab that he might be the meſſenger, as the victory appeared to be the immediate conſequence of an interfering providence; but Joab replied, that as he had hitherto carried the king only good news, he would be an improper meſſenger of the death of his ſon; he therefore ordered Cuſhi to be the bearer of this intelligence, as he had been witneſs to the event: but Ahimaaz again applied, urging that David's concern for the loſs of his ſon would yield to his joy on the general import of the meſſage. Hereupon Joab permitted him to go; and as he was acquainted with the neareſt road, he arrived before Cuſhi.

While David was ſitting at the gate of his palace, anxious to learn the event of the conteſt, a ſervant brought him intelligence that he could diſcern a perſon advancing haſtily toward them, but that he was not near enough to aſcertain his perſon. David began to conſole himſelf with the hope of good news, when the ſervant told him that he ſaw a ſecond perſon running, which ſtill encreaſed his expectations. By this time the firſt meſſenger was come very near, and proved to be Ahimaaz, the ſon of the high prieſt Zadock, who travelled in a chariot. "This man (ſaid David) certainly brings me acceptable intelligence;" and ſcarcely had he pronounced theſe words, when Ahimaaz proſtrated himſelf before the king, who inſtantly demanded what news from the army. To this Ahimaaz replied "ſucceſs and victory." The king then eagerly enquired the fate of Abſalom, to which the meſſenger anſwered, that he had no ſooner been a witneſs of the victory by the routing of the enemy, than he hurried away with the news; that his orders from Joab were given in haſte, and related ſolely to the advantage gained over the enemy, without regard to Abſalom, of whom, however, he knew the troops were in purſuit, from the noiſe and clamour that he had heard. He had ſcarcely done ſpeaking when Cuſhi arrived with intelligence of the victory, and throwing himſelf at David's feet, was interrogated with regard to the fate of Abſalom: to which he replied "May all the enemies of my lord "the king be no more ſucceſsful than Abſalom has been!" Intelligence thus fatal to the hopes of David turned a day of joy into ſorrow and lamentation. The king was inconſolable for the loſs of his ſon; and the people were equally aſtoniſhed and grieved that their ſovereign could thus afflict himſelf for the death of a rebel, by which his life and crown were ſecured. David,

however withdrew himſelf from public buſineſs, and, on the top of one of the higheſt towers of the city, lamented his fate with many tears; and, while he ſmote his breaſt, and tore his hair, exclaimed, "Oh Abſalom, my "ſon, my ſon! Ah! that I could have died with thee my ſon Abſa-"lom!" By this time Joab and the army were entering the city in triumph; and were not a little ſhocked that the grief to which the king had abandoned himſelf, ſpread an air of gloom over the joyous ſolemnity, and made them appear rather as the vanquiſhed than the conquerors.

On this occaſion David gave himſelf up ſo entirely to grief, that Joab thought it requiſite to throw off all reſtraint, and ſpeak his ſentiments with freedom, which he did as follows. "Conſider, Sir, (ſaid he) the tendency of your "conduct: conſider how inglorious it is for you thus to waſte your time in "fruitleſs repinings: this behaviour carries with it the appearance of deſpiſ-"ing the good offices of thoſe friends who have riſked their own lives to "preſerve yours; nay it looks like a degree of contempt for yourſelf "and your own family, and a partiality for thoſe enemies which the "juſt vengeance of heaven hath doomed to deſtruction, as an inſtance of "mercy to you. Can you conceive that if Abſalom had been ſucceſsful, "and eſtabliſhed himſelf in that power which he had uſurped, he would "thus have commiſerated either your fate or ours? So far from it that he "would have doomed us to deſtruction, and you and your family would have "been the firſt victims to his wrath. Your enemies would have triumphed "in your overthrow, nor would it have been ſafe for any one to have com-"miſerated your caſe. Reflect, Sir, that honour and conſcience equally mi-"litate againſt this ſuperabundant ſorrow for the loſs of ſo inveterate and un-"provoked a foe as Abſalom. It muſt be confeſſed that he was your ſon, "but a ſon ſo ungracious, that you cannot be ſufficiently thankful to heaven "that he is your ſon no longer. Arouſe then, I beſeech you; appear be-"fore your ſubjects, and acknowledge that, next to the immediate inter-"ference of Providence, you owe the victory you have obtained to their "courage and fidelity: for if you continue in this deſponding way, your "army will deſert you, your kingdom will be loſt; and then you will find "real and ſubſtantial cauſe for lamentation."

Such was the effect of this honeſt addreſs to David, that he began to re-collect himſelf, and reſolved to pay more attention to the intereſts of his people, and the dignity of his government; and therefore appeared at the gate of his palace with unuſual complacency in his look and behaviour. This alteration in his conduct had ſuch an influence on the people, that they crouded in from all parts, to make ſubmiſſion to their ſovereign.

During this ſituation of affairs, the late adherents of Abſalom, who had fled on the day of battle, and were now got to their own habitations, diſpatched expreſſes acroſs the country, deſiring their friends to recollect what a variety of obligations they lay under to David, for the numerous hazards and toils he had undergone in aſſertion of their common rights and liberties; how ungenerous they had all behaved in rebelling againſt him: and recommend-ing an immediate ſubmiſſion to him, when they ſhould entreat his forgive-neſs, and ſolicit him once more to take them under his royal protection: and

theſe

theſe arguments were enforced by the conſideration that the uſurper they had ſet up in the place of David was now no more.

In conſequence hereof David received addreſſes in great number, which he regularly diſpatched to Zadock and Abiathar, the high prieſts, inſtructing them how to treat with the heads of the tribe of Judah, to confirm his reſtoration. Hereupon the high prieſts repreſented to them how ſcandalous it would be for them to remain indifferent, while others were taking the lead in an act of common juſtice to ſo benevolent a prince, who was more-over of their own tribe. This mode of addreſs inſpired a ſpirit of emulation who ſhould be moſt zealous in the ſervice of the king. The high prieſts were alſo inſtructed to enquire of Amaſa how it happened that he, the king's nephew by his own ſiſter, had failed to model the army to a diſpoſition fit for the reſtoration of the true government: and it was hinted to Amaſa, that David would give him the ſame poſt he held under Abſalom, and likewiſe grant him his free pardon.

In this mode the high prieſts treated with the heads of the tribe; and with Amaſa, who by the promiſe abovementioned, was eaſily reconciled to the king's intereſt. The firſt tribe that ſent deputies to David, to invite him to re-aſſume the regal government, was that of Judah; and partly by the influence of this example, and partly through that of Amaſa, all the tribes agreed to receive the king at Jeruſalem. Among the very foremoſt to pay the tribute of ſubmiſſion was the ſaid tribe of Judah, who advanced to meet him even to the banks of Jordan. There likewiſe went Ziba, a freed-man of Saul's, with fifteen children, and twenty ſervants; and a thouſand Benjamites, preceded by Shimei the ſon of Gera. Theſe all combined with the tribe of Judah, to throw a bridge acroſs the river, that David and his troops might paſs with greater convenience.

When the king had reached the river ſide, the tribe of Judah firſt paid their obedience: then Shimei, approaching to the bridge, humbled himſelf at the feet of David, implored his pardon for all that was paſſed, and hoped it would not be remembered to his diſadvantage when David ſhould be reinſtated in his government: requeſting farther, that his ready ſubmiſſion, and unfeigned repentance, might be accepted in extenuation of his former crimes. In anſwer to this, Abiſhai, the brother to Joab, exclaimed, "Think "you thus eaſily to compenſate for all the inſults that you have offered to "the king whom God hath appointed to rule over you?" David, in reply, ſaid, "Be at peace, no farther try to foment old diviſions, by ſeeking "out new cauſe of diſquietude. Conſider this as the firſt day on which I "begin to reign, and obſerve what I moſt ſolemnly ſwear. Every one is "now abſolutely forgiven by me; and I hereby engage that not any perſon, "of what rank or condition ſoever, ſhall ſuffer on account of any inſult offered to myſelf, or to any other on my account: and you, Shimei, may "now reſt at eaſe, for your life ſhall not be endangered." Hereupon Shimei aroſe from his ſuppliant poſture, paid his humble reſpects, and retired.

Mephiboſheth, the grandſon of Saul, now approached the king, in a diſguiſe which was the conſequence of a vow by which he had bound himſelf when

when David was expelled, that he would neither cut off his hair, nor change his cloaths, till his ſovereign ſhould be reſtored. Ziba had endeavoured to traduce Mephiboſheth to David; for on the latter enquiring how he could deſert him in the day of diſtreſs, he attributed the fault to Ziba, who had diſobeyed his commands, and treated him with the utmoſt inſolence, notwithſtanding he had given expreſs directions to have every thing prepared for his journey: "But Sir," ſaid he, "even this ſhould not have detained me, if I "had been able to have walked: but this is not all: I learn that this man "has not only prevented my paying you my perſonal reſpects, but has like-"wiſe endeavoured to alienate your good opinion from me. But your juſ-"tice, Sir, your wiſdom and benevolence, your regard to God and his truth, "will prevent your being prejudiced by malicious inſinuations. My family "has had full experience of your piety, modeſty, and the forgiving good-"neſs of your diſpoſition, in the remitting all the offences of my grandfa-"ther, by whom you were involved in numberleſs difficulties and perſecu-"tions. At that time our forfeited lives were all at your diſpoſal, and you "forgave us: but, after this, your accepting me as a gueſt at your table, "and entertaining me as your friend, notwithſtanding the obnoxiouſneſs of "my relations, is an obligation that can neither be ſufficiently acknow-"ledged, nor will be ever forgotten." This ſpeech was heard by David, who neither made any comment on it, nor hinted the leaſt diſcredit of what Ziba had heretofore ſaid; but told Mephiboſheth that he would order Ziba to reſtore half the eſtate that had been entruſted to his care: to which Mephiboſheth anſwered, that Ziba was welcome to the whole, ſince he had the happineſs of ſeeing his ſovereign reſtored to his throne and kingdom.

Barzillai, the Gileadite, a man renowned for acts of honour and virtue, had been long the ſteady friend of David, whom he had aſſiſted in deeds of heroiſm; nor, on this occaſion, could Barzillai deny himſelf the pleaſure of attending the king on his way to the river Jordan. David entreated him to accompany him to Jeruſalem, aſſuring him that he would treat him with the tenderneſs of a parent, and that every convenience ſhould be ſupplied to render his old age comfortable to him. To this invitation Barzillai replied, that a retired and private life was now more eligible to him, than all the gaiety and ſplendor of a palace: for that he was eighty years of age, and had outlived all taſte for the pleaſures of a court; his chief care now being to give directions for his funeral, and prepare for another world. For theſe reaſons he requeſted his majeſty's permiſſion to return and dwell at his own houſe, where he might live in the way moſt agreeable to himſelf: he ſaid farther, that he could no longer receive pleaſure from luxurious living; and with regard to dancing, ſinging, and the concert ariſing from the accordance of voice and inſtrument, he had no longer any pleaſure in them; for that he was almoſt deprived of his hearing. In conſideration of theſe reaſons, David was induced to part with Barzillai, on condition that his ſon Chimham ſhould go with him, and accept of ſuch favours as his majeſty could with propriety beſtow on him. Barzillai committed his ſon to the king's care, with every acknowledgment of the honor done them, and retired to his own houſe, after

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offering up his warmeſt wiſhes and prayers for the long and proſperous reign of David.

On David's arrival at Gilgal he found that his followers conſiſted of the whole tribe of Judah, and one half of the whole nation. At this time there came to David many of the chief men of the country, (followed by vaſt multitudes of people) and reflected on the tribe of Judah for their preſumption in waiting upon the king without the concurrence of their brethren; as in reaſon they ought to have gone all in a body. To this the tribe of Judah, replied, that they hoped their brethren would not be offended that they had made the firſt offer of their ſervices, as they conſidered it as a duty to which they were bound by their affinity to the king; which had made them more zealous on the occaſion than otherwiſe they ſhould have been: they averred that they had not a view to any private advantage, in what they had done, and thought that, in reaſon, this teſtimony of their zeal ought not to give any offence to thoſe who were later in their profeſſions of loyalty and attachment. This mode of arguing was not in the leaſt pleaſing to the other tribes, who demanded, "Wherefore ſhould you, in particular, ſeek the fa-"vour of the king, as if he was not equally the governor of us all; for ſuch "the providence of God has appointed him? We, who are eleven tribes out "of the twelve, while you are only one, claim to be conſidered in that pro-"portion; and we are of opinion that you have treated us very ill, in going "by yourſelves to the king, before you had given us any intimation of your "intentions."

During this debate among the principal men, Sheba the ſon of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin, (a man of a violent and litigious diſpoſition) ſtanding up, in the midſt of the aſſembly, exclaimed in a loud voice, "Wherefore "do they talk to us of a part in David? What connection can we have "with the ſon of Jeſſe?" Hereupon he ordered a trumpet to be ſounded, and proclamation to be made, that "the people might depart to their "tents;" from which moment it was conſidered that a war was declared againſt David: the majority appearing to adhere to the party of Sheba; but the tribe of Judah ſtill held their allegiance to David, whom they eſcorted to Jeruſalem.

As ſoon as the king arrived at the city, his firſt care was to remove from his palace all his concubines whom Abſalom had heretofore publicly proſtituted: but he gave orders for their being properly attended, and accommodated, in lodgings prepared for them; though from this time he never held any correſpondence with them. His next ſtep was to promote Amaſa to the rank of general, in the room of Joab, and to him he gave orders to aſſemble all the troops he could of the tribe of Judah, and prepare to march, within three days, againſt Sheba, the ſon of Bichri. This commiſſion Amaſa endeavoured to execute with all poſſible expedition; but not being able to aſſemble them ſo ſoon as he wiſhed, David grew impatient, and on the third day, ſpoke to Joab to the following purport: "There is no time to be loſt in counter-"acting the deſigns of Sheba; do you, therefore, inſtantly aſſemble ſuch "troops as are in readineſs, together with the ſix hundred veterans, and, "taking your brother Abiſhai as your aſſiſtant, proceed directly in ſearch of "him, and the moment you get ſight of him encounter him, before he has

" a poſſibility of arranging his forces: for, if there be any delay on our " part, his numbers will encreaſe like the gathering of a ſnow-ball, and, " when he is ſufficiently ſtrong, he may ſecure himſelf in ſome fortified town, " and it may be a work of more time and labour to diſlodge him, than it was " to conquer Abſalom."

No ſooner had Joab received his orders, than he and his brother collected their troops, and marched in purſuit of Sheba. When Joab came to Gibeon, a village about five miles from Jeruſalem, Amaſa met him at the head of a numerous army. While Amaſa was approaching to ſalute him, Joab, who wore a breaſt-plate, and had his ſword by his ſide, let fall the ſword from the ſcabbard, but immediately took it up again, and advancing towards Amaſa, took him by the beard under pretence of ſaluting him, but inſtantly ran him through the body, ſo that he died on the ſpot. No poſſible reaſon can be given for ſo atrocious a behaviour towards a worthy young man who was his relation, other than that he was jealous of his advancement, and apprehenſive that he might obtain too great a ſhare of favour from the king. On not much better foundation did Joab heretofore murder Abner, nor was the mode of doing it much leſs treacherous. Indeed, in the former caſe, the revenging his brother Hazael might afford ſome kind of pretence for the perpetration of the deed; but nothing can be ſaid in mitigation of this laſt horrid murder.

Amaſa was no ſooner dead than Joab and his brother Abiſhai proceeded on their march in ſearch of Sheba, leaving a perſon in care of Amaſa's body, with orders to proclaim that he was a bad man, and had only been puniſhed according to his demerits: proclamation was alſo made that the friends of David ſhould follow Joab and his brother. During the time the body lay expoſed, great numbers aſſembled to view it; on which the perſon in whoſe care it was, removed it to a neighbouring village, where he put it in a houſe, and covered it with a coat; and the ſoldiers now followed their leaders. Joab and his army had nearly traverſed the whole country before they knew that Sheba had taken refuge in a fortified town named Abel-Maacha. The gates of this place being ſhut againſt Joab and his troops, he was reſolved to beſiege it, and accordingly gave orders for throwing up a trench round it, and that the walls ſhould be undermined, and the place attacked by means of batteries.

While the neceſſary ſteps were taking for the attack of the city, a public ſpirited woman, zealous for the ſervice of her country, aſcended the battlements of the wall, whence ſhe called aloud to Joab, deſiring to ſpeak to him apart from his troops. Joab complying with her requeſt, ſhe addreſſed him in the following manner: " Although providence hath appointed kings and " governors to rule over us, to induce us to live at peace one among " another, and to defend us from the aſſaults of our foes, yet have you ad- " vanced againſt us, to deſtroy one of the moſt capital cities in all the land of " Iſrael; and this without any provocation or inſult on our parts." To this Joab replied, that ſhe was miſtaken in her judgment; for that he had no wiſh either to deſtroy the city, or to injure any one of its inhabitants: all he wiſhed and demanded was that the rebel Sheba, the ſon of Bichri, ſhould be delivered

delivered up as a victim to public juſtice, and his army ſhould be immediately withdrawn from before the walls. The woman having heard this declaration of Joab, requeſted him to ſuſpend his operations but for a ſhort time, and the head of Sheba ſhould be thrown over the wall to him. Joab conſenting to this, ſhe deſcended from the wall, and addreſſed the citizens in the following manner. "Can you, O fellow citizens, be ſo abandoned as, "for the ſake of affording protection to one bad man who is moreover a "ſtranger among you, to conſent to the loſs of your wives and children, and "to be driven from your habitations in ſo diſgraceful a manner? What obli- "gations have you to Sheba, to counterballance thoſe you owe to David? "Or if this was not the caſe, is it poſſible to hold the city in deſpight of the "beſiegers?" This ſhort addreſs had the intended effect: it was agreed to purchaſe peace at the expence of Sheba, whoſe head was immediately cut off, and thrown over the wall; on which the troops returned to Jeruſalem; where Joab was appointed general; the command of the guards, and the ſix hundred veterans, was given to Benaiah; Adoram was appointed treaſurer; the recorders were Achilaus and Sabathes; Suſa was made ſecretary; while the office of high prieſt remained with Abiathar and Zadock.

Matters had not been long thus adjuſted, when a famine raged ſo violently, that David entreated God to acquaint him of the cauſe and cure of the calamity. To this the prophets returned an anſwer, intimating that Saul having treacherouſly ſhed the blood of the Gibeonites, it appealed to heaven for vengeance: for that this blood had been ſhed, not only in oppoſition to the rights of natural equity, but to Joſhua's promiſe and oath, which the elders had ratified. The prophets therefore inſtructed the king to redreſs the injury ſuſtained by the Gibeonites, in the murder of their citizens, in ſuch manner as they ſhould require; on which the Almighty would avert the preſent judgment. As ſoon as David heard this, he ſent for the Gibeonites, and demanded what recompence they would wiſh: to which they anſwered, "Let ſeven of the ſons or relations of Saul be given up to our diſpoſal." Hereupon David gave orders that ſeven of them ſhould be ſought for; but with an exception in favour of Mephiboſheth, on account of his father Jonathan. Theſe being given to the Gibeonites, they were appeaſed; and inflicted ſuch puniſhments on them as they thought proper: immediately after which rain fell in great abundance; the earth recovered its former verdure, and produced the accuſtomed plenty.

Soon after this event, David marched his forces againſt the Philiſtines, whom he attacked and routed: but being too eager in the purſuit, he was obſerved, when alone and fatigued, by Achmon, the ſon of Araph, a man of the gigantic race, (armed with a ſword, a coat of mail, and a lance which weighed three hundred ſhekels) who turning quick on the king, beat him down, and would infallibly have killed him, but that on the inſtant came up Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, who ſtanding acroſs the king, attacked and ſlew Achmon. The great danger David had been in, and his providential deliverance, ſo much affected the army, that the officers inſiſted on his ſwearing never again perſonally to engage in war: for that the bleſſings derived to the nation by his government, were in the utmoſt danger of being loſt

loſt, from that natural bravery which led him to expoſe himſelf in ſituations of the moſt imminent danger.

It was not long after this battle before the Philiſtines re-aſſembled their troops at Gaza; on which David ſent an army to attack them. Sobach, the Hittite, obtained a great character on this occaſion, by killing, with his own hands, ſeveral of the race of the giants; who were equally remarkable for ſtrength and ſize. In a word, the victory was principally owing to his courage. The Philiſtines once more took the field, againſt whom the king ſent freſh detachments; and in this attack, Nathan, a relation of David, performed miracles of valour; among the reſt, killing one of the braveſt of the Philiſtines in ſingle combat; whereon the remainder fled, with the loſs of great numbers of their troops.

The Philiſtines took poſſeſſion of a town near where the Hebrews lay; and among them was a man deſcended from the race of the giants, whoſe height was ſix cubits, and who had on each foot ſix toes, and on each hand ſix fingers. This enormous giant, while fighting at the head of his ſoldiers, was attacked by Jonathan, the ſon of Shimei, and ſlain, fighting hand to hand, which circumſtance went far in the deciſion of the victory, and eſtabliſhed Jonathan's character as a man of great courage. This might be called a deciſive victory, for the Philiſtines wanting courage to engage the Iſraelites any more, the war was at an end.

The fatigues and hazards of war being now over, and the bleſſings of peace reſtored, David devoted almoſt all his time to the compoſition of pſalms and hymns to the honor of God. Theſe being in various meaſures, and adapted to different tunes, he gave orders that the Levites ſhould ſing them on the ſabbath, and other ſolemn feſtivals. This ſinging was accompanied by muſical inſtruments, among which were the pſaltery, which had twelve ſtrings, on which the fingers of the muſician moved; an inſtrument of ten ſtrings, which was ſounded by touching it with a quill; and cymbals of a great ſize, made of braſs.

David was now ſurrounded by many men of diſtinguiſhed courage and honor, among whom were thirty-eight who had become ſuper-eminently remarkable for their valour: theſe men ſeemed born for glorious atchievements, and adapted to give laws to empires. Five of theſe I ſhall take particular notice of, by which a judgment may be formed of the characters of the reſt.

Iſſem, the ſon of Achem, is firſt on the liſt. In one ſingle battle he broke ſeveral times amidſt the ranks of the enemy, of whom he killed nine hundred, without the aid of any other perſon.

Next follows Eleazar, the ſon of Dodo, who reigned in Araſam. This hero being in an engagement, when ſuperior numbers obliged the Iſraelites to fly, finding that he was left alone to oppoſe the whole army, behaved with ſuch invincible courage, that he killed and wounded great numbers of the enemy, fighting till his right hand was faſtened to his ſword by the congealed blood. Thoſe who had fled, being animated by his example, returned to the charge; and puſhing the enemy with unuſual vigour, changed

the fortune of the day, and gained a compleat conqueſt: the ſoldiers ſtripping the vanquiſhed as faſt as Eleazar defeated them.

Sebas, the ſon of Ilus, the third of theſe heroes, being engaged with the Philiſtines at a place which bore the name of *the Jaw*, obſerving the Iſraelites retreating, ſtood forth alone againſt all the oppoſing troops, on whom he dealt deſtruction at every blow, breaking their ranks, putting them to flight, and finally obtaining a complete victory. The above inſtances prove with what ardour of heroiſm theſe men were capable of fronting the enemy in the field.

They likewiſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves on another ſingular occaſion. David being at Jeruſalem, the Philiſtines were encamped in a valley which extends from the city to Bethlehem, about two miles and a half. The king aſcended a tower, to beg the advice of the Almighty reſpecting the conduct and iſſue of the war. Being very thirſty, he ſaid to ſome friends who ſurrounded him, "How happy ſhould I be to have a draught of that water, in "the well adjoining to the gate of Bethlehem." The three men abovementioned, hearing theſe words, immediately departed, and forcing their way through the camp of the Philiſtines, got to the well, drew the water, and returned in the ſame manner. The boldneſs of this enterprize ſo aſtoniſhed the Philiſtines, that ſcarce any of them had reſolution to oppoſe their progreſs. When they gave the water to David, he offered up his thanks to heaven for the ſafe return of thoſe who had procured it; but ſaid that he could not in conſcience drink it, as it had been purchaſed at ſuch imminent hazard; wherefore he poured it on the ground, as an oblation to the Deity.

Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, claims the fourth place among theſe diſtinguiſhed men, in right of his having ſlain five hundred of the enemy in one day.

Benaiah, one of the line of the prieſthood, is the laſt I ſhall mention of theſe gallant heroes. This man being challenged by two brothers, both diſtinguiſhed among the Moabites for their valour, engaged and vanquiſhed both of them. After this he encountered an Ægyptian, a man of amazing bulk and ſtrength, and though he was himſelf unarmed, and his opponent well provided in all reſpects, yet he cloſed with him, wrenched his ſpear out of his hand, and killed him with it. Another feat which he performed, may, for its ſingularity, be poſſibly deemed ſuperior to the former. A lion having fallen into a pit, a large quantity of ſnow was driven into it, and covered up the mouth of it; on which the beaſt roared inceſſantly to be releaſed from his confinement. Benaiah hearing the noiſe, advanced towards the pit, into which he deſcended, and, after ſeveral ſtrokes, killed the lion with a club. The above five may be juſtly ranked as eminent warriors, and the other thirty-three were allowed to be their equals.

The king had now come to a reſolution to number the people of Iſrael, to ſee what forces could be raiſed on an emergency: but he did not recollect an ordinance of Moſes, which decreed that, on every ſuch occaſion, half a ſhekel for each man ſhould be offered to God by way of oblation. David diſpatched orders to Joab to take the account, which he declined as an unneceſſary buſineſs; but the king would not be refuſed, ſaying that he would have

it

it done immediately. Hereupon Joab took the advice of the Scribes, and the heads of the tribes, and a computation was immediately made through the whole country. Joab went at the end of nine months and twenty days, to the king at Jeruſalem, and informed him that the number of the Iſraelites fit to engage in war, was nine hundred thouſand, excluſive of the tribes of Benjamin and Levi, an account of whom had not as yet been taken. Four hundred thouſand men, he ſaid, might be muſtered in the tribe of Judah only.

During the progreſs of the above buſineſs, David regretted the orders he had given; and was told by the prophets of the anger of God: on which he humbled himſelf in unfeigned repentance, and obtained his pardon in conſequence of his prayers. Soon afterwards the prophet Gad came to him, and ſaid that God gave him his choice of the three following things, viz. "A famine of ſeven years; a flight of three months before his enemies; "or a peſtilence of three days." To chuſe either of theſe David thought very diſtreſsful: "If (ſaid he) I fix on famine, I ſhall ſeem to regard my people's "intereſt leſs than my own; for it is not likely that I can be deprived of "bread: If my choice be to fly before the enemy, the appearance will be "the ſame; as my perſonal ſafety may be provided for in caſtles and for-"treſſes: but the third calamity is equally threatening to ſubjects, and to "their rulers." While he was thus deliberating on the matter, the prophet urged a ſpeedy anſwer; on which the king ſaid "he ſhould expect greater "mercy from the hands of God, than man, and therefore chuſe rather to "ſubmit to the peſtilence, if agreeable to the Divine will." This anſwer being given to the prophet, he made a report of it; ſoon after which the Iſraelites were attacked with diſorders equally new and violent, which were attended with almoſt ſudden death, and bid defiance to all the ſkill of the phyſicians. Some were afflicted with ſuffocations, ſome with ſwimmings in the head, others with dimneſs of ſight; others again either with violent gripes languors, or faintings, and various diſeaſes, ſo that they expired at an amazing rate, ſome even died in lamenting the death of others: in a word, the diſeaſe ſpread ſo faſt, that 70,000 perſons fell a ſacrifice to it between day-break and dinner-time. The diſorder was now making haſty ſtrides towards Jeruſalem, when David cloathed himſelf in ſackcloth, and deprecated the vengeance of heaven by prayers and tears of unfeigned humiliation. While he was thus engaged he looked upwards, and beheld an angel advancing to Jeruſalem, with a drawn ſword in his hand. Struck with this appearance, he exclaimed, "Let thy puniſhments, O Lord, fall on the ſhepherd; but in what hath the "flock offended? On me, and on my family, be thy wrath poured forth, "but have mercy, I beſeech thee, on my people!"

It pleaſed the Almighty to put an end to the raging of the peſtilence on the intercеſſion of David, who was directed by the prophet Gad to repair inſtantly to the threſhing-floor of Araunah, and there to offer ſacrifice, on an altar to be erected on the occaſion. David repaired thither, when Araunah, who was threſhing his corn, obſerving the king and his ſons advancing, went out to pay his obedience. Araunah was a Jebuſite, and ſo warm an

adherent

adherent to David, that he had preſerved him at the time of taking the city, as hath been heretofore noticed.

Araunah now enquired if he could any way ſerve David; to which the king replied, "I come to purchaſe your threſhing-floor, on which to build "an altar, and ſacrifice to God." "Not the threſhing-floor only (ſaid "Araunah) but my ploughs, my oxen, and my burnt-offerings, are all at "the ſervice of my king, without expence; and I pray that your ſacrifice "may be acceptable to God." This behaviour charmed David, who ſaid it would be wrong to offer a ſacrifice which coſt him nothing; wherefore he muſt purchaſe the floor; for which he gave fifty ſhekels of ſilver. This being done, David was reſtored to the favour of the Almighty, after ſacrificing burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings on the place. This was the very ſpot on which Abraham would have offered up his ſon Iſaac, but for the appearance of the ram in his place; of which we have already written.

The prayers of David being heard, and his ſacrifice become acceptable, he determined to give the name of the "Altar of the people," or "the "Iſraelites altar," to the whole place, and thereon to cauſe a temple to be erected: and this reſolution was ſtrengthened by one of God's prophets, who predicted to David that the temple ſhould be erected by his ſucceſſor. Hereupon David gave orders for numbering the ſtrangers in his dominions, who appeared to be about 180,000, of whom 100,000 were employed to carry materials for building, and 80,000 to do the ſtone work: beſides which 35,000 were directed to act as overſeers of the workmen. Vaſt numbers of cedar trees, the largeſt and beſt that could be got, were procured from Tyre and Sidon, and an immenſe quantity of iron and braſs was brought together on the occaſion. To his particular friends David uſed to ſay, that theſe things were only procured in readineſs, againſt the time his ſon might want them; which would forward the work, and ſave much time and labour: but that his ſon was not yet of an age to engage in ſuch an arduous taſk.

CHAP. XI.

Solomon receives directions from his father concerning the building of a temple. Adonijah, David's fourth ſon, claims the government in right of ſucceſſion. David's ſpeech to the general aſſembly, reſpecting the building the temple; and his advice to his ſon Solomon.

MATTERS were thus ſituated, when David commanding the preſence of his ſon Solomon, enjoined him ſtrictly, on his advancement to the throne, inſtantly to ſet about the building of a temple for the adoration of the Divine Being. "This (ſaid David) I would myſelf have done, but that "my frequent wars having marked me as a man of blood, the particular "command of God prevented my proceeding in it, and deſtined it for "you." Now of Solomon it was foretold that he ſhould be a prince of peace; that he ſhould be taken under the peculiar protection of the Almighty; that under his government the ſubjects ſhould not only be free from foreign wars, but live without private quarrels and animoſities. Then David addreſſing

his ſon, ſpoke to the following purport: "As it was predicted before your "birth that you ſhould wear a crown, act worthy of that diſtinction: let "piety, fortitude, and juſtice govern your actions: let the laws, traditions, "and commandments of Moſes be revered by you: neither violate them "yourſelf, nor permit others to do ſo. With regard to the building God's "temple, let no difficulties prevent your proceeding in it. I will take care "that at the time you aſcend the throne, all materials ſhall be ready for the "begining of it. Ten thouſand talents of gold, one hundred thouſand of "ſilver, beſides an incredible quantity of iron, timber, and ſtone, are al-"ready provided. You will find no want in ſupplies, and thouſands of ma-"ſons and carpenters ſhall wait your commands. Let the whole work be "conducted with care and expedition: for, on its being compleated, you "need not doubt but God will continue to you his protection and bleſſing."

Having thus ſpoken, the king gave it in charge to the princes to aid Solomon in the advancement of this work; and, in preference to every other concern, to attend the duties of religion; ſince that would infallibly ſecure peace and proſperity to the community. David likewiſe ordered that when the temple was compleated, the ark, with all the holy veſſels and utenſils thereunto belonging, ſhould be placed therein, which, agreeable to the commands of God delivered to their forefathers, ought to be done; ſince they had been enjoined to raiſe a temple immediately on their arriving in the Land of Promiſe. David laid theſe injunctions equally on his ſon, and on the princes who attended him.

The king had but juſt compleated his ſeventieth year; but was ſo debilitated by a complication of diſorders, that his blood was almoſt ſtagnated, ſo that he could not get any warmth by all the cloaths that could be laid upon his bed. On this occaſion a conſultation of phyſicians was held, who were unanimouſly of opinion, that nothing was ſo proper in his diſorder, as the ſleeping with a healthy young perſon, the genial heat of whoſe body being communicated to the king, might relieve nature, without doing it any violence. Hereupon a maiden, named Abiſhag, famed for her health and delicacy, was put to bed to David, to lie by him, and keep him warm; which ſhe might do with perfect innocence, as the king was paſt the age of temptation. Of this Abiſhag we ſhall ſpeak farther in the ſequel.

The next ſon that David had, after Abſalom, was Adonijah, whoſe mother was named Haggith. This youth was not much unlike Abſalom, either in heighth, comelineſs, or ambition. Soon after the death of Abſalom, Adonijah, ſeemed to have an eye to the ſucceſſion, and took great pains, by himſelf and friends, to make a popular intereſt. He furniſhed himſelf with horſes, chariots, and guards, keeping a ſuperb equipage; nor did his father reſtrain him in this mode of proceeding, or even enquire the reaſon why he lived in ſuch pomp. Joab, the general, and Abiathar, the high-prieſt, were the principal adherents to Adonijah, while Nathan the prophet, Benaiah, the captain of the guards, Zadock the high-prieſt, Shimei, and the officers in general, took the part of the king.

In the ſuburbs of Jeruſalem, not far from the fountain in the royal gardens, Adonijah prepared a ſumptuous entertainment, which he invited all his

brothers to partake of, except Solomon. Joab, Abiathar, and the principal men of the tribe of Judah, were alſo preſent; but neither Zadock, Nathan, Benaiah, nor a man of their party, received the invitation. This affair being reflected on by Nathan, he ſaid to Bathſheba, Solomon's mother, "Obſerve how Adonijah is already aſſuming the ſtate of royalty, while David "is ignorant of his proceedings: it becomes you, therefore, equally for your "own ſake, and your ſon's, to intereſt yourſelf in this buſineſs. Go then to "David, and, when alone, remind him that he has ſworn that Solomon "ſhould be his ſucceſſor; adding that Adonijah behaves as if he was already "king. During this diſcourſe, I will come into the room, and confirm what "you ſay." This advice pleaſed Bathſheba, who ſought the king, paid her reſpects, and obtaining permiſſion to deliver her buſineſs, did it as Nathan had directed; recounting the ſtory of the entertainment, who were invited, and who omitted; adding, that the public were anxious to know whom he would appoint to ſucceed him; and that the life of herſelf and ſon reſted on the event. At this moment Nathan's attendance was announced to David, and orders being given for his immediate admiſſion, he ſaid to the king, with an air of aſtoniſhment, "Have you this day transferred the ſovereign "rule to Adonijah, and appointed him to ſucceed you?" The prophet then told him of the feaſt; who were invited, and who left unaſked: "And there "are they (ſaid he) feaſting and carouſing, and drinking healths to Adonijah, "their new ſovereign: But for me, and the high-prieſt, Zadock, and your "captain of the guards, Benaiah, we were utterly unacquainted with the affair. "Now I would adviſe your majeſty to ſignify to the public whether theſe pro"ceedings have the ſanction of your approbation." When the prophet came in, Bathſheba had retired; and being now ſummoned to appear, the king ſaid, "The oath I formerly made to you, Bathſheba, I now repeat in the "preſence of Almighty God. Solomon, your ſon ſhall ſucceed to the go"vernment; and this day ſhall the buſineſs be accompliſhed." Hereupon Bathſheba wiſhed the king long life, and departed.

The king inſtantly ſending for Zadock and Benaiah, deſired them to accompany Nathan, and, being conducted by the guards, place Solomon on the king's mule, and attending him to the fountain called Gihon, without the city, anoint him with holy oil, and proclaim him king. David likewiſe farther ordered, that he ſhould be carried through the city, eſcorted by troops, and attended by crowds, crying, "Long live king Solomon!" that his having been appointed to ſucceed to the throne, might become a matter of the moſt public notoriety. Finally, David commanded Solomon to rule over all his people with the utmoſt regard to the principles of equity and religion.

A prayer to God, for a bleſſing on Solomon, being now pronounced by Benaiah, they all departed to execute the king's commands. Solomon being placed on the king's mule, was attended to the fountain, anointed, and accompanied back again, amidſt the ſhouts of the people, who prayed that his reign might be long and proſperous. He was now conducted to the palace, and ſeated on the throne of David, which being done, the whole city joined in feſtivity, and nothing was to be ſeen or heard but feaſting, dancing,

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muſic, and every poſſible demonſtration of joy. At this time Adonijah, with Joab and his other gueſts, who were at their feaſting, were ſo alarmed at the ſound of the trumpets, and the acclamations of the people, that they quitted their dinner; and while they were wondering what had happened, Jonathan, the ſon of Abiathar, the high-prieſt, came in, whom Adonijah rejoiced to ſee, on the preſumption that he was the meſſenger of good news: but Jonathan had no ſooner acquainted them with the orders iſſued by the king, and what honor had been done to Solomon, than the company left the entertainment, and privately retreated to their own houſes. Adonijah alone, conſcious that the nature of his crime ſcarcely left hope for mercy, fled to the horns of the altar for ſanctuary, and there ſolicited forgiveneſs. As ſoon as Solomon was told how Adonijah had diſpoſed of himſelf, and that he expected ſome ſecurity that his pardon ſhould be granted; he, with an equal degree of mercy and prudence, ſent him a pardon for all paſt tranſgreſſions, attended with a hint to him, to be extremely cautious in his future conduct; for that in caſe of ſimilar behaviour hereafter, he muſt certainly abide the fatal conſequence. Adonijah being brought from the place of his retreat to the palace, made his ſubmiſſion to the new king, who told him to return in peace to his own habitation, and hereafter to behave like a good ſubject, which he would find greatly to his advantage.

As David propoſed that Solomon ſhould be declared and acknowledged king over all Iſrael, he gave orders for ſummoning all the princes, prieſts, and Levites to Jeruſalem; when their numbers appeared to be as follows; thirty-eight thouſand men who were more than thirty years old; of whom twenty-three thouſand were appointed to attend the building of the temple; there were ſix thouſand judges and clerks; porters belonging to the houſe of God, four thouſand; players on inſtruments, ſingers, and muſicians, four thouſand: but ſome mention has been made of theſe matters before. Theſe were divided into families; and the prieſts being ſeparated from the reſt of the tribe, were four and twenty, eight of whom were deſcended from Ithamar, and ſixteen from Eleazar, every family being appointed to do duty from ſabbath to ſabbath, in ſucceſſive order. The high-prieſts Abiathar and Zadock, with the chief men of the ſeveral tribes, attended David while lots were caſt of all theſe. The firſt drawn lot was entered on a roll, "the firſt "family;" in like manner the ſecond, third, and ſo on regularly to the four and twentieth: which mode of diſtribution is yet in uſe. The tribe of Levi were likewiſe, by order of David, ſeperated into twenty-four diviſions, which were to follow each other, like the prieſts, as the determination by lot might fall. But the poſterity of Moſes were always preferred; and to them was committed the care of the ſacred treaſure, and ſuch gifts as aroſe from the bounty of princes and other benefactors. David likewiſe commanded that all the tribe of Levi, together with the prieſts, ſhould alternately attend the ſervice of God, by night and day, as Moſes had originally ordained.

His next care was to new model the army, by ſeperating it into twelve equal diviſions, each of which had its reſpective commander in chief, tribunes, and centurions, with their inferiors. Theſe diviſions, which conſiſted each of twenty-four thouſand men, were appointed to do monthly duty

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in rotation, at the palace of Solomon, with their tribunes and centurions. Each diviſion was to be judged by its own proper officer, who was a perſon renowned for his uprightneſs and honor. It was his buſineſs to appoint the overſeers of the royal revenue, and of the flocks, herds, lands, vineyards, &c. which were the peculiar property of the king. David having adjuſted all the great concerns abovementioned, ordered all the princes of tribes, officers of the army, conductors of the revenue, and the magiſtrates in general, to attend him; when his throne being placed on an eminence, he aſcended it, and addreſſed them as follows:

"Countrymen and brethren, it now becomes me to inform you that I have "long had an intention of building a temple ſacred to God, towards the ex- "pence of which I have amaſſed an immenſe treaſure in gold, and one hun- "dred thouſand talents of ſilver: but my deſign hath been ſtopped by the "will of God, ſignified by his prophet Nathan: and the reaſon aſſigned is, "that God will not have the foundation of his houſe laid by hands which "have been dipped in blood, as mine undoubtedly have been, though the "blood I ſhed was that of your enemies, in wars that I was compelled "to undertake, in aſſertion of the juſt rights and liberties of my people. "The prophet likewiſe farther informed me, that the commencement and "completion of this great work ſhould be left to my ſucceſſor. You are not "unacquainted that to our father Jacob were born twelve ſons; yet, by the "conſent of them all, was Judah choſen to rule over them. You alſo know "that I had five brothers; yet when the providence of God deſtined me to "the government, no complaint was heard on the part of my brethren: in- "like manner I now demand of you all to become the faithful ſubjects of "my ſon Solomon; and I entreat that you will obey without complaint, diſ- "ſention, or heſitation; ſince the ſovereign authority with which he is in- "veſted, is delegated to him immediately from heaven. Suppoſe, now, "that the Providence of God had decreed that a ſtranger ſhould rule over "you, would you have been baſe and fooliſh enough to have repined at the "diſpenſation? How thankful then ought you to be that this diſtinguiſhed "honor is conferred on one who may be deemed your brother, being "beſtowed on ſo near a relation? The firſt wiſh of my heart is, that the "merciful promiſes of Almighty God may ſoon be ratified: and all my ſub- "jects become partakers of, and long enjoy, thoſe bleſſings which it has "been deſtined for the reign of Solomon to beſtow on them. My beloved "ſon, all I have promiſed will be made good, and your utmoſt wiſhes will "be gratified, while you rule over your people according to the precepts of "juſtice and religion, paying the obedience due both to God and man, and "maintaining a proper reſpect for the laws, and copying the example of "your forefathers. But if you depart from this line of conduct, you may ex- "pect the moſt dreadful conſequences."

On the concluſion of this addreſs, David preſented Solomon a drawing exhibiting the model of the intended ſtructure, with directions for the diviſions of the different apartments, private cells, the formation and preciſe weight of the veſſels of gold and ſilver, and other holy utenſils; and enjoined him to apply himſelf with all poſſible diligence in compleating the

temple. Conſidering the early time of life and inexperience of his ſon, and that he had been appointed to this province by the Almighty, he called the princes and the tribe of Levi to aſſiſt in the important undertaking, which he ſaid would be proſecuted without ſo much difficulty as might be apprehended; for that many talents of gold, more of ſilver, emeralds, and other precious ſtones to an immenſe value, timber, ſtone, and other materials, beſides carpenters, maſons, and artificers in various different branches, were already provided; and that as an additional ſupply, he had appointed three thouſand talents of the fineſt gold to be taken from his own ſtore, for the purpoſe of decorating the holy place, the chariot of the Lord, and the cherubims which were to be placed over the holy ark.

The princes, prieſts, and levites, expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at what David had ſaid; and towards accompliſhing the grand deſign, they propoſed to furniſh five thouſand talents of gold, one hundred thouſand talents of ſilver, and an immenſe quantity of iron. Jalus, of the line of Moſes, was appointed receiver of all the contributions, which conſiſted of precious ſtones, as well as the other valuable articles, which he depoſited in the public treaſury.

The public were perfectly ſatisfied with theſe proceedings; and the unanimity and confidence of the people proved the ſource of great happineſs to David. He addreſſed himſelf to the Almighty as the father and creator of heaven and earth, the protector of the Iſraelites, and the beneficent author of happineſs to the people committed to his government; and with a zealous ſupplication for continued bleſſings to the Hebrews, and the purity of innocence, and integrity of conduct to his ſon Solomon, he concluded his devotions. He then addreſſed himſelf to the people, requeſting them to join him in thankſgivings for all the bleſſings which had been conferred upon them, when proſtrating themſelves on the earth, they worſhipped the Almighty. After this, they acknowledged to David the great advantages which they had enjoyed under his government. On the enſuing day a great ſacrifice was performed; an oblation was made conſiſting of a thouſand calves, a thouſand rams, and a thouſand lambs as a burnt-offering; after which many other victims were ſacrificed as a peace-offering. This day was dedicated to feaſting and merriment among all ranks of the people. Solomon was again anointed, and the multitude a ſecond time acknowledged him as their lawful ſovereign; and by the public voice Zadock was nominated to be inveſted with the office of high-prieſt. After this Solomon was conducted to the palace, and ſeated on the throne of his father.

CHAP. XII.

The dying counſel, prayer, farewell, death, and funeral of David. The ſiege of Jeruſalem by Antiochus.

HEAVILY oppreſſed by the infirmities of age, David judged himſelf to be on the point of his diſſolution; and having called Solomon into his preſence, he addreſſed him to the following effect. "I am now preparing to depart to a world, where, in due time, you muſt follow. To die is to pay the common debt of nature, and that debt once paid, puts a final period to all our concerns with this life. While I have power, I muſt not omit to remind you of the doctrines which I have ſo frequently inculcated: in the government of the people, fail not to obſerve a ſtrict regard to the adminiſtration of public juſtice; zealouſly adore that eternal Being to whom you are indebted for the regal dignity, as well as for your exiſtence; pay a rigid regard to his commands, as they are tranſmitted to us by Moſes; for, if through fear, vanity, intereſt, or any other human infirmity, you ſhall violate his laws, you muſt no longer expect a continuance of the protection of divine providence. But if you religiouſly conform yourſelf to the pleaſure of the Lord, the government will be eſtabliſhed to yourſelf and your ſucceſſors in perpetuity. I muſt now mention the iniquity of Joab, in the aſſaſſinations of thoſe brave warriors, and dutiful ſubjects, Abner, the ſon of Ner, and Amaſa, the ſon of Ithra, whom he cruelly maſſacred from motives of malevolence and envy. I had myſelf inflicted upon him the puniſhment due to his crimes, but was reſtrained by a conſideration of his great popularity. But you may act towards him as your judgment ſhall direct. It is my requeſt that you will exert yourſelf in offices of friendſhip towards the ſons of Barzillai, the Gileadite; and this I mean you ſhould do, as a requital of the obligations I received from Barzillai during the period of my baniſhment; and theſe ſervices I conſider as a debt which my whole family are bound to acknowledge. With Shimei, the Benjamite, the ſon of Gera, you may find ſome proper occaſion to account for thoſe opprobrious and unmerited cenſures during my perſecution at Bahurim. On our interview at the river Jordan, he obtainted my pardon; but in caſe of future tranſgreſſions, you will determine as to the propriety of puniſhing theſe injuries."

Having concluded this diſcourſe, David expired, in the ſeventieth year of his age, after a reign of ſeven years and ſix months over the tribe of Judah, at Hebron, and thirty-three years over the whole people of Iſrael at Jeruſalem. David was a man poſſeſſed of every qualification neceſſary to the exalted ſtation which he filled. No man was more remarkable for bravery and fortitude; and he took the lead in all dangerous expeditions, either for the defence or protection of his people. The valour of his ſoldiers was more animated by his example than by the authority of his command. He was judicious in the appointment of his counſel; and poſſeſſed a ſingular degree of

penetration, whereby he was enabled to improve preſent advantages, and obviate future difficulties. He was of a temperate, humane, and affable diſpoſition; an impartial judge, and a righteous man. His life was irreproachable, excepting in the caſe of Bathſheba and her huſband Uriah. The wealth he left greatly exceeded the poſſeſſions of any former prince. His remains were interred at Jeruſalem with a magnificence of pomp exceeding the powers of deſcription. Solomon, his ſon and ſucceſſor, depoſited an immenſe treaſure in his ſepulchre, of the value of which ſome judgment may be formed by what will be ſaid hereafter.

About thirteen hundred years after this period, in the time of Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, Jeruſalem was beſieged by Antiochus, the ſon of Demetrius, and ſirnamed the *Pious*. Antiochus made an offer to abandon the ſiege in conſideration of being paid three thouſand talents. Hyrcanus had no reſource but in David's tomb, which he broke open, and thence took the ſum demanded for the compoſition. Many years having elapſed, king Herod diſcovered a cell, from which he took riches to an immenſe amount; but ſo deeply ſunk in the earth, and ſo ingeniouſly concealed was the place where the remains of David were depoſited, that both Hyrcanus and Herod were unable to effect a diſcovery.

End of the Seventh Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK VIII.

Tranſactions from the year of the World 2931, to 3048.

CHAP. I.

Solomon ſucceeds to the throne, and cauſes Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei to be put to death, and he transfers the ſacerdotal dignity from the houſe of Ithamar to that of Phinehas.

SOLOMON, the ſon of David, ſucceeded to the government at an early period of life, being inveſted with the regal authority by the appointment of the Almighty, and the avowed conſent of his father. Upon his advancement to the throne, he was congratulated by the people, who expreſſed the moſt ſanguine wiſhes that he might enjoy a long life, and a reign of uninterrupted felicity.

Adonijah, who, during the life of David, had made an attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the government, adopted an inſinuating addreſs in order to obtain an intereſt with Bathſheba, the king's mother, through whoſe mediation he had conceived a deſign of promoting his own intereſt. She aſſured him that ſhe would exert her utmoſt power to render him ſervice; and on this encouragement, he expreſſed himſelf to the following effect: "It is ſcarcely ne-

"ceſſary

" ceſſary to obſerve, moſt gracious princeſs, that, if my inclination was to " oppoſe the preſent ſyſtem of government, a priority of claim and the ſuf- " frages of the people would favour my cauſe: but ſince it is the pleaſure of " the Lord, that Solomon, your ſon, ſhould reign, I ſhall be perfectly ſa- " tisfied to remain within the limits preſcribed to a faithful ſubject. I am " to entreat that you will be pleaſed to exert your intereſt in my behalf, by " endeavouring to prevail upon your ſon to grant his conſent to my nuptials " with Abiſhag, who was taken to the bed of David when he was ſo far ad- " vanced in life that no doubt can remain of his having left her in the poſſeſ- " ſion of unblemiſhed virginity?" Bathſheba aſſured him that ſhe was diſ- poſed to promote his ſuit, and encouraged him to hope that the king would not reject the joint intereſt of his mother and brother, even on a ſubject of greater conſequence than that in queſtion.

Bathſheba went to Solomon, who received her with open arms, and having led her to his bed-chamber, and ſeated her in a chair of ſtate on the right hand of his own, ſhe informed her ſon that ſhe had a requeſt to make, and that his refuſal would give her extreme concern. Solomon deſired her to proceed, and to depend upon his ready compliance. She then informed him that her purpoſe was to obtain his countenance to a matrimonial alliance between Abiſhag and Adonijah. Alarmed at this propoſal, the king bad his mother retire. He then deliberated on the caſe, and concluded, that to facilitate his advancement to the government was his motive in aſking Abiſhag in marriage, and that for forwarding this deſign he had attached Joab, the general, and Abiathar, the high-prieſt, to his intereſt. He commanded Benaiah, the captain of the guards, immediately to deſtroy his brother. He ordered the high-prieſt into his preſence, and told him he had merited death, but that in conſideration of the ſervices he had rendered David, and of the aſſiſtance he had afforded towards the recovery of the holy ark, inſtead of the puniſhment he deſerved, he ſhould be ſentenced to baniſhment for life.

According to the prediction of God to Eli, the grand-father of Abiathar, the pontifical dignity was transferred from the houſe of Ithamar to Zadock, of the family of Phinehas. Eli was the firſt of the houſe of Ithamar inveſted with the ſacerdotal function; and from his time, the following perſons of the family of Phinehas led private lives; Boccias, ſon of Joſeph; Jonathan, of Boccias; Maræoth, of Jonathan; Arapha, of Maræoth; Architob, of Arapha; and Zadock, of Architob.

Intelligence of the death of Adonijah being communicated to Joab, he reaſonably conceived himſelf to be in danger of a ſimilar fate, being conſcious that he had equally deſerved it, for having engaged in the conſpiracy againſt Solomon; and judging that the veneration of the king towards God, and all things appertaining to the religious ceremonies, would protect him, he fled to the altar for ſanctuary. The king being informed of this circumſtance, commiſſioned Benaiah to cite him to anſwer for his conduct in a judicial court: but Joab perſiſted in a determination not to quit the chapel, ſaying that if he was doomed to death, he would yield up his life in that place. Benaiah repreſented the behaviour of Joab to the king, who commanded him to return to the chapel, and there to cut off his head, as a

puniſhment for the execrable murders of Abner and Amaſa; further charging him to exculpate both his father and himſelf from the charge of unjuſtifiable ſeverity towards Joab. Benaiah having diſcharged the king's order, was appointed to ſucceed Joab as generaliſſimo.

At this period Solomon commanded Shimei to erect a houſe at Jeruſalem, and not to paſs the river Hebron on the penalty of forfeiting his life; and to the ſtrict obſervance of this injunction he was bound under the ſolemnity of an oath. Shimei readily acquieſced, and repaired to Jeruſalem. About three years had elapſed, when two of his domeſtics quitted his ſervice, and hearing that they were at Gath, he went thither in order to induce their return. This circumſtance was reported to the king, who being highly incenſed againſt Shimei, ordered him into his preſence, and addreſſed him to this effect: "Thou haſt baſely violated a ſacred engagement, whereby thou "wert bound to confine thyſelf to the limits of this town; and for this per- "jury thou art ſentenced to die. Be informed that the iniquities of man- "kind will, at an early or later period, infallibly meet a due retribution; and "that the impending judgment is directed by the Almighty, as a puniſhment "for your late offence, and for the injuries to my revered father, at the time "of his greateſt calamities." Solomon commanded Benaiah to put Shimei to death; and he was obeyed.

CHAP. II.

Solomon takes the daughter of the king of Ægypt to wife. The gift of wiſdom beſtowed upon him by the Almighty. The wonderful ſtructure of the temple. He builds a ſuperb palace, and for the defence of Jeruſalem erects fortifications of great ſtrength. He vanquiſhes the Canaanites. His immenſe riches. He degenerates into Idolatry. An inſurrection is fomented againſt him by Adad. The prediction to Jeroboam that ten of the twelve tribes ſhould declare allegiance to him.

THE regal authority of Solomon was at this time perfectly eſtabliſhed; his people were reconciled to the government; and his enemies acknowledged the ſuperiority of his power. During this ſtate of uninterrupted tranquillity, Solomon contracted a marriage with the daughter of the king of Ægypt, enlarged and conſiderably ſtrengthened the walls of Jeruſalem, and applied himſelf to the diſtribution of public juſtice. His early time of life was no obſtruction to an unremitting obſervance of the duties of his exalted ſtation, and a religious conformity to the inſtructions of his dying father. In ſhort, his judgment and penetration were arrived to ſuch a ſtate of maturity at this early period, that they would have done honor to the gravity of age and extenſive experience.

Solomon now determined to humble himſelf in prayer, and perform ſacrifice to the Lord, in gratitude for the bleſſings he enjoyed; and having repaired to Hebron, he made an oblation, conſiſting of a thouſand victims, upon the brazen altar erected by Moſes. This inſtance of piety proved ſo agreeable to the Almighty, that on the following night he viſited Solomon in a dream, and aſſured him that he would grant whatever he ſhould requeſt. He

2. determined

determined that the object of his choice ſhould be what the bountiful donor would beſtow with the greateſt ſatisfaction, and, at the ſame time, an acquiſition of ſingular advantage to himſelf; and he petitioned the Lord to the following effect: "Grant me, O God! a juſt comprehenſion of things, and "a perfect judgment, that in the government of the people I may invariably "regulate my conduct by the rules of truth and juſtice!" This proved ſo agreeable to the Lord that, in addition to the bleſſing of greater wiſdom than ever man poſſeſſed, he promiſed wealth and glory to Solomon; and, on condition of his conforming in all things to the divine will, and following the virtuous example of his father, the ſovereignty ſhould be continued in his family for many generations. Solomon awaked upon hearing theſe aſſurances, and having worſhipped the Lord, and offered thanſgivings, he returned to Jeruſalem, where he performed ſacrifice, and gave a general feaſt to his people.

Two proſtitutes appealed to the king on the following occaſion: the complainant related, that ſhe had dwelt in the ſame lodging with the other woman; that while ſhe was aſleep, the defendant took her infant from her arms, and in the place ſubſtituted the body of her own child which ſhe had overlaid and ſmothered; that early in the morning ſhe diſcovered the fraud, and earneſtly pleaded to have the child returned, which ſhe infallibly knew to be her own from certain marks, but that her opponent perſiſted in a refuſal. She ſaid ſhe had no witneſs to ſupport her cauſe, but ſupplicated the king for juſtice. Solomon aſked the defendant what plea ſhe had to offer in extenuation of the charge. She reſted her defence on the aſſertion that the complaint was groundleſs, and that the living child was the iſſue of her body. The firmneſs with which each party ſupported her depoſition induced the auditors to ſuſpend their judgment on the iſſue of the cauſe, which at length was determined by the following happy expedient. Solomon commanded the living and the dead child to be produced, and that with his ſword one of his guards ſhould cut the bodies exactly in halves, one half of each to be given to each woman. Hereupon, the mother of the living child wept moſt bitterly, earneſtly ſupplicating that this ſentence might be reverſed, and declaring that rather than the infant's life ſhould be ſacrificed, ſhe would relinquiſh all claim in favour of the other woman. The pretended mother appeared to be ſatisfied with the judgment, and even to enjoy a cruel pleaſure in the diſtreſs of her adverſary. On this evidence of maternal affection and natural tenderneſs, Solomon aſſigned the child to the real mother; and he ſeverely reproved the iniquity of the other woman in having endeavoured, after the loſs of her own child, to effect the deſtruction of that of her friend. The conduct of Solomon on this occaſion was conſidered as ſo ſingular an inſtance of his ſagacity and penetration that from this time he was honoured as a king acting under the immediate direction of the ſupreme Being.

Solomon appointed the following governors, and a lieutenant-general to ſuperintend them. Uri, the ſon of Heer, commanded Bethlehem, and the whole country inhabited by the Ephraimites. The government of Dora and the ſea-coaſt was given to Aminadab, ſon-in-law to Solomon. The great plain and the country extending to the river Jordan were under the direction of

Baanah,

Baanah, the ſon of Achil. The ſon of Geber was appointed to the government of the Gileadites and the Gaulonites; and under his juriſdiction, which extended as far as mount Libanus, were ſixty ſtrongly fortified and large cities. The government of Galilee was given to Ahinadab, who had eſpouſed Baſima, another daughter of Solomon, his command extending to Sidon. The ſea-coaſt in the neighbourhood of Aſher was under the juriſdiction of Baanah. Jehoſaphat was appointed to the government of the mountains of Itrabyr and Carmel, and all the lower Galilee, reaching as far as the river Jordan. Shimei was inveſted with the command of the country of the Benjamites. And Taber was appointed governor of the land on the other ſide the river Jordan.

The public tranquillity being perfectly eſtabliſhed, the ſeveral tribes aſſiduouſly applied themſelves to the cultivation of the earth, whereby they acquired immenſe riches in a ſhort time. The additions and improvements which the tribe of Judah made to their poſſeſſions exceeded thoſe of the other tribes. Excluſive of the officers above-mentioned, the king nominated others to ſuperintend the Syrians and other barbarous nations between Ægypt and the Euphrates, and to receive their tribute. The proviſions furniſhed daily for the king's tables, conſiſted of thirty meaſures of fine flour, ſixty meaſures of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen from the paſtures, and an hundred fat lambs, excluſive of fiſh, birds, deer, and other rarities. His chariots were exceedingly numerous, and for the horſes belonging to them forty thouſand ſtalls were provided. His guard was compoſed of twelve thouſand horſemen, ſix thouſand of whom were quartered in Jeruſalem, and the others in villages adjacent to that city. It was part of the buſineſs of the commiſſary for conducting the expences of the houſhold, to provide nouriſhment for the horſes of the king's guards and other attendants.

The Ægyptians, who were accounted the wiſeſt people, as well as the moſt celebrated of his own nation, as Athan, Heman, Calcol, and Dodan, the ſons of Hemahon, were greatly inferior to Solomon in knowledge, which was communicated to him by the inſpiration of the Almighty. The writings of this ſingularly accompliſhed prince compriſed fifteen hundred books of odes and poems, three thouſand books of parables and ſimilies, the hiſtory of plants, from the cedar to the hyſſop, the fiſhes of the ſea, the beaſts of the field, and the birds of the air. He had a perfect knowledge of theſe ſubjects, on which he ſtudied and philoſophiſed with unwearied attention. Theſe extraordinary gifts were not beſtowed upon him in vain; for he compoſed charms and incantations for expelling the diſeaſes of the human body; he left ſeveral manuſcript forms of conjuration, by means of which people obtained an effectual relief from evil ſpirits, which never returned; and his directions for removing complaints of this nature are to this time much practiſed by the people of our nation. I was preſent when a countryman of mine, named Eleazar, diſpoſſeſſed divers perſons before Veſpaſian, his ſons and ſeveral officers and ſoldiers. A ring, under the ſeal of which a certain root was conveyed, was applied to the noſtrils, and it being ſmelt to by the demoniac, the evil ſpirit was inſtantly drawn out by the noſe. In this operation the man was thrown down by the ſpirit. Eleazar repeated charms and incantations

cantations invented by Solomon, whoſe name he frequently introduced, and adjured the devil to trouble the party no more. After this, Eleazar placed a veſſel of water near a man who was poſſeſſed, and adjured the devil, upon quitting the perſon, to overturn it, which was accordingly done. This was an incontrovertible teſtimony of the wiſdom of Solomon.

Upon the acceſſion of Solomon to the throne, Hiram, the king of Tyre, ſent an ambaſſy to congratulate him on the occaſion, and to expreſs the ſatisfaction he enjoyed upon the government being continued in the family of David, for whom he had entertained a great friendſhip. Solomon ſent the following letter by theſe ambaſſadors.

"*King Solomon to king Hiram, greeting.*"

"MY father David, be it known to thee, O king, long entertained the "deſign of conſtructing a temple, and dedicating the ſame to the honor of "God: but the wars of his time compelled him to decline this holy work, "which he left to be compleated by me, during a ſtate of peace, according "to the prediction of the Lord. Praiſed and bleſſed be his holy name for "the preſent tranquillity of my reign. By the divine aſſiſtance, I ſhall avail "myſelf of the opportunity that is afforded to proſecute this important "work. I therefore requeſt that you will permit ſome of your people to ac-"company my ſervants to mount Libanus, and there aſſiſt in cutting down "materials for the intended ſtructure; the Sydonians having more judge-"ment in that buſineſs than we have. Such rewards as you may judge to "be reaſonable ſhall be given to the workmen."

Solomon's letter proved highly ſatisfactory to Hiram, who ſent the following reply.

"*King Hiram to king Solomon.*"

"NO circumſtance could have afforded me greater pleaſure than that I "experience in conſequence of the government of your bleſſed father being "transferred to a ſucceſſor of ſuch eminent virtue and wiſdom. Praiſed be "the name of the Almighty for the gracious providence manifeſted in this "happy event. Your requeſt ſhall be chearfully granted. Such numbers "of the fineſt cedar and cypreſs trees as you may have occaſion for, I will "order to be cut down; and they ſhall be tranſported to ſuch ports as you "may appoint, whence they may be conveyed to Jeruſalem by your own "people. In exchange for this, if you will ſupply us with ſuch a propor-"tion of corn as may be convenient, it will be conſidered as a particular "obligation; that being an article moſt wanted in this iſland."

The duplicates of theſe letters are ſtill to be ſeen in our own and the Tyrian records. I do not, for the ſake of embelliſhing my narrative, mention any matters which are not founded on the authority of truth; and nothing will be found in my writings which will not bear the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny. To

prevaricate on a ſubject of this nature would indeed argue an extreme degree of impiety.

Hiram's letter proved ſo agreeable to Solomon that he ordered him an annual preſent conſiſting of two thouſand meaſures of wheat, two thouſand veſſels of oil, and two thouſand veſſels of wine, each veſſel containing ſeventy-two quarts. The friendſhip thus commenced between the kings daily increaſed, and was manifeſted by a conſtant interchange of offices of kindneſs.

Solomon commanded thirty thouſand workmen to be ſelected, ten thouſand of whom he ordered to cut wood upon mount Libanus for the ſpace of one month, at the expiration of which time they were to be relieved by a ſecond ten thouſand, who were to do duty for a like period, and then to be ſucceeded by the third ten thouſand. Thus they were at liberty to remain at their reſpective habitations for two months, and, according to the rotation, every fourth month they were to return to labour. Adoniram was appointed ſuperintendant or inſpector-general of theſe workmen. There were beſides, ſeventy thouſand foreigners, whom David had intended for conveying ſtones and other materials, eighty thouſand maſons and ſtone-hewers, and thirty two thouſand overſeers. They were ordered to ſearch for the largeſt ſtones for the foundation, and to prepare them for uſe on the mountains where they were procured, and then to convey them to Jeruſalem; and in this part of the buſineſs Hiram's men were commanded to aſſiſt.

Solomon began this important undertaking in the fourth year of his reign, and in that month which is called Artemiſius by the Macedonians, and Jar by the Hebrews; five hundred ninety-two years after the Iſraelites had come out of Ægypt; one thouſand and twenty years from the period when Abraham removed from Meſopotamia into the land of Canaan; fourteen hundred and forty years after the flood, and three thouſand one hundred and two years from the creation of the world. It was two hundred years after building the city of Tyre, and in the eleventh year of the reign of king Hiram.

The foundation was ſunk to an aſtoniſhing depth, and compoſed of ſtones of ſingular magnitude, and ſo hard a quality as to reſiſt the worm and the inclemency of the weather: and being cloſely mortiſed into the rock with great ingenuity, they formed a baſis adequate to the ſupport of the intended ſtructure. The temple was ſixty cubits high, and ſixty cubits alſo in length, and the breadth was twenty cubits; above this, was another ſtage, of equal dimenſions, ſo that the heighth of the whole ſtructure was one hundred and twenty cubits. The walls were compoſed entirely of white ſtone: and the front of the building was towards the eaſt. The porch was twenty cubits in length, ten in the breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. Round the outward walls were erected thirty cells, or ſmall houſes, communicating with each other, and forming galleries, and at the ſame time anſwering the purpoſes of buttreſſes, by ſupporting the walls. Theſe cells were each five cubits broad and of the ſame length, and twenty cubits high. Over theſe were two other floors of the ſame proportion, and the uppermoſt of the cells were on a level with the lower ſtory of the fabric. They were faſtened together by large beams, ſo diſpoſed as to make them appear of one piece, and as if they gave additional ſtrength to the walls. Under the beams was a va-

riety of carving, gilding, fret-work and other curious ornaments. The walls and cielings were lined with cedar, and the wainſcots were embelliſhed with a profuſion of ſplendid ornaments of the pureſt gold. The fabric was compoſed of ſtones poliſhed to the utmoſt degree of excellence, and put together with ſuch ingenuity that the ſmalleſt interſtice was not to be perceived. The whole, in ſhort, was ſo wonderfully executed that it appeared to be the effect of divine providence, rather than of human art.

The ſecond ſtory had not, like the lower part, a large door towards the eaſt, but ſeveral ſmall doors were made to enter from the ſides. The king cauſed winding ſtairs to be cut in the wall, which ſtairs led to the upper part. The temple was entirely lined with cedar; and the timbers were joined by iron cramps, whereby great ſtrength and ſolidity were given to the building. Solomon cauſed the temple to be divided into two parts, the more inward of which was a ſpace of twenty cubits ſquare, called the holy of holies, and declared to be inacceſſible, being particularly conſecrated to the Almighty. The other ſpace of forty cubits was called the holy temple, and deſtined to the uſe of the prieſts. In the wall dividing the temple a large cedar door was made, and it was richly gilt and carved, and before it hung a veil of the fineſt ſilk and linen, curiouſly embroidered with hiſtorical and other repreſentations in purple, ſcarlet, and a variety of other colours in the higheſt perfection.

The king cauſed two golden cherubims to be made, and he placed them in the holy of holies, and dedicated them to the Lord. They were each five cubits in height, and their wings, which were five cubits long, being ſtretched out, touched the walls on the north and ſouth ſides, and the other wings joining each other formed a covering for the holy ark. The ſuperb and curious workmanſhip of theſe cherubims is beyond the power of deſcription. The doors were twenty cubits broad, and of a proportionable height, and overlaid with beaten gold; with which precious metal even the floor of the temple was entirely covered. Before the entrance of this place was hung a rich curtain. In ſhort, nothing was omitted which could add ſplendor and magnificence to this aſtoniſhing ſtructure.

Solomon being informed that a man in Tyre, named Chiram, was highly celebrated for his ſkill in the manufacture of metals, ſent thither to engage him. This man was alſo an ingenious architect. The father of Chiram was an Iſraelite by extraction, and his mother was of the tribe of Naphthali. The moſt difficult and curious work was aſſigned to this artificer, who caſt two hollow pillars, the braſs of which was four fingers thick; they were eighteen cubits high and twelve in circumference. Upon the top of each of theſe pillars was formed a chapiter of braſs five cubits high. Theſe were overſpread with a kind of braſs net-work; below them were lilys of the ſame deviſe, and under theſe, two rows of pomegranates depended, an hundred in each row. The pillars were fixed in the entrance of the porch of the temple, and that on the right hand ſide was called Jachin, and the other Boaz.

Chiram made a veſſel of molten braſs, bearing ſome reſemblance to a globe ſevered in the middle, and from its extraordinary magnitude it was called the ſea.

It

It meaſured ten cubits from ſide to ſide, and the metal was four fingers thick. It was ſupported by a twiſted pillar, meaſuring one cubit in circumference. At the baſe of this pillar were placed the figures of twelve bulls and oxen, ſo diſpoſed that three faced the eaſt, three the weſt, three north, and three ſouth. The veſſel called the ſea would contain three thouſand baths; and each bath is eſtimated to be nearly equal to ten Engliſh pottles. He made ten brazen baſes, of equal dimenſions, with ſquare ſides: the length of them was five cubits each, the breadth four, and the height ſix. To each baſe were made four pillars or ſupporters, and the parts, which were ſeparately caſt, were ſo nicely compacted and incorporated, that each baſe and its pillars appeared to be one entire piece of work. The figures of a bull, a lion, an eagle, and other repreſentations, were wrought upon the baſes; the pillars, and the plates of the borders were adorned with correſponding images. The whole was mounted on a carriage with four wheels, each a cubit and a half over, the wheels, ſpokes, nave, and every other part being caſt, and put together with ſurprizing ingenuity. Emboſſed work was introduced, in repreſentation of hands, ſhoulders, the paws of lions, talons of eagles, and branches of palm trees, for the purpoſe of making good the angles; and reſts were formed for receiving the lavers. To each of theſe baſes was made a laver of the ſame metal, being four cubits high, and of an equal meaſure in diameter. The lavers, each of which would contain forty baths, being placed on the baſes, were depoſited in the temple, five being diſpoſed on the north and five on the ſouth ſide, facing the eaſt. The brazen ſea was alſo depoſited in the building; and it was aſſigned to the uſe of the prieſts, who were to waſh their hands and feet therein, previous to their approaching the altar. The lavers were made uſe of for cleanſing the entrails and other parts of the victims deſtined for the holocauſts.

He conſtructed a brazen altar, meaſuring twenty cubits long, twenty broad and ten in depth, on which the burnt-offerings were made; and provided water pots, fleſh-hooks, and boilers, of the ſame metal; and, in ſhort, all the utenſils appertaining to the religious ceremony. Solomon cauſed an immenſe number of tables to be made of various forms and ſizes, and of ineſtimable value; and one, which was larger than the reſt, was entirely compoſed of pure gold, and on this was placed the ſhew-bread: on the other tables were placed twenty thouſand veſſels and cups of gold, and forty thouſand of ſilver.

In conformity to the injunction given by Moſes, Solomon provided twelve thouſand candleſticks, one of them, according to the direction of the law, held lights which were kept conſtantly burning. This candleſtick was placed on the ſouth ſide, oppoſite the table for the ſhew-bread, which was on the north; and in the middle was the golden altar. The ark of the covenant was kept in the holy of holies, which was divided from the fore-part of the temple.

Solomon alſo cauſed eighty thouſand wine cups, ten thouſand goblets, and other veſſels of various forms to be made in gold, and twenty thouſand in ſilver. He alſo provided twenty thouſand of the golden meaſures, called the moſaical Hin and Aſſaran, and forty thouſand of the ſame in ſilver; eighty thouſand golden diſhes and plates for ſteeping flour in upon the altar,

and

and double that number in ſilver; twenty thouſand golden cenſers for incenſe, and fifty thouſand other cenſers for conveying fire from the great to the ſmaller altar.

This great king further provided one thouſand pontifical robes, with ephods, ſuits of precious ſtones and other appendages, but there was no crown except that on which Moſes had inſcribed the name of the Almighty, and which may be ſeen at this time: ten thouſand ſilken veſts, and a like number of purple girdles for the prieſts; two hundred thouſand trumpets, agreeable to the directions of Moſes, and the ſame number of ſilver ſtoles, for the uſe of the Levites, whoſe office was to chant hymns ſacred to the honor and praiſe of God; and four hundred thouſand harps, pſalteries and other muſical inſtruments for accompanying the voice, which were formed of a compoſition of gold and ſilver.

Nothing was omitted which wealth and induſtry could add to this glorious work, to manifeſt the zeal of the founder towards the Almighty, and inſpire others with correſpondent affections. That part of the temple wherein the prieſts only were to be admitted was guarded by a fence three feet high: the ſpace which was for the reception of ſuch of the public as came with the purity and qualification required by the law, was a quadrangular court, with ſpacious galleries, and four ſuperb gates opening to the eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth; and theſe gates were plated with gold.

For the purpoſe of erecting this temple the moſt aſtoniſhing hollows were filled up; for the earth was raiſed four hundred cubits in order to form it on a level with the ſurface of the rock on which the building was raiſed. The edifice was environed with a double cloiſter, ſupported by two ranges of pillars, each of which was hewn, in an entire piece, from the rock. Theſe cloiſters were wainſcotted with cedar, the doors were compoſed of ſilver, and the roof was fret-work. This ſtupendous undertaking was compleated in ſeven years; and, conſidering the magnificence and ingenuity ſo aſtoniſhingly diſplayed, it may juſtly be ſaid to have been the work of ages comprized within that period.

The temple being brought to a ſtate of perfection, Solomon diſpatched letters to the elders of Iſrael and the principals of the different tribes, requeſting them to ſummon the people to Jeruſalem in order to view the temple, and to aſſiſt in removing the ark of alliance thither. In the ſeventh month, which the Hebrews calls Thuri, and the Macedonians Hyperberetæus, the populace aſſembled; and this was the time for celebrating the feaſt of the tabernacles, which was the moſt ſolemn feſtival obſerved by the Iſraelites. The holy ark, the tabernacle of Moſes, and the ſacred veſſels belonging to the altar, were conveyed into the temple by the prieſts, preceeded by the king, the people and the Levites, who ſprinkled the way with the blood of the victims for ſacrifice, and perfumed the air with incenſe, the fragrancy of which extended to a great diſtance, and it was of ſo grateful and reviving a quality, that though the populace had danced and ſung all the way, they reached the temple without any ſenſation of fatigue; and they

concluded that the Almighty had deſcended to conſecrate the temple, which was dedicated to his worſhip.

Having reached the holy of holies, the place deſtined for the reception of the ark, the people drew back, and left the prieſts to convey it into the oracle, where they fixed it under the two cherubims, which had been made with the points of their wings extending each to the other, ſo that the ark, which ſtood juſt beneath, appeared to be covered and protected thereby. In the ark were depoſited the two ſtone tables, which had the ten commandments engraven on them, as they had been delivered by God on mount Sinai. In the ſanctuary were alſo placed the candleſticks, table, and golden altar, diſpoſed in the ſame manner as they heretofore had been in the tabernacle, when daily ſacrifices were offered up. Directly oppoſite to the door was placed the brazen altar, that the grandeur of the worſhip on the other ſide might be the better ſeen. In the temple were likewiſe depoſited, all together, the remainder of the holy utenſils and veſſels.

The moſt reſpectful care having been taken to place the ark in a proper manner, and the prieſts being retired, a cloud deſcended which ſo obſcured the view, that they ſcarcely ſaw each other; but its effects were ſo benign, that they appeared not as proceeding from a common cauſe, but an intimation of the Divine pleaſure, and of the deſcent of God to dwell in the temple.

As the people were deliberating on this event, Solomon aroſe, and with equal dignity and devotion, prayed as follows; "O God who dwelleſt in "eternity, thou who haſt created this world, the heavens, earth, air, and "the ſea, from nothing: who filleſt all nature with thine unbounded and "incomprehenſible greatneſs; look with compaſſion on us who have built "a temple to the glory of thy name. May our prayers be heard, O God, "and our ſacrifices accepted: though thou art omnipreſent, be particu-"larly with thy ſervants. Nothing is hid from thee: from thine heavens, "then, attend to our petitions. Have mercy, upon us, O God, who "heareſt thoſe that conſtantly worſhip thee, and reverently love and ſerve "thee."

This prayer being ended, Solomon addreſſed the people on the providence and power of the Almighty, informing them how, in viſions and dreams, ſtrange things had been made known to David his father, reſpecting things paſt and to come, regarding himſelf, the name given him, his ſucceeding to the government, the raiſing the temple, his family being eſtabliſhed, and the welfare of the people at large: "And now (ſaid he) as many of the pro-"phecies are fulfilled, be you thankful to the Lord, not only for preſent "enjoyments, but for future promiſes, and conſider the bleſſings beſtowed "as a prelude to greater yet to come."

Thus ſaying, Solomon lifted up his hand, and looking towards the temple, exclaimed "What, O God! are the moſt ſplendid works of man, com-"pared with the leaſt of thy bounties! How ſhalt thou, who wanteſt not our "ſervices, be requited by thoſe who have nothing to beſtow! All we can "offer is the tribute of our thanks and gratitude, a diſtinction by which men "are honoured above thy other creatures; which thanks I now render, for

The Jews celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles.

"myſelf, my family, and my people, for thy bleſſings heaped upon us. "Accept, then, the words of our mouths, as the only preſent method of "expreſſing our duty, for thy mercy to my deceaſed father, who was raiſed "by thee from the ſheepfold to the throne, and for thy bounty to myſelf, "in the ratification of thy moſt gracious promiſes and predictions. Con- "tinue to us, as to a choſen race, thy bleſſing; may the government re- "main uninterrupted in our family, for a ſucceſſion of ages, agreeable to "thy promiſe to my father David. Grant this, O God; and may my peo- "ple poſſeſs thoſe virtues that may make them acceptable to thee. Con- "deſcend, O God, to make this temple the place of thy peculiar reſidence. "I am ſenſible that the heavens and earth are too confined for thy majeſty: "much leſs can a building of wood and ſtone, the work of mortal hands, be "worthy of it: yet I cannot refrain from imploring thy protection of it. "Preſerve it, O God, from the attacks of our enemies, and let thy poſ- "ſeſſion of it be its peculiar defence: and if, in future time, the ſins of this "people ſhall call aloud for thy judgments, let their humble ſupplications, "and unfeigned repentance, in this, thy houſe, be accepted as an atone- "ment for their crimes. And I implore this mercy, O God, not only for "the Hebrews, but for all people who ſhall worſhip thee in this place. "Thus ſhall the world know that we are thy choſen people, and that this is "thine habitation; and it will be ſeen that the Hebrews are devoutly an- "xious for a general diſtribution of thy mercies."

Solomon having ſaid this, bowed to the ground, and having worſhipped God, aroſe and offered a variety of ſacrifices, of the acceptance of which proof was given, by a flaſh of fire which deſcended to the altar, and conſumed the ſacrifices. The multitudes who ſaw this, conſidered it as a token that God acknowledged the temple, and approved the worſhip; which ſo tranſported them, that they joined in one general adoration of the Deity. Solomon now returned thanks for ſo perfect a teſtimony of God's favour, in which he entreated the people to join him. He then recommended conſtant prayer to God, that they might ſtill experience his grace, by living righteous and holy lives, according to the laws of Moſes; which would certainly render them the moſt happy of all people. He reminded them that their happineſs could be only ſecured by what had acquired it, the practice of juſtice and religion. He farther ſaid, it was not ſo eaſy to keep what they had obtained, as to procure what they wanted; and urged them not to forfeit, by miſconduct, what their virtue had acquired.

Solomon having finiſhed his exhortations, diſmiſſed the people, after an offering of 12,000 calves, and 120,000 lambs, on which all the Iſraelites, with their wives and children, were entertained, being the firſt blood ſhed in the temple. Excluſive hereof, the feaſt of tabernacles was celebrated, at Solomon's expence, before the temple; which was very ſplendid and magnificent, and continued for a fortnight.

The hurry of public buſineſs being ended, every one thought of returning home, after acknowledging the benevolence, good conduct, and wiſdom of the king, and offering prayers for his continued life, and the happineſs of his people. They returned rejoicing, ſinging, and praiſing God: and the

rediouſneſs of their journey was alleviated by the joy of their hearts, and the mutual good humour of the company.

Soon after this, God appeared again to Solomon in his ſleep, when he heard a voice intimating, that his prayers and ſacrifices were accepted; and that God would preſerve him, and dwell in his temple, while himſelf, his ſubjects, and their poſterity continued faithful in worſhip, as his father David had done. On this condition it was promiſed that he ſhould reach the utmoſt ſublunary happineſs; that the poſſeſſion of the throne ſhould remain in his family; and that the ſceptre ſhould for ever be ſwayed by a prince of the tribe of Judah: on the contrary, that if they ſhould depart from their preſent worſhip, and ſeek ſtrange gods, they ſhould be cut off from the face of the earth, and be no more a diſtinct people; but being harraſſed by war, and other calamities, ſhould wander as exiles and vagabonds through the world. Solomon learnt from the voice of God, that, if his people apoſtatized, the new building ſhould be deſtroyed, and burnt by Barbarians, and Jeruſalem laid in aſhes by an unrelenting foe; ſo that amazement ſhould ariſe from the extremity of the diſtreſs, that a people lately ſo favoured of heaven, and ſo diſtinguiſhed by their riches and ſplendor, ſhould at once ſink to ſuch utter contempt: to which themſelves would anſwer, that the forſaking their God, and abandoning the religion of their forefathers, and their country, had brought that judgment upon them.

The temple being compleated, Solomon began to build a royal palace, which was thirteen years in compleating. He was not ſo anxious reſpecting the latter, as the former, which (as we have heretofore ſaid) was finiſhed in ſeven years, owing to the particular aid and bleſſing of God. The court of Solomon was greatly inferior to the temple, as the latter was deſigned for the immediate worſhip of God, the other for the reſidence of an earthly monarch: But it was adapted to its deſign, and a credit to the prince and people who built it.

The following is a deſcription of this ſumptuous edifice. On ſeveral rows of pillars an extenſive building was erected, reſembling a common hall in which trials are heard. Its length was one hundred, its breadth fifty, and its depth thirty cubits; a ſpace but proportioned to receive the numbers continually thronging to it. For ſecurity and ornament it had double doors, and was ſupported by ſixteen ſquare columns, encloſed with corinthian work in cedar wood. A building was erected in the midſt of this hall, which was thirty cubits ſquare, and was ſupported by ſtout pillars: and here a throne was placed, where the king uſed to give judgment in perſon. Next to the hall were the queen's apartments, with drawing-rooms, which were adorned with cedar, and built on ſtones of ten cubits ſquare, which were in part plain, and partly adorned with marble, after the mode cuſtomary in temples and palaces.

Three depths of elegant hangings adorned the room, in which were carved images of trees, plants, &c. ſo finely executed as to appear conſtantly moving. Figures of various colours, on a white ground, filled up the ſpace to the ceiling. There were rooms for retirement, rooms of ſtate, and long galleries, all gilt and furniſhed in the moſt ſuperb taſte. The ſervices of plate for

for the king's table were of pure gold. To deſcribe this whole maſs of building, the courts, chambers, vaults, turrets, and other offices, would be an endleſs taſk. In fact, the edifice was a compoſition of gold, ſilver, marble, cedar, with valuable ſtones diſperſed on the walls and ceilings, as the temple had been adorned. A large throne was erected, and moſt ſuperbly carved and decorated. It was aſcended by ſix ſteps, at both ends of each of which was a lion, and two at the top. On this throne were two arms, as if to ſupport the king when he ſat on it; and beneath him was the figure of a bullock; and the whole was a compoſition of pure gold.

The temple and palace took near twenty years in compleating, towards the conſtruction of which Hiram king of Tyre ſent vaſt treaſures of gold and ſilver, and large quantities of cedar and cyprus wood; in return for which Solomon remitted him, annually, great plenty of corn, wine, and oil. He likewiſe offered to his acceptance twenty cities ſituated near Tyre, on the borders of Galilee: but Hiram having taken a view of them, did not like them, and therefore declined the preſent, with many acknowledgements of Solomon's polite offer: wherefore that diſtrict of country was named Chabalon, which, in the Phœnician language, ſignifies "It doth not pleaſe "me."

So great was the opinion that Hiram had of Solomon's wiſdom, that he conſtantly conſulted him on every difficulty, and always received a ſatisfactory anſwer. Menander, the hiſtorian, who tranſlated the annals of Tyre from the Philiſtine language into Greek, ſpeaking of theſe two princes, ſays, "Hiram "ſucceeded his father Abibale, as king of Tyre, over which he reigned "thirty four years, and lived fifty three. A piece of made ground, called "the great field, he annexed to the iſland, and, in the temple of Jupiter, "erected a golden pillar to his honor. He deſtroyed the old temples, and "erected new ones to Hercules and Aſtarte, and cauſed many materials to be "cut from mount Libanus, to cover the holy places. In the month called "Peritius, he ſet up the ſtatue of Hercules. The Eyceans having neglect-"ed to pay him a tribute, he made an expedition againſt them, conquered, "and returned. During his reign, a young man, named Abdemonus, "undertook to reſolve all intricate queſtions that ſhould be propoſed to him "by Solomon king of Jeruſalem." Reſpecting Hiram, Dius writes as follows. "On the death of Abibale, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Hiram, "who enlaged the borders by filling up the vacant places on the eaſt quar-"ter of the city. The temple of Olympian Jupiter, which heretofore ſtood "at a diſtance, was by him removed into the city, and enriched with gold "to a vaſt amount. He gave orders for felling cedar from mount Libanus, "with which to erect holy places." Dius farther ſays, "That Solomon "would frequently ſend difficult queſtions to Hiram, to be explained on the "forfeiture of a large ſum of money: that Abdemonus interpreted them, "and ſent other queſtions to Solomon, which he alſo was to anſwer, or in-"cur a large penalty."

Solomon now repaired the walls of Jeruſalem, to which he added towers and other ſecurities. He likewiſe built, in the land of the Philiſtines, the cities of Aſar, Magedon, and Gazara. This laſt city, Pharaoh, king of Ægypt, had heretofore taken, razed it to the ground, and deſtroyed all the inhabitants; but afterwards gave it to his daughter, on her marriage with Solomon, who cauſed it to be rebuilt as a city of ſtrength. He alſo built Betachora, Baleth, and other places of pleaſing retirement, diſtinguiſhed for good water, and pure air. Having taken poſſeſſion of the entrance of the deſert towards Syria, he there erected the fortified city of Thamadora, by which name the Syrians ſtill call it; but the Greeks call it Palmyra. This city having ſeveral ſprings and fountains, was intended for a watering place to thoſe who paſſed through the deſert. It was ſix days journey from Babylon, two from Upper Syria, and one from the Euphrates.

As many people have wondered how it ſhould happen that all the kings of Ægypt, from Minæas, the founder of Memphis (long before our father Abraham's time) to Solomon, above 1300 years, ſhould be called Pharaoh, I anſwer, that in the language of Ægypt, Pharaoh ſignifies king. I conceive that they are educated with other names, but, aſſuming the rank, they take that of the king. Thus it was with the kings of Alexandria, who were all called Ptolemy, after the firſt monarch. Thus, likewiſe, with the Roman emperors, whoſe family name was ſunk in that of Cæſar. Herodotus of Halicarnaſſus reckons three hundred and thirty kings of Ægypt, without naming them, as they were all called Pharaoh. A woman afterwards ſucceeding to the throne, he diſtinguiſhes her by her proper name of Nicaulis, as Pharaoh was the name common to the men only. I do not find that there was any king of Ægypt called Pharaoh, after Solomon's father-in-law: nor have I any doubt but Nicaulis was that queen of Ægypt and Æthiopia who went to viſit Solomon.

Between mount Libanus and the city Amathe, there yet dwelt a number of Canaanites, who refuſed ſubmiſſion to the king of Iſrael; but at length Solomon compelled them to pay an annual tribute of a fixed number of ſlaves, who were to till the land, and do other laborious exerciſe; for the Hebrews engaged in no ſervile offices; it being thought diſhonourable for thoſe who had ſubdued ſo many nations to do the work of captives. The diſpoſition of the Iſraelites was turned to arms, military exerciſes, the uſe of horſes, chariots, &c. The Canaanites were kept to conſtant work, and ſix hundred perſons appointed to ſuperintend them, and to ſee they did their duty.

At Ezon-Geber, a bay of Ægypt, on the Red-Sea, the king conſtructed a number of ſhips. This port is now named Berenice, and is near the city of Elan, formerly deemed to be in the Hebrew juriſdiction. King Hiram greatly aſſiſted king Solomon in preparing his navy; ſending him mariners and pilots, who conducted Solomon's officers to Ophir, called the Land of Gold, where they collected four hundred talents of gold, which they carried to Solomon.

So great a character had Solomon now obtained for his virtue and knowledge, that Nicaulis, queen of Ægypt and Æthiopia, who was alſo diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed for her wiſdom, was deſirous of viſiting him, doubtful if the reports concerning him had not exceeded the fact. When ſhe had deliberated ſome time on the matter, ſhe came to a reſolution, and deſpiſed the inconvenience and danger of a long voyage, that her judgment might be convinced of the truth of what ſhe had heard. Thus reſolved, ſhe proceeded towards Jeruſalem with a moſt ſumptuous equipage, having in her train many camels laden with precious ſtones, gold, and perfumes. When ſhe arrived, Solomon received her with all the diſtinction due to her high rank, and ſo eaſily reſolved the difficult queſtions ſhe put to him, that ſhe was loſt in wonder to find the reality ſo much exceed the report. The ſplendor of the royal palace, the order and regularity of the edifice, and the king's ſagacious management in the building of it, were all matter of aſtoniſhment to her. The Grove of Lebanon, which was deemed the maſter-piece of the building, charmed her highly; nor was ſhe leſs pleaſed with the œconomy of the houſehold, the regularity of the entertainments, and the ſingular grace which accompanied all that Solomon did. The ſight of the daily ſacrifices, and the devotion with which the prieſts and Levites performed their worſhip, afforded her great pleaſure. This matter was conſtantly in her thoughts; and when ſhe had pondered on the ſubject a long time, ſhe addreſſed the king to the following purport:

"Illuſtrious ſovereign! There is ſo much of doubt and uncertainty in com-
"mon report, that when this report verges on the extreme of good or evil,
"we are conſtrained to with-hold our aſſent to it; but in reſpect to your in-
"tellectual faculties and diſtinguiſhed glory, common fame, ſo far from
"having exceeded the fact, hath fallen far ſhort of it; and I am this day a
"witneſs of that real dignity which I thought had been heretofore exceeded
"in deſcription. The Hebrews are bleſſed, the friends and ſubjects of So-
"lomon are bleſſed, who are continual witneſſes of his wiſdom; and all
"praiſe be rendered to God for ordaining ſo worthy a prince to rule over this
"nation."

This ſpeech being delivered, the queen preſented to Solomon twenty talents of gold, beſides precious ſtones, ſpices and perfumes to a great amount. Tradition likewiſe reports that ſhe gave him a root of balſam, the firſt of the kind that had ever been brought into Judæa, where it has ſo greatly thrived ſince that time. Solomon was not deficient in making proper returns to the queen of ſuch preſents as he thought might pleaſe her, and he even prevented her wiſhes in every thing that he conceived would yield her ſatisfaction. The queen returned to her own country ſoon after this mutual exchange of preſents.

At this period Solomon's ſhips returned from Ophir, (named the Land of Gold) bringing rich ſtones, and great quantities of pine-wood, which laſt was uſed, partly to ſupport the palace and temple, and partly in the conſtruction of pſalteries, harps, and cymbals, on which the Levites ſung and played to the glory of God. For ſize and beauty, Solomon had never ſeen ſuch wood before: but it ſhould be remembered that this is not what is uſually called pine, being more gloſſy and white, and having ſome reſemblance in the grain to that of a fig-tree.

Solomon

Solomon received by this fleet ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix talents of gold, excluſive of preſents from the kings and governors of Arabia; and the merchants had their uſual adventures. The king ordered two hundred targets to be caſt of this gold, which weighed each ſix hundred ſhekels, and were hung up in the principal hall in the grove of Lebanon. Even the cups that Solomon drank out of were made of beaten gold, adorned with ſtones of value; and of this rich metal his common utenſils were made. In the above traffic no money paſſed, Solomon ſending his own ſhips from the ſea of Tarſus, and receiving in exchange negroes, gold, ſilver, ivory, apes, &c. This voyage, the going and returning, uſually took up three years.

The fame of Solomon's wiſdom and grandeur was now ſo extended that the ſovereigns of many kingdoms wiſhed to ſee him, and loſt no opportunity of teſtifying their regard by the preſents they ſent him, which conſiſted of gold, ſilver, purple robes, perfumes, and ſpices, with chariots, horſes, and mules, the laſt of uncommon ſtrength and beauty. The king had now a thouſand chariots, and twelve thouſand horſes, which were rode by young men admirably ſkilled to manage them. Theſe youths were all dreſſed in purple, and when the ſun ſhone on their hair, which was intermixed with threads of gold, it had a moſt beautiful effect. Solomon uſed to ride, dreſſed in white, in a chariot, attended by theſe men, having arms and quivers, to a pleaſant houſe he had near the city, in which he much delighted, for the beauty of its gardens, walks, and fountains.

Solomon was of ſo quick a penetration that it may be ſaid he ſcarcely ſuffered the moſt minute improvement, either for uſe or ornament, to eſcape him. He cauſed all the public roads leading to the palace at Jeruſalem, to be regularly paved with a black ſtone; and to this he was induced by the double conſideration of diſplaying his own magnificence, and contributing to the convenience of the public. He kept but few chariots at Jeruſalem, but diſperſed great numbers at different towns, which were called the Chariot-Towns, and at theſe places they were kept free of expence. The profuſion of ſilver which was at Jeruſalem is not to be deſcribed; and cedars, which had before been known only in Judæa, were now to be met with as frequently as mulberry-trees. He commiſſioned certain Ægyptian merchants to purchaſe a number of chariots, with two horſes to each, at the rate of ſixty ſilver drachmas for every carriage and pair of horſes: and theſe he ſent as preſents to the king of Syria, and other ſovereigns beyond the Euphrates.

It is indiſputable that Solomon was greatly ſuperior to any monarch who had graced a throne, in piety, wiſdom, juſtice, power, and other eminent qualities: but it is equally certain that by acting contrary to the law of Moſes, and the religious and legal inſtitutions of his anceſtors, he blaſted the hopes which his exemplary conduct in the early part of life had inſpired. His ungovernable attachment to women was ſuch that, not contented with thoſe of his own country, he took the Tyrians, Sidonians, Ammonites, and others, in direct violation of the law of Moſes. The prohibition of the Hebrews intermarrying with foreign women, was made on the wiſe conſideration that women profeſſing an idolatrous religion might ſeduce men from the true and eternal God. Solomon contracted marriage with no leſs than

ſeven

ſeven hundred women, who were deſcended of the moſt exalted families, and one of them was daughter to the king of Ægypt; and he had three hundred concubines. So infatuated was he by theſe women, that, to prove his tenderneſs and affection, he yielded to their impious examples. As his age encreaſed, the powers of his mind were impaired in proportion to thoſe of his body; and as he became indifferent in his duty to Almighty God, he was induced with the leſs difficulty to adopt the abominable mode of worſhip which was exerciſed and recommended by his women.

His conduct, in regard to the other ſex, was not his firſt breach of duty; for he tranſgreſſed the law by cauſing the figures of the twelve bulls to be placed round the pedeſtal of the brazen ſea, and afterwards cauſing the lions to be fixed on the ſteps of his throne. In his own family he had an inſtance of the moſt eminent piety, honor, and virtue, in the perſon of his father, whoſe diſtinguiſhed qualities were recommended as an example, by a divine viſitation during his ſleep, to which he was inſtructed to adhere on the penalty of incurring the divine vengeance. He diſregarded theſe inſtructions, and the conſequence was an ignominious death.

After this, the Almighty, by the agency of a prophet, communicated to Solomon that he ſhould meet a retribution for his iniquities: but that, in conſideration of the promiſe given to his father, by the Almighty, he ſhould not be deprived of the government, which ſhould be tranſmitted to his ſon, who ſhould however, be puniſhed for the crimes of his father: the prophet farther ſaid that ten of the tribes ſhould revolt from his ſucceſſor, but that from a regard to his grandfather, and the temple at Jeruſalem, the other two ſhould preſerve their allegiance. The king became exceedingly diſtreſſed in the idea of being removed from the eminence of temporal grandeur and felicity, to the extremity of miſery.

Not long after this meſſage had been pronounced by the prophet, the Almighty was pleaſed to create a powerful and vindictive enemy to Solomon in the perſon of Adad, who was a native of Idumæa, and a deſcendant of the royal line. When the Iſraelites conquered Idumæa, Joab, whom David had appointed to the command of the army, cauſed all the males capable of bearing arms, who could be found within the ſpace of ſix months, to be put to death. Adad, who was at this time very young, eſcaped to the dominions of Pharaoh, king of Ægypt, who gave him a gracious reception, and, beſides houſes and lands, appointed him a revenue: and he conceived ſo high an eſteem for him, that, in the proceſs of time, he gave him in marriage to his ſiſter Taphines, who bore to him a ſon, whom Pharaoh cauſed to be brought up with his own children. Upon intelligence being brought into Ægypt that David and Joab were deceaſed, Adad requeſted the permiſſion of the king to return to his native country; where he intended to foment an inſurrection, in revenge for the cruel maſſacres perpetrated in the early part of his life. Pharaoh repeatedly urged him to relate the motive of his deſire to relinquiſh the protection of his beſt friend, but was not able to obtain a ſatisfactory reply.

The iniquities of Solomon calling now aloud for vengeance, the Almighty inclined Pharaoh to yield to the ſolicitation of Adad, who repaired to Idumæa with a reſolution to raiſe a rebellion againſt Solomon: but, obſerving the garriſons to be exceedingly ſtrong, and the whole country in an excellent ſtate of defence, he judged that he could not effect his purpoſe by ſurpriſe, and adjourned to Syria, where he united with a man named Rezon, the leader of a deſperate banditti, who was a fugitive from his maſter Adadezer, king of Zobah. In conjunction with this man, he ſubdued that part of Syria, and having procured himſelf to be proclaimed king, he committed great ſlaughter upon the Iſraelites, and obtained immenſe booty, during the reign of Solomon.

Jeroboam, the ſon of Nebat, was left at an early age to the direction of his mother: and as he advanced towards manhood, being obſerved by Solomon as a youth of a generous diſpoſition, he appointed him ſuperintendant of the improvements making to the walls of Jeruſalem; and as a reward for the punctual diſcharge of his duty in this office the king inveſted him with the military command of the tribe of Joſeph. As he was departing on ſome occaſion from the city, he was met by the prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, who having called him to a retired ſpot, took hold of his garment, and rent it in twelve parts: he ordered him to take ten of the pieces, according to the will of the Lord, who, as a puniſhment for having attached himſelf to prohibited women and ideal gods, had determined to take the government from Solomon; adding, that in conſideration of the promiſe to David, two of the tribes would continue their allegiance to the ſon of Solomon. The prophet exhorted Jeroboam to the rigid obſervance of the laws and the pious example of David, and carefully to avoid thoſe iniquities which had produced the reprobation of Solomon, as the certain means of eſcaping a ſimilar fate.

This prediction of the prophet much elated the ſpirits of Jeroboam, who being naturally of a turbulent and ambitious temper, immediately declared his intentions, and endeavoured to ſpirit up the army to an inſurrection; but Solomon being early appriſed of theſe practices, gave orders for apprehending him, whereupon Jeroboam judged it prudent to decamp, and he took refuge in the dominions of Shiſhack, king of Ægypt.

CHAP. III.

The deceaſe of king Solomon, and the ſucceſſion of Rehoboam to the government. Ten of the tribes eſpouſe the cauſe of Jeroboam, by whom they are ſeduced to the worſhip of idols. He aſſumes the character of high-prieſt, and is reprehended by the prophet Jadon. Rehoboam becomes an apoſtate from the Almighty.

IT is indiſputable that Solomon was the richeſt, and, excepting with reſpect to the crimes which he was led into in the decline of life, by his violent paſſion for women, the wiſeſt ſovereign upon earth. Having reigned eighty years, he expired at the age of ninety-four, and was interred at Jeruſalem.

Rehoboam,

Rehoboam, the ſon of Solomon by Naama, an Ammonitiſh woman, ſucceeded to the government. Upon the deceaſe of the king, ſome of the principal people ſtrongly urged the return of Jeroboam, who ſpeedily repaired to Sichem, to which place Rehoboam had alſo adjourned for the purpoſe of declaring himſelf the ſucceſſor to the throne, under the ſanction of the unanimous ſuffrages of the people. Jeroboam joined divers of the princes and leading people in an application to Rehoboam, whom they adviſed to adopt a mild government, obſerving that, in ſome inſtances, Solomon had been rather oppreſſive; and that inſtead of rendering himſelf an object of terror to his ſubjects, his ſafety and happineſs required him to regulate his conduct in ſuch a manner as to obtain an acquieſcence to the meaſures of his government from an unfeigned affection to his perſon, rather than a dread of his power. Rehoboam delayed making a reply for three days: and this circumſtance was the foundation of a jealouſy among the people, who conſidered that an immediate compliance with ſo reaſonable a requeſt would not have been refuſed by a prince diſpoſed to promote the happineſs of his ſubjects. They reflected, however, that the ſuſpenſion did not imply an abſolute denial, and waited the event with favourable expectations.

Rehoboam ſummoned the counſellors and friends of his late father, and requeſted their advice as to the reply he ſhould make. They recommended him to behave with a gracious humility on this occaſion; obſerving that ſuch conduct would have a more favourable influence than a rigid obſervance of the formalities of ſtate. But ſo infatuated was this young prince by the charms of his new ſtation, that, rejecting the wholeſome counſel he had received, he applied for the ſentiments of ſome perſons of his own age and diſpoſition. They adviſed him to anſwer, "That they ſhould feel more weight "from his little finger, than they had done from the loins of his father; that "if they had been oppreſſed before, the oppreſſion ſhould be encreaſed; "and that if whips were the inſtruments of chaſtiſement made uſe of by his "predeceſſor, he would himſelf inflict a more painful diſcipline by chaſtiſe-"ing them with ſcorpions." In the utmoſt anxiety of hope and fear, the people aſſembled on the third day; when the king delivered the anſwer, preciſely in the words which the young men had recommended. Thus, by the providence of the Lord, was the prediction of the prophet Ahijah fulfilled. The people unanimouſly cried out, "We renounce all allegiance to the "houſe of David. If it is his deſire, let the king poſſeſs the temple which "was conſtructed by his father, but we are no longer the ſubjects of Re-"hoboam." This was the prelude of a general ſedition, which became ſo violent, that upon an officer of the king's treaſury being ſent forth to appeaſe the multitude, by attributing the cauſe of the revolt to the raſh advice of ſome inconſiderate young men, without permitting him to urge any exculpatory arguments, they ſtoned him to death. The king apprehending that his life was in danger, mounted his chariot, and made all poſſible expedition to Jeruſalem. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin continued in allegiance to him, but the others revolted to Jeroboam, and declared that they would never again acknowledge the ſovereignty of a deſcendant of David. Rehoboam muſtered one hundred and eighty thouſand men, and with this force he

he propoſed to proſecute a war againſt the ten tribes who had deſerted his cauſe, 'till he ſhould compel them to obedience. During the preparations for this intended enterprize, a prophet of God exhorted him not to engage in a civil war, urging that the defection of the tribes was an event, which for juſt ends had been produced by the providence of the Almighty.

Jeroboam conſtructed a palace at Sichem, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence, and he afterwards built another at Penuel. On the approach of the feaſt of the tabernacles, he reflected that if his people ſhould repair to Jeruſalem to celebrate that feſtival, the ceremonies of religion might ſo far operate on their minds as to induce them to acknowledge allegiance to their late ſovereign, whereby both his life and government would be in imminent danger. On theſe conſiderations he determined to erect two temples, one at Bethel, and the other at Dan, which is ſituated near the head of the leſſer Jordan. Having conſecrated the golden image of a calf in each of theſe buildings, he aſſembled the ten tribes under his command, and addreſſed them to the following effect.

" It is unneceſſary, my friends and countrymen, to mention the omnipre-
" ſence of the Diety: in whatever place we are, he hears and accepts the
" prayers we offer to him: I, therefore, conceive that for the exerciſe of
" your religion it will be totally needleſs to undertake a tedious journey to
" Jeruſalem. The builder of the temple was but a mortal, like ourſelves:
" the golden calves which are placed in the temples at Bethel and Dan,
" have been conſecrated as well as the temple at Jeruſalem. You will be
" at no loſs for the want either of prieſts or Levites: let ſuch as are inclined
" to execute the ſacerdotal function, qualify themſelves by ſacrificing a calf
" and a ram, by which ceremony alone, Aaron, the firſt of the order, was
" initiated to the prieſthood." By thus ſeducing the Hebrews from obedience to the laws of God and their country, Jeroboam was the primary cauſe of the civil wars, bondage and other calamities, which, in the progreſs of our work, it will be found they experienced.

On the approach of the feſtival of the ſeventh month, Jeroboam came to a reſolution of performing worſhip at Bethel, according to the manner practiced by the two tribes at Jeruſalem. He cauſed an altar to be erected before the golden calf, and himſelf aſſuming the character of high-prieſt, and being attended by the prieſts whom he had appointed, he proceeded to the ceremony of the holo-cauſt, but at the time he was preparing to put the fire to the offering, a prophet named Jadon arrived from Jeruſalem. Having reached the middle of the multitude, he addreſſed himſelf to the following purpoſe.
" Altar, altar, thus ſpeaketh the Almighty! From the houſe of Judah ſhall
" ariſe a man named Joſiah, who upon thee ſhall take away the life of the
" falſe prophets, impoſtors and ſeducers of his time; and on thee ſhall their
" bones be conſumed by fire. That no doubt be entertained reſpecting the
" truth of this prediction, I will confirm the authority of it by a miracle.
" The altar ſhall fall in ruins, and the fat of the victims ſhall be ſpilt on
" the ground." Jeroboam was ſo enraged by this ſpeech of the prophet, that extending his arm, he ordered ſome perſons immediately to ſeize him; and on the inſtant his arm was blaſted and ſo benumbed, that he was unable

to

to reſtore it to its former poſition; and the preſage reſpecting the falling of the altar and the fat of the ſacrifices was fulfilled. Being convinced that the prophet had been actuated by a ſpirit of inſpiration, the king requeſted him to ſupplicate the Almighty for the reſtoration of his withered arm; to this he conſented, and Jeroboam having recovered the perfect uſe of his limb, made grateful acknowledgements for the miraculous cure he had received, and preſſed the prophet to dine with him; but he declined this invitation, ſaying the Lord had commanded him to taſte neither bread nor wine during his ſtay in the city, and on his departure not to purſue the road by which he came. The abſtinence and reſerve of the prophet induced the king to be more attentive to what he had predicted than he would otherwiſe have been; and his anxiety encreaſed as he continued to reflect upon the event.

A falſe prophet who had obtained a high place in the favour of Jeroboam, by the flattering events which he pretended would come to paſs, being informed by his ſons of the miracles which Jadon had wrought, became ſo jealous of being ſupplanted in his intereſt with the king, that, notwithſtanding he was oppreſſed with the infirmities of age and ſickneſs, he roſe from his bed, and, being mounted on his aſs, rode in queſt of the ſtranger, whom he overtook while he was reſting under the ſhade of an oak tree. The uſual ſalutations being exchanged, the falſe prophet complained of the unkindneſs of the ſtranger in not calling at his habitation for refreſhment. To this he anſwered that the Lord had enjoined him againſt eating and drinking in the city. The other ſaid that the prohibition did not extend to him, for that he was himſelf a prophet, and ſent by the expreſs direction of God to give him an invitation to dinner. Not ſuſpecting the treachery of the man, Jadon returned with him; and while they were ſeated at table and engaged in the freedom of converſation, the Lord appeared to Jadon, and informed him that, as a puniſhment for his diſobedience, he ſhould be torn in pieces by a lion, and that his remains ſhould not be depoſited in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors. On his road to Jeruſalem he was ſeized and deſtroyed by a furious lion, which offered no injury to the beaſt he rode, but continued couching near the body of Jadon, ſeemingly as if to watch it. The fate of Jadon being communicated to the falſe prophet by ſome travellers, he diſpatched his ſons to remove the body to the city, and he cauſed it to be interred with a ſplendid ſolemnity. He enjoined his ſons to depoſit his remains in the ſame monument: and acknwoledged the truth of what had been predicted reſpecting the city, the altar, and the prieſts, ſaying, that if his bones were mingled with thoſe of Jadon, they could not be diſtinguiſhed, and would therefore eſcape being burnt, and other indignities uſual towards the remains of the falſe prophets.

Immediately after the funeral of Jadon, the falſe prophet went to Jeroboam, and finding him in an uneaſy ſtate of mind, he upbraided him with weakneſs in giving credit to the extravagancies of a lunatic. Jeroboam related the falling of the altar and the recovery of his arm, and aſked, if Jadon was not a man favoured of God, how ſuch miracles could be accounted for.

The other pretended that the labour of conveying ſacrifices to the altar might have occaſioned the numbneſs, and that a ſhort interval of reſt might have effected the cure; reſpecting the altar he ſaid, that, being newly erected, and the materials not properly ſettled, the great weight of the ſacrifices might reaſonably be attributed as the only cauſe of its fall. He then mentioned that Jodan had been deſtroyed by a lion, and obſerved that neither in the matters he had related, his life or death he could diſcover the leaſt circumſtance to juſtify the ſuppoſition of his poſſeſſing the gift of prophecy. Theſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon the king that he relinquiſhed all farther conſideration of obedience to the Almighty; and in ſhort, ſo entirely did he abandon himſelf to the practice of vice, that every act of his life appeared to proceed from a deſire of ſurpaſſing the enormity of his former crimes.

The cities of Bethlehem, Etan, Tekoa, Bethzar, Shoca, Adullam, Ipa, Mareſha, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachiſh, Azekah, Zorah, Ajalon and Hebron, were built in the tribe of Judah by Rehoboam, beſides many other towns of equal conſideration within the tribe of Benjamin. He appointed governors and eſtabliſhed garriſons in theſe places, which he amply ſupplied with corn, wine, oil, and every other neceſſary for defence and maintenance. The intolerable oppreſſion of Jeroboam occaſioned great numbers of the prieſts, Levites, and the laiety, to repair to Jeruſalem, for the advantage of paying adoration to the true God, inſtead of the golden calves which their king had compelled them to worſhip: and in the courſe of three years the power of Rehoboam was augmented in a very conſiderable degree. The firſt wife of Rehoboam was his kinſwoman, and by her he had three children. He married another relation named Maachab, who was daughter to Thamar, and Thamar was daughter to Abſalom; ſhe bore to him Abiah. He had eighteen wives, and thirty concubines; and theſe women bore to him twenty eight ſons and ſixty daughters. He intended that Abiah ſhould ſucceed him in the government; and to his care he entruſted his treaſure, and appointed him to ſuperintend his ſeveral places of ſtrength. It generally happens that proſperity produces a corruption of manners; and this was the caſe with Rehoboam; for as his power encreaſed, he gave additional latitude to the practice of vice. As it is uſual for the multitude to be influenced by the conduct of their ſuperiors, the licentious example of Rehoboam ſeduced his ſubjects into a profanation of the commandments of God.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Jeruſalem is beſieged by Shiſhak king of Ægypt, and baſely ſurrendered by Rehoboam. The temple plundered. The death of Rehoboam, after whom his ſon Abiah aſcends the throne. A prediction of the prophet Ahijah to Jeroboam, that he and all his family would be totally deſtroyed.

SHISHAK, king of Ægypt, was choſen by the Almighty as an inſtrument of vengeance upon Rehoboam, and not Seſoſtris, as Herodotus aſſerts. When Rehoboam was in the fifth year of his reign, Shiſhak marched againſt him with a numerous army, chiefly compoſed of Æthiophians and Africans, and ſuppoſed to contain twelve hundred chariots, ſix thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, with which he attacked and ſubdued the Iſraelites, and having eſtabliſhed garriſons in ſeveral fortified towns, which had ſurrendered to him, he laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, where Rehoboam and his people were blocked up.

In this exigency Rehoboam earneſtly ſupplicated the Almighty to grant him victory over his enemies, but his prayers were rejected: and to encreaſe his terror, the prophet Sameas informed him, that the Lord had determined to withdraw his protection from ſuch as were degenerated into a ſtate of apoſtacy. The prophet's words had ſuch an effect on the king and the people, that they acknowledged their ſins, and that their puniſhment was juſtly inflicted. Thus reduced to the moſt deſponding ſituation, the king was aſſured by the prophet that their penitence would be ſo far regarded by God that he would not ſuffer them to be totally ruined, but that the Ægyptians ſhould hold them in bondage, in order that they might be convinced whether ſerving God or man, was attended with the greater advantage. Terrified by this declaration, Rehoboam ſurrendered the city upon certain conditions: but, diſregarding the articles of the ſtipulation, Shiſhak plundered the temple, and made prize of all the plate and other treaſure which was dedicated to God, as well as that which belonged to the king: he likewiſe ſeized the golden ſhields and bucklers of Solomon; the golden quivers which had been taken from the king of Sophena by David, beſides gold and ſilver to an immenſe value. Herodotus of Halicarnaſſus has miſtaken the name of the king of Ægypt, who conquered Paleſtine Syria. We can only ſuppoſe he means the conqueſt of our country by the people of Ægypt; for he ſays, that many pillars were fixed up and remained there, on which were carved the figures of men, except the ſecret parts, which repreſented thoſe of women. This was meant to convey a diſgraceful idea of the men for yielding up their country without reſiſtance. Herodotus alſo aſſerts, that circumciſion was adopted by the Æthiopians from the Ægyptians; but it is univerſally allowed that the Philiſtines and Paleſtine Syrians received that cuſtom from them; and it is equally evident that we are the only people in Paleſtine Syria, by whom circumciſion is practiced.

When

When Shiſhak had returned into the land of Ægypt, Rehoboam cauſed a number of ſhields and bucklers to be made in braſs, and ſubſtituted them in the place of the golden ones which had been taken away. The ſucceeding part of the reign of Rehoboam was not interrupted by any remarkable event: and he died at the age of fifty-ſeven years, ſeventeen of which he held the ſovereign rule. He was a man of weak intellects and a haughty diſpoſition, and ſuffered his kingdom and himſelf to be ruined by not following the good advice he received. He was interred among the kings at Jeruſalem, and ſucceeded by his ſon Abiah, in the eighteenh year after the ten tribes had ſubmitted to his government.

Let us return to Jeroboam, whoſe wickedneſs exceeded all bounds. He daily fixed up altars in the high places, and from the loweſt claſſes of the people cauſed prieſts to be ordained, for which inſults, God cauſed a merited judgment to fall heavily upon him and his family. At this period his ſon Obimes was afflicted with ſickneſs, and he ordered his wife to dreſs herſelf as a perſon in a private ſtation, and go to the prophet Ahijah, who had formerly predicted that he ſhould himſelf obtain the royal dignity. Go to the prophet (ſaid he) and enquire whether the boy will be freed from his illneſs. She followed her huſband's directions and departed for Shiloh, where the prophet then dwelt. During the time ſhe was upon her journey, Ahijah, whoſe ſight was much impaired by age, was addreſſed by a voice from heaven, informing him that the woman was coming to his houſe and upon what occaſion; what queſtions ſhe would put to him, and what anſwers he ſhould return. When ſhe approached the door, he ſpoke to her as the wife of Jeroboam, and told her not to attempt to conceal who ſhe was, for that the power who had given him previous information of her arrival, and inſpired him with what he was about to ſay, could not be deceived. Return (ſaid he) to your huſband, and aſſure him that the Almighty hath thus ſpoken: "As I deprived the houſe of David of the regal authority, and from a mean ſtation in life, exalted thee to the dignity of a throne; and as thou haſt, with the greateſt ingratitude, deſerted me, and impiouſly put up gods of thy own invention, made by the hands of men, and preferred them before the Creator of the univerſe, I will, therefore, immediately extirpate thee and thy houſe from the face of the earth, and give your careaſſes to be eaten by the dogs and the birds of the air; and another king ſhall be in thy ſtead, who ſhall not ſuffer one man of thy family to remain alive, nor ſhall the people themſelves avoid my puniſhment, for they ſhall be driven out of the happy land they inhabit, and be ſcattered beyond the Euphrates, for imitating thy wickedneſs, and worſhipping thy Gods in ſcorn of me and what I have commanded. Haſten to your huſband, and inform him what I have now related: and as to the child it ſhall expire the inſtant you enter the city. He ſhall be interred with a public ſolemnity, and lamented as the only part of Jeroboam's family who had not merited reprobation."

Terrified at what Ahijah had ſaid, ſhe departed with the utmoſt ſpeed, and on her arrival, ſhe was exceedingly afflicted to find the words of the prophet verified in regard to the child. She related to her huſband a circumſtantial account of what Ahijah had communicated.

CHAP. V.

Jeroboam king of Iſrael, is ſubdued by Abiah king of Judah. The death of Abiah; who is ſucceeded by Aſa. Jeroboam dies; and after him his ſon Nadab reigns. Nadab is killed by Baaſha, who exterminates the family of Jeroboam.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe puniſhments Jeroboam ſtill continued to raiſe great forces, and offered battle to Abiah, who, in his father's right, then reigned over the two tribes. As this prince was but little practiced either in civil or military affairs, Jeroboam entertained the utmoſt confidence of victory. But far from being diſmayed, Abiah manifeſted a conduct which ſcarcely could be expected at his early time of life, and immediately collected a body of ſoldiers from the two tribes, and marched towards mount Samaron, where he eſtabliſhed his quarters, and prepared for battle. His army contained four hundred thouſand men; and double that force formed the army of Jeroboam. When the forces of each party were drawn up in the order of battle, Abiah repaired to an eminence, and waving his hand as a ſignal for ſilence, he thus addreſſed the followers of Jeroboam.

" It is impoſſible you can have forgot that God has promiſed that David " and his ſeed ſhall for ſeveral ages rule this kingdom: I am therefore ſur- " prized to find my father forſaken, and his ſubject Jeroboam put in his " ſtead, as well as to ſee that you have taken up arms againſt a government " which God has eſtabliſhed; and that you cannot be ſatisfied without driv- " ing the legal poſſeſſor from what ſmall portion is ſtill remaining under his " juriſdiction: for Jeroboam has already uſurped authority over the greateſt " part of the kingdom. The Almighty however will not ſuffer him long to " poſſeſs what he has ſo wickedly obtained, but will ſeverely puniſh him for " his crimes, and cauſe thoſe rapacious and oppreſſive meaſures to ceaſe, " which, inſtead of endeavouring to terminate, he employs his conſtant at- " tention to aggravate. What cauſe can be aſſigned for this falling off? " You never received any injurious treatment from my father: once indeed, " incited by evil council (of which Jeroboam was the principal cauſe), he " unhappily made uſe of an improper expreſſion, on which every one of you " departed in a rage, not only relinquiſhing allegiance to your ſovereign, " but your duty to God. You ought to have proceeded with deliberation, " and have judged more favourably of that weakneſs which is incident to " all mankind; you ſhould alſo have reflected upon my father's youth, and " that he did not affect to be endowed with any excellent gift of ſpeech; " you ſhould have conſidered him alſo as the ſon of Solomon, from whom " you had received ſuch ſignal obligations. I ſhould have ſuppoſed that all " theſe conſiderations might have induced you to excuſe an haſty expreſ- " ſion; and on the father's account, it would barely have been an act of " juſtice to have made ſome allowance for the ſon. But it is evident you " never conſidered theſe things, nor is it probable you will, if I may " form my judgment from the forces now approaching us. In what is your

" ultimate reſource fixed? It cannot ſurely be in your golden figures of " calves, your altars, and high places! you confide in your evil deeds, and " not in your religious practices. You act in oppoſition to every law both " divine and human: but in the end juſtice and piety will gain the victory; " but againſt both of theſe you militate in taking up arms againſt us, who " have always worſhipped the true God, not an idol carved from ſtone or " wood, and impoſed upon a weak and ſilly multitude, by the impiety of " their prince; but God the creator of heaven and earth, who is the primary " and ultimate cauſe of all things. Repent therefore of the wickedneſs you " have committed, and follow better courſes hereafter; or if you are deter- " mined to contend, let it be for the protection of thoſe laws from which " you derive your preſent greatneſs and felicity."

Before the concluſion of this ſpeech, a detachment from the army of Jeroboam privately marched in the rear of Abiah's troops, who were greatly alarmed by the event: but their leader encouraged them to preſerve their fortitude, exhorting them to depend on the protection of the Almighty, who would render abortive the moſt conſummate treachery levelled againſt the righteous cauſe which they were engaged to ſupport. This revived their courage, and they addreſſed themſelves to prayer, till the ſignal was given; when with loud ſhouts, they attacked the enemy whom they totally defeated, committing a more dreadful carnage than is recorded either in the Greek or Barbarian annals. Five hundred thouſand ſoldiers fell upon the field of battle. Bethel and Ithen, and all their beſt fortified towns were conquered and pillaged.

This ſtroke ſo weakened Jeroboam, that he was not in a condition to renew his attempts during the life of Abiah; who not long afterwards died, after having reigned three years; and he was interred in the ſepulchre of his foreſathers at Jeruſalem. He had by fourteen women, two and twenty ſons, and ſixteen daughters, all of whom ſurvived him. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Aſa, whom he begot upon Maachah, and under his government the Iſraelites continued in a ſtate of tranquillity for ten years.

Jeroboam died in the twenty-ſecond year after being inveſted with the ſovereignty of the ten tribes, and in the ſecond year of the reign of Aſa. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Nadab, who poſſeſſed the kingdom for two years only, during which time he endeavoured to exceed his father in every kind of wickedneſs. He levied forces, and marched againſt Gabathon, a city belonging to the Philiſtines, imagining that he could conquer the place by ſiege. While this intended enterprize was in agitation, he was treacherouſly murdered by Baaſha, the ſon of Machel. Baaſha aſſumed the government, and extirpated the whole houſe of Nadab, agreeable to the prediction of the prophet, that ſuch of the race of Jeroboam as ſhould die in the city the dogs ſhould devour, and the fowls of the air thoſe who ſhould periſh in the fields. Theſe puniſhments juſtly fell upon Jeroboam and his houſe, for deſerting the Lord, and for their other impieties.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

An exalted character of Aſa king of Judæa. Zaræus king of Æthiopia conquered by him. The king of Damaſcus enters into a confederacy againſt Baaſha, the king of Iſrael, whom Creon kills, and Zimri murders his ſon and ſucceſſor Elah.

THE moſt rigid obſervance was paid by Aſa, king of Judæa, to every inſtitution both divine and moral. He introduced the moſt wholeſome laws for the better regulating his government, and directed his attention towards correcting the abominable vices which had been introduced among the people. He had three hundred thouſand choſen men of the tribe of Judah, whoſe arms were lances and ſhields; and from the tribe of Benjamin two hundred and fifty thouſand provided with bows and bucklers. In the tenth year of the government of Aſa, Zaræus king of Æthiopia, led againſt him a body of forces conſiſting of one hundred thouſand horſe, nine hundred thouſand foot, and three hundred chariots. On his arrival at Mareſa, a city of Judah, Aſa encamped his army in the valley of Saphatha, at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and prepared for battle. Upon obſerving the formidable power of the enemy, he invoked the aid of the Almighty, declaring that he had taken up arms only through the confidence he repoſed in him, and that his aſſiſtance would more than compenſate for the inferiority of numbers, and every diſadvantage. God attended to the entreaties of Aſa, and by a ſign gave him to underſtand that he ſhould prove victorious.

With this aſſurance Aſa proceeded to the encounter. He gained an abſolute victory, and purſued the enemy with great ſlaughter to the plain of Gerar. Having obtained immenſe booty from the plunder of the town of Gerar and the camp of his adverſary, he directed his march towards Jeruſalem, near which place, the prophet Azariah, having ordered him to halt, ſpoke to the following effect:

"It hath pleaſed the Almighty, on account of your virtues, to give you "this ſignal victory, and if you proceed in a ſimilar diſcharge of your duty, "you may be aſſured that ſucceſs will attend all your future undertakings; "but if otherwiſe, you will ſuffer the moſt dreadful calamities; and a pe"riod will arrive when there will not be a prieſt qualified for the holy office, "or a true prophet to be found amongſt you. Your cities will be raſed, and "your people diſperſed through the earth, without any fixed place of reſi"dence. Exerciſe yourſelves, therefore, in acts of piety, before it is too "late, and unanimouſly offer up your thanks to God for the happineſs you at "preſent enjoy." Aſa and all his army received great comfort from theſe words; and they continued particularly careful in paying the ſtricteſt attention to their religion and laws. To enforce the latter, Aſa appointed proper officers throughout the kingdom.

Baaſha, who is already mentioned to have murdered Jeroboam's ſon, and to have uſurped the kingdom, reigned four years. His palace was at Tarſhiſh, and he far exceeded both Jeroboam and his ſon in every kind of wickedneſs. He was guilty of the greateſt tyranny and oppreſſion, and ſet even

the Almighty at defiance. Jehu, the prophet, therefore, by the command of God, informed him that he was reſolved to extirpate him and his whole race, as he had the family of Jeroboam; for as he followed the wicked example of Jeroboam, it was proper he ſhould equal him in his ſufferings. Notwithſtanding theſe threats Baaſha ſtill perſiſted in his iniquitous courſes, as if he had expected a reward for his ſins, rather than a puniſhment: at length he advanced with ſome forces to Ramath, which is about forty furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem, and a place of ſome conſequence. This city he fortified, conſidering it as an advantageous ſituation for making incurſions into the kingdom of Aſa; who was rather apprehenſive of his intentions, and reflecting on what ill conſequences might attend his people by ſuffering ſo numerous an army near them, he immediately ſent an ambaſſy with large gifts to the king of Damaſcus, entreating him to become his ally from a regard to that affection which their families had always entertained for each other. The preſents of Aſa, and the requeſted alliance were accepted by the king of Damaſcus, who detached himſelf from Baaſha, attacked his towns, and burnt and plundered ſeveral of them, among which were Achion, Dan, and Abelmaen. As ſoon as Baaſha was informed of theſe proceedings, he left Ramath, and returned to the care of affairs in his own kingdom. From the materials left at the departure of Baaſha, two ſtrong towns were built by Aſa, who called one of them Gaba, and the other Maſpha. After this, Baaſha never more entered the field, for he was murdered by Creon, and interred in the city of Arſanes. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Elah, who after he had reigned two years, was, while he was drinking with Oſa, his houſhold ſteward, killed by Zimri, one of his maſters of horſe, during the abſence of his guards, who were then laying ſiege to Gabatha, a city belonging to the Philiſtines.

CHAP. VII.

Elah the king of Iſrael being murdered by Zimri, Omri is choſen king by the army. Zimri deſtroys himſelf and the palace by fire. Omri is ſucceeded by Ahab, whoſe ruin is predicted by Elias. Jehu aſcends the throne of Iſrael, and Hazael becomes king of Aſſyria. Jezebel cauſes Naboth to be ſtoned.

AFTER the murder of Elah, Zimri became king of Iſrael, and totally extirminated the family of Baaſha, according to Jehu's prophecy. As ſoon as the kings death was known to the army, which was then before Gabathon, and that Zimri had uſurped the kingdom, they immediately elected Omri the captain of the guards, to reign over them. After raiſing the ſiege, he marched directly to Tirzah, which he took by ſtorm. Zimri perceiving there was no guard in the city, retired into one of the apartments of the palace, to which he ſet fire, and conſumed the whole building, himſelf periſhing in the flames, after a reign of only ſeven days. Every thing was now in a moſt embarraſſed ſtate; and the nation formed itſelf into two parties, the one faction ſupporting the intereſt of Omri, and the other that of Thaman: but the former ſucceeded, for Thaman was killed, and Omri enjoyed the whole kirgdo n.

kingdom. Aſa had now reigned thirty years. Omri filled the throne twelve years, half of which time he reigned at Tirzah, and the remainder at Mareon, which is called Samaria by the Greeks. The mountain on which it was erected, was purchaſed of a man whoſe name was Samar, from whom Omri called it Samareon. He excelled all his predeceſſors in wickedneſs, and like them, by daily acts of impiety, turned the affections of his ſubjects from the duty they owed their Creator. God therefore made all theſe kings the inſtruments of deſtroying each other, 'till at length they were totally extirpated. Omri died at Samaria, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ahab. We have here an excellent proof of God's goodneſs in directing the affairs of men, of his making the good happy, and totally deſtroying thoſe who diſobey him; for Aſa who reigned over Jeruſalem, and the two tribes, was the only one who enjoyed felicity: and in conſequence of his uniform integrity, he poſſeſſed the eſteem of his Creator to a very advanced time of life. He died after he had reigned forty-one years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoſhaphat, whom he begat upon Abidah, and who inherited his father's virtues, and regulated his conduct by the example of David, his intrepid and pious anceſtor.

Twenty-two years did Ahab, king of the Iſraelites, reſide in Samaria, where every alteration he made in the government was an injury thereto. He copied the vices of his predeceſſors, particularly Jeroboam, whoſe golden calves he worſhipped, and committed other enormities. Having married Jezebel, daughter of Eth-baal king of Tyre and Sidon, ſhe ſeduced him to worſhip the Gods of her country. This woman was raſh, violent, and ungovernable. She cauſed a temple to be built in honor of Baal; and had groves of trees planted, in which prieſts and falſe prophets performed ſervices of idolatry. Theſe proceedings gratified Ahab, who took delight in the prieſts, and their extravagant worſhip. At this time a prophet, named Elias, a native of Gilead, waited on the king, and ſaid that, "on "his leaving him, neither rain nor dew ſhould fall in the province, till his "return." Having thus ſaid, he departed, and travelled towards the ſouth, till arriving at a river, he there remained for the convenience of water, and was ſupplied with meat by ravens. The drought encreaſed till the river was dried up, when Elias was directed by the Almighty to go to a town between Tyre and Sidon, called Sareptha, where he would meet with a widow woman who would ſupply his neceſſities. Hereupon he ſet forward, and when near the place, beheld the woman picking up ſticks, whom he aſked for water; and, as ſhe was going for it, bid her bring bread alſo. She ſaid a handful of meal, and a little oil was all ſhe had to keep herſelf and ſon from ſtarving, and ſhe was now gathering ſticks to bake it into a cake. The prophet encouraged her to let him partake of it, on the aſſurance that, when they were all ſatisfied, her barrel ſhould be conſtantly ſupplied with meal, and her cruiſe with oil, till the earth ſhould be repleniſhed with rain by the goodneſs of God. She obeyed the prophet, and, though they conſtantly fed, found her ſtock as conſtantly repleniſhed, till the dry ſeaſon ended. Of this remarkable drought Menander ſpeaks, ſaying that in the

reign of Eth-baal, king of the Tyrians, it continued from the month of Hyperberetæus, to the ſame month in the year following. He adds, that prayers being offered for a change of weather, violent burſts of thunder conſtantly ſucceeded. It was during the reign of Ahab that Eth-baal was king of Tyre; ſo that the above drought is undoubtedly that referred to by Menander.

The ſon of the woman who had entertained Elias, falling very ill, ſhe attributed the misfortune to him; ſaying, "This man whom I have fed has "brought this judgment upon me, on a diſcovery of my ſins." At length, when the child was thought to be dead, the prophet ſaid "Give him to "me, and I will recover him to life;" and taking him to his chamber, he placed him on the bed, and prayed that God would reſtore him; for that the death of the ſon, while he remained in the family, would appear to be a ſevere requital of the mother's goodneſs to him. The prayers of Elias were heard; God reſtored the child; and the mother was all gratitude, and confeſſed that the ſpirit of God directed the actions of the prophet.

Soon after this Elias was commiſſioned to acquaint Ahab that rain would ſpeedily fall. By this time the famine raged ſo that the people were on the point of ſtarving; nor was there food for the cattle. Obadiah, who ſuperintended the royal ſtables and fields, was now ſent for by the king, who ordered him to ſeek near the rivers and ditches, for graſs for the horſes and other cattle, and alſo to find the prophet, who had been long ſought for in vain. Now Obadiah was a righteous man, who had heretofore hid in caves, and ſupported one hundred prophets, during Jezebel's perſecution of them.

Obadiah had no ſooner left the king than he met Elias, who bid him go tell his maſter that he was coming to him. "Wherefore (ſaid Obadiah) "ſhould you diſpatch me with ſuch a meſſage, who am ſent in ſearch of "you, that the king may inflict a tormenting death on you. When I am "gone, the ſpirit by which you are governed may lead you another way, "and then my life will pay the forfeit. Have more concern for my ſafety. "You know my zeal for your fraternity, by my preſervation of the hun"dred prophets, whom I ſtill ſupport in the caves." The prophet, however, inſiſted on his going, and ſolemnly ſwore to attend Ahab. When the king found he was coming, he haſtened to meet him, and in a rage exclaimed, "Is it not you that are the plague of the Iſraelites? Is it not you to "whom this drought and famine are owing?" The prophet replied that Ahab and his houſhold occaſioned their own diſtreſſes, by the introduction of falſe gods, and departing from the true religion. Elias now demanded an aſſembly of the people on mount Carmel, and that Jezebel's prophets, and the prophets of the groves might be preſent. Ahab aſſembled them; and Elias ſtanding in the midſt, ſaid, "Wherefore heſitate you betwixt two opinions? If you think "ours the true God, worſhip him, and keep his commands: or if you pre"fer the worſhip of falſe gods, the choice is yours." No reply being made, Elias proceeded thus, "Here am I, a ſingle prophet, againſt three hun"dred: if you would aſcertain which is the true religion, I will place an ox "on a pile of wood, but not ſet it on fire: let the other prophets do the "ſame, and implore their gods to inflame the pile; by which the true wor-

" ſhip will be diſtinguiſhed from the falſe." This mode of determination being acceptable to the multitude, Ahab's prophets laid their ox on the pile; and when they had offered their incantations a long while, Elias ridiculed them, bidding them ſpeak louder, for their gods might be aſleep, or on a journey. From morning till noon they continued their exorciſms, cutting and laſhing their bodies; but the effect was not produced. Elias being now to ſacrifice, bid the people draw near, and obſerve that no fire was ſecretly conveyed to his pile. Having taken twelve ſtones, that is one for each tribe, he made an altar of them, round which a deep ditch was cut: then placed his wood on the altar, and on it the ſacrifice, throwing four veſſels of clear water on the altar, which filled the ſurrounding ditch. All being prepared, the prophet called on God to convince the unbelievers; and, while he was yet ſpeaking, fire deſcended from heaven, burnt up the ſacrifice, and dried the water. This miracle aſtoniſhed the Iſraelites, who bowed to the ground in adoration of the only living and true God. Elias then ordered all the falſe prophets to be put to death, which being done, the people departed.

The prophet now aſcended mount Carmel, and ſitting on the ground, with his head on his knees, commanded his ſervant to climb a rock near the ſea, and look out for a cloud. After ſix fruitleſs attempts, he ſaid he ſaw ſomething about the ſize of a man's hand in the air, of a blackiſh colour. Elias hearing this, ſent to bid Ahab haſten to the city, or a violent ſtorm of rain would overtake him; and indeed a great rain fell, and the whole atmoſphere was clouded, by the time that he reached Jezreel, to which city Elias, by God's immediate ſupport, ran before his chariot.

Jezebel hearing of the deeds of Elias, and how he had cauſed the death of her prophets, ſent and threatened his deſtruction. Hereupon he fled to Bearſheba, where leaving his ſervant, he departed into the wilderneſs, and laying down on the ground, wiſhed for death. " I am no more worthy, " O God, (ſaid he) than thoſe who have preceeded me; nor have I any de- " ſire to live!" Having ſlept under a tree, he found himſelf awakened by an inviſible agent, when riſing and looking round him, he ſaw meat and drink, with which he refreſhed himſelf, and then repaired to mount Sinai, where he found a cave, into which he went, with an intention of reſiding in it. In this place he heard a voice, demanding why he left the city, and wandered thus in the deſert; to which he replied, that the queen had threatened his life, for having occaſioned the death of the falſe prophets, and declared the only true God to whom worſhip was due. The voice now inſtructed him to leave the cave on the following day, and act as he ſhould be directed. On his quitting the place next day, there was an earthquake, and then a blazing fire in the air, which was ſucceeded by a ſhort ſilence, and that by a ſtill voice, which bad him be of good courage, for his enemies ſhould not triumph over him: it likewiſe directed him to return by the way of Damaſcus, where Hazael ſhould be anointed king of Aram, and Jehu, the ſon of Nimſhi, king over Iſrael, by his hands: he was alſo to anoint Eliſha, of Abel, prophet in his ſtead; for the divine wrath would cut off the wicked from the land, and Hazael ſhould deſtroy thoſe that eſcaped the ſword

of

of Jehu. Hereupon the prophet departed; and finding Eliſha, the ſon of Shaphat, with other people, plowing with twelve yoke of oxen, he threw his cloak over him: on which Eliſha immediately propheſied, and prepared to follow Elias; but firſt requeſted permiſſion to bid farewell to his parents, which being done, he attached himſelf to Elias as his diſciple and companion.

Adjacent to the gardens of Ahab, king of Samaria, lay a vineyard, belonging to Naboth, of Jezreel, which vineyard Ahab wiſhing to add to his gardens, frequently aſked Naboth to ſell him, or accept other land in exchange for it; but this Naboth refuſed, as it was a poſſeſſion which had been the particular gift of providence. Ahab was ſo chagrined at the refuſal, that he became melancholy, abſtained from his food, and neglected to bathe according to cuſtom, and fell ſick. On this alteration, Jezebel became anxious to know the cauſe of it; and, on her repeated urgency, Ahab recited the ſtory of Naboth, and expatiated on the rudeneſs of his behaviour. "I "entreated him (ſaid he) with fair words; and deſcended below the dignity "of a king in my addreſs to him; and all I could gain by this con- "duct was an abſolute refuſal." The queen gave him all poſſible encouragement to recover his ſpirits, and to be no longer anxious on the ſubject, for ſhe would take care that Naboth ſhould be puniſhed for the inſult. Having ſaid this, ſhe wrote letters to the elders and principal men of Jezreel, in the name of Ahab, importing that a faſt ſhould be proclaimed, and an aſſembly convened, in which a place among the chiefs of the people ſhould be given to Naboth. That three witneſſes ſhould be provided, who ſhould ſwear that he had blaſphemed God, and ſpoken evil of the king: and that on this evidence Naboth ſhould be convicted, and his ſentence be that the people ſhould ſtone him to death. The queen's orders being obeyed in every particular, Naboth was convicted, and received ſentence, which was ſpeedily executed on him. Intelligence of theſe tranſactions being carried to Jezebel, ſhe repaired to the king, and informing him that Naboth was diſpatched, ſaid he might take poſſeſſion of the vineyard without farther ceremony. This news gave Ahab ſo much ſatisfaction, that he immediately ſet forward on a journey towards the ſpot thus dearly purchaſed: but the prophet Elias was ſent by God, to repreſent the ſin of his taking poſſeſſion of the vineyard, which was acquired by the murder of the right owner. Ahab ſeeing the prophet advancing, went to him, confeſſed what had been done, and offered to make reparation. By the order, and in the name of the Almighty, Elias, acquainted him, that "where the blood of Naboth had been licked "by the dogs, they ſhould likewiſe lick the blood of Ahab and Jezebel; "and that the crime of taking away the life of an innocent man by perjury "ſhould be puniſhed by the extirpation of their whole race." Ahab was ſo affected by the denunciation of this judgment, that he became deeply penitent for his ſins; cloathed himſelf in ſack-cloth, faſted, went barefoot, and gave every other teſtimony of unfeigned ſorrow. Hereupon the prophet was commiſſioned by God to acquaint him, that, in conſideration of his contrition, the judgment which had been threatened ſhould be poſtponed during his life, though it ſhould certainly take place in that of his ſon; and hereupon the prophet departed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Ahab being beſieged in Samaria by Adad, the latter is repulſed. In the following year Adad is conquered in battle, and applies for mercy to Ahab, who grants it, and diſmiſſes him in a friendly manner, for which he is reproved by the prophet.

THUS ſituated were the affairs of Ahab, when Adad king of Syria and Damaſcus, raiſing a large army, and thirty-two kings from beyond the river Euphrates uniting with him, they jointly marched againſt Ahab, who fearing to encounter ſo immenſe a multitude in the plains, retired to fortified places, to defend himſelf. Samaria, a place ſtrong by nature, and being defended by a garriſon, walls, and other works, was the particular retreat of Ahab. Againſt this place Adad brought his army, and made preparations for the attack; but firſt ſent a herald to Ahab, to require leave to ſend ambaſſadors with his demands. This being agreed to, the ambaſſadors repreſented that the wives, children, and riches of Ahab were at the diſpoſal of his enemy, who however, would raiſe the ſiege, and withdraw his army, if Ahab would acknowledge his power, and give him leave to take what he thought proper. To this Ahab replied, that himſelf and his poſſeſſions were all at the ſervice of Adad: but the latter ſent other ambaſſadors, demanding, that his ſervants and officers might, on the following day, ſearch the houſes, lodgings, &c. of the king and his domeſtics, and carry off whatever they thought proper.

On this Ahab determined to call a council of his friends, whom he thus addreſſed: "Adad has ſent me two propoſals, by the firſt of which he agreed "to raiſe the ſiege, on my acknowledging myſelf, my wives, and my chil- "dren, to be at his diſpoſal; which I conſented to, becauſe I would not let "any intereſt of my own ſupercede the public good: but his ſecond propo- "ſal is, that they be permitted to make a general ſearch, and carry off what "they pleaſe, which is only a pretence to widen the breach between us. "They thought, doubtleſs, that I ſhould remain firm to the firſt contract: "but now they demand a delivery of my people and country, which they "may be aſſured I ſhall not comply with; and that a war will be the con- "ſequence: but I am determined to abide by your advice." On this all the council reprobated the inſolence of Adad, and voted for war. The anſwer then given the ambaſſadors was, "That the firſt demand would yet be com- "plied with by the king; but the honor and ſafety of the citizens required "that he ſhould refuſe the ſecond." This anſwer ſo mortified Adad, that he ſent a third meſſage, importing that Ahab ſhould not truſt in the ſtrength of his fortreſs, for he would raiſe works above his walls, which he could do by each of his ſoldiers contributing a handful of earth. To this Ahab ſent anſwer, "That not with their tongues, but with their ſwords, men of courage "ſhould debate." When this meſſage arrived, Adad was at ſupper with the thirty-two kings, and he gave inſtant orders to prepare for the ſiege. In the interim Ahab and his people were in the utmoſt deſpondency; but a pro-

phet going to him, aſſured him that God would grant his people a victory over their numerous enemies. Ahab was anxious to know the immediate inſtruments of the victory, who the prophet ſaid ſhould be himſelf at the head of the ſons of the nobles. Theſe being ſummoned, and Ahab having learnt that his enemy was indulging in the height of luxurious revelry, the city gates were thrown open, and they ſallied out. Adad hearing hereof, ſent a party, with directions to conduct them, bound, into his preſence. At this time the army of Ahab was ready within the walls, to iſſue forth when neceſſary. The valiant young nobles having attacked the guards, many of whom they killed, and purſued the reſt to their tents; Ahab and his army ruſhed out, attacked, and routed the enemy, who were moſt of them drunk and unarmed. Thoſe who could, eſcaped by flight, among whom was Adad, who was ſaved by the ſpeed of his horſe. The Syrians being purſued, ſuch as were overtaken were killed. The plunder, in gold, ſilver, equipages, and Adad's own chariot and horſes, was very great, and was conducted to the city by the conquerors.

Notwithſtanding this victory, the prophet told Ahab that his enemy would be ready to attack him in the ſpring, and bid him prepare for it; which he did with vigour. Adad having collected his ſhattered army, his friends adviſed him not to engage again in the mountains, ſaying that the God of the Iſraelites was the God of the mountains; but they would have loſt the battle in the plains. They alſo adviſed the diſmiſſing of the thirty-two kings, but to keep their troops, over whom experienced officers might be appointed; and that recruits of horſe and foot ſhould ſupply the place of the ſlain. This advice pleaſed the king, who complied with it; and, on the approach of ſpring, encamped in a large plain near the city of Apheca. Ahab advanced with his forces, and pitched oppoſite the Syrians, though greatly inferior in number. During this poſture of affairs, the prophet, in the name of God, aſſured the Iſraelites of victory, for the God of the mountains was likewiſe God of the vallies. During ſix days the armies lay thus encamped, and on the ſeventh, advanced to battle. The conteſt was at firſt vigorous: but the Syrians, unable to ſtand the ſhock, turned, and fled, the enemy purſuing them cloſely. Many were ſlain in the purſuit; ſome killed in the flight by their own chariots and fellow-ſoldiers; ſome trod to death, and ſome torn in pieces. A few only, their numbers conſidered, reached Apheca, their only place of refuge. Under the walls of that city it was calculated that twenty-ſeven thouſand were buried; and thoſe killed in battle were eſtimated at one hundred thouſand.

Adad having ſecreted himſelf in a cave, with ſeveral of his faithful adherents, ſome of them extolled the natural generoſity of the Iſraelites, and adviſed the king to ſubmit to the mercy of Ahab, which they were confident would be extended to him. Adad agreeing hereto, a number of people were choſen to ſupplicate mercy, for which purpoſe they were dreſſed in ſackcloth, with halters round their necks; and in this guiſe went to Ahab, to ſolicit the life of Adad, who acknowledged himſelf his priſoner, engaging that he would always think himſelf ſuch. To this Ahab ſaid, "I rejoice

" at his ſafety; and you may aſſure him, in my name, that my own brother " could not be more welcome to me than he ſhall be."

An oath being ſworn that the perſon of Adad ſhould be ſafe, the ſupplicants departed to the cave, and brought him to Ahab, who was ſitting in his carriage. When he ſaw the royal captive he extended his right hand, ſaluted him, ſeated him by his ſide, and pledged his honor for his ſafety. Adad acknowledged this goodneſs, which he ſaid ſhould be gratefully remembered: that the lands which had been taken from the Iſraelites ſhould be reſtored; and that Ahab ſhould be as welcome a gueſt at Damaſcus, as the father of Adad had been at Samaria. A league was now made betwixt the parties, and Adad being loaded with preſents, took his leave.

Soon after this event a prophet named Micaiah, requeſted an Hebrew to ſtrike him on the head, as an act of obedience to the will of God. The party refuſed; on which the prophet ſaid he ſhould be torn by a lion, which happened accordingly; and the prophet applied to another man, who ſtruck him ſo that his head ſtreamed with blood. Micaiah, binding up the wound, repaired to the king, and told him that he was a ſoldier, to whom an officer had committed the care of a priſoner, who having eſcaped, he himſelf was obliged to fly for fear of puniſhment. Ahab approving the ſuppoſed officer's ſeverity, the prophet uncovered his head, and made himſelf known. This device was intended to impreſs on the mind of Ahab the impropriety of letting ſo vile a wretch as Adad go at large: " And (added the prophet) " the time advances when yourſelf and your army ſhall be deſtroyed by this " Adad whom you have permitted to eſcape." The prophet's freedom ſo affronted Ahab, that he ordered him into priſon; but the reflection on the prophecy ſat heavy on his mind.

CHAP IX.

The exemplary virtues of Jehoſhaphat: his great power, reputation, and happineſs. Jehoram eſpouſes the daughter of Ahab, king of Iſrael, whom Jehoſhaphat ſupports in the war againſt Adad.

JEHOSHAPHAT greatly extended his territories, and eſtabliſhed garriſons and governors in the ſeveral cities within his dominions, as well as in thoſe which had been obtained from Jeroboam by his grandfather Abiah. His life was a continued ſeries of piety and juſtice, and he was rewarded by the bleſſing and protection of the Almighty. His riches and fame were conſiderably augmented by the gifts of neighbouring monarchs, whoſe munificence bore teſtimony to their approbation of the irreproachable integrity of his life.

Jehoſhaphat aſſembled the prieſts and elders, in the third year of his ſovereignty, and directed them to nominate commiſſioners for the purpoſe of preſerving a ſtrict adherence to the duties of religion, and the legal inſtitutions delivered by Moſes. This attention to the important articles of religion and law proved ſo ſatisfactory to the people, that they became emulous to exceed each

each other in executing the king's commands. Beſides the advantage of a perfect ſtate of domeſtic tranquillity, he enjoyed the ſatisfaction of living upon terms of amity with the neighbouring princes. The uſual tribute was regularly paid by the Philiſtines, as was the annual ſtipend of ſix hundred and thirty lambs, and an equal number of kids by the Arabians. As a ſecurity againſt invaſions, he kept his places of ſtrength in a ſtate of defence, and a well diſciplined body of troops in conſtant pay. Edra was appointed to the command of three hundred thouſand ſhield-bearers, ſelected from the tribe of Judah: and Johanan had the command of two hundred thouſand. The ſame officers alſo commanded two hundred thouſand archers belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. Under another leader named Ochobat, were one hundred and eighty thouſand men, armed with bucklers.

A marriage was celebrated between Jehoram, the ſon of Jehoſhaphat, and Gotholia, daughter of Ahab, who reigned over the ten tribes. Ahab provided a magnificent entertainment at Samaria for Jehoſhaphat and the troops by whom he was attended. Having meditated the recovery of Ramoth-Gilead, which had been conquered by the king of Syria, Ahab requeſted the aſſiſtance of Jehoſhaphat, who conſented to unite his endeavours towards effecting the intended enterprize, and ſummoned his troops from Jeruſalem to Samaria. Theſe kings proceeded to a certain diſtance from the town, and, each being ſeated on a throne, they reviewed and paid their forces. A peace having ſubſiſted for the ſpace of three years between Ahab, king of Iſrael, and Adad, king of Syria, Jehoſhaphat recommended that, if any prophets could be found, their advice ſhould be taken as to the expediency of commencing hoſtilities.

CHAP. X.

Zedekiah pretends that Ahab ſhall conquer. Micaiah predicts that he ſhall fall in battle. The armies engage, and Ahab is the only man ſlain. He is ſucceeded by his ſon Ahaziah.

THE king of Iſrael called an aſſembly of his falſe prophets, the number of whom amounted to about four hundred, and he directed them to make enquiry whether an attempt to recover the city of Ramoth would be attended with ſucceſs. They unanimouſly perſuaded him to proſecute the war, ſaying, Adad would be vanquiſhed, and a ſecond time made priſoner. A ſuſpicion being conceived by Jehoſhaphat that theſe men were not favoured of God, he enquired of Ahab, whether he had not other prophets to whom he could apply. He was anſwered by Ahab, that there was one other, named Micaiah, who was the ſon of Imla, but that he deteſted the man for having predicted only unhappy events, and had ordered him to priſon for having attempted to perſuade him that he would forfeit his life in the approaching war. Jehoſhaphat adviſed that Michaiah might be called into the preſence of Ahab; and an eunuch, who was an attendant of the bed-chamber, was diſpatched to conduct him from the jail. During the progreſs of their journey, the meſſenger related that the prophets had declared the event

event of the war would prove favourable to Ahab. Micaiah ſaid, that whatever the inſpiration of the Almighty ſhould dictate, he would, without prevarication or reſerve, report to Ahab. The king put the queſtion to him, enjoyning him neither to extenuate or aggravate the truth. He ſaid that he had ſeen the people of Iſrael, like ſheep without a ſhepherd, diſperſed and purſued by the Syrians; and that by this repreſentation the Lord had intimated that only the king ſhould fall in the engagement. Ahab, having heard this prophecy, aſked Jehoſhaphat whether he was not now convinced that he had not wrongfully accuſed the man. Upon which Micaiah ſaid, "I have no "enmity towards you: the prediction was the effect of an inſpiration from "the Almighty, by whoſe expreſs command it was faithfully delivered to "you:—but by the flattering impoſitions of the falſe prophets you are per- "ſuaded to engage in a war which will prove your deſtruction." The king became much diſturbed by the firmneſs with which Micaiah perſiſted to ſupport this prediction.

Zedekiah diſſuaded the king from paying the leaſt regard to what Micaiah had ſaid, declaring the whole to be a palpable fiction; and in confirmation of this, he ſaid, that he had ſpoken in direct contradiction to a prophecy of Elias, who had aſſerted that the king's blood ſhould be licked by the dogs, in the field where they had licked the blood of Naboth. "I will "now," ſaid he, "ſtrike this man on the face, and if he be a prophet of "God, may my arm wither as did that of Jeroboam, when he lifted it "againſt the prophet Jadon." He ſtruck Micaiah, and as no judgment enſued, Ahab was confirmed in the deſign of engaging in a war with the king of Syria. Zedekiah now preſented the king with horns of iron, ſaying, that under the ſemblance of theſe horns, it was intimated by the Lord that he ſhould puſh the Syrians to extremity and finally deſtroy them. Micaiah told Zedekiah that he would be ſhortly called to a ſevere account for the impoſitions he had be guilty of, and driven to ſeek his ſafety in hiding places. The king being highly incenſed againſt Micaiah, commanded Apion, the governor of the city, to confine him in priſon, and allow him no other ſuſtenance than bread and water, till his return from the war.

The confederate kings led their forces towards Ramoth, whence Adad came forth to meet them. In order to avoid the event which had been foretold by Micaiah, the king wore the dreſs of a private man, and he was perſonated by a native of Jeruſalem, habited in the royal robes. Adad charged his officers to direct their arms againſt the king of Iſrael, without regard to his ſubjects. Obſerving Jehoſhaphat at the head of the troops, the Syrians preſſed upon him, but diſcovering their miſtake, they retired. A domeſtic of Adad, named Aman, ſhot a random arrow, which paſſing through the joints of Ahab's armour, penetrated his lungs. Apprehending that this unfortunate circumſtance might depreſs the ſpirits of his troops, the wounded monarch ordered his charioteer to remove to a ſmall diſtance from the army; and having remained in his chariot nearly till ſun-ſetting, he expired. The armies took the field in the morning, and continued harraſſing each other the whole day, but Ahab was the only man ſlain. On the approach of night,

the Syrians retired to their tents: and when an herald had proclaimed the death of Ahab, the people diſperſed.

The remains of the king were interred at Samaria, and upon waſhing the blood from the chariot, at a neighbouring fountain, the dogs licked it up, according to the prophecy of Elias. This fountain was afterwards uſed as a bath for common women. It may not, on this occaſion, be improper to reflect, that notwithſtanding a previous information of our fate, we muſt ſubmit to the inſuperable decree. We are too apt to entertain flattering expectations, and to be led by them into the moſt dangerous undertakings, while we utterly reject diſagreeable truths. Ahab was ſucceeded by his ſon Ahaziah.

End of the Eighth Book.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK IX.

Containing the hiſtory of the tranſactions from the year of the World 3048, to 3224.

CHAP. I.

The Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabians, conquered in battle by Jehoſhaphat. The death of Ahaziah, agreeable to the prediction of Elias. He is ſucceeded by Jehoram, who being joined by Jehoſhaphat and the king of Idumæa, they conquer the Moabites. Jehoſhaphat dies at Jeruſalem.

JEHU, the prophet, meeting Jehoſhaphat on his return to Jeruſalem, after his junction with Ahab, againſt Adad, told him how much the Almighty was offended at the alliance; but ſaid that, for his former virtues, he would find pardon, and deliverance from his foes. Hereupon the king ſought his peace with God by prayer, offering ſacrifice, and ordering that the people throughout his dominions ſhould be inſtructed in the laws of Moſes, and in the antient religion. He likewiſe appointed magiſtrates of the cities and large towns, who were ordered to diſtribute juſtice to all ranks of people without favour or partiality. Good order being ſettled among the

two tribes, the king repaired to Jeruſalem, where, from among the prieſts and levites, he ſelected judges who were inſtructed to act uprightly; and directed that when matters of conſequence were brought before them from the adjacent cities, they ſhould not determine but on the cooleſt deliberation; ſince a deficiency of juſtice in the city where the temple of God and the palace of the king were erected, would be highly diſhonourable. Ahaziah the prieſt was appointed to preſide in holy matters, and Zebediah in civil.

About this period the Moabites, Ammonites, and Aramites, having hired great numbers of troops, advanced to the city of Engedi, near the lake of Aſphaltites, about thirty-eight miles from Jeruſalem, with a view of giving battle to Jehoſhaphat; who no ſooner learnt that they had paſſed the lake, than he convened an aſſembly, and ſtanding before the temple, implored the protection of heaven againſt the enemy. This was agreeable to the cuſtom of our anceſtors from the firſt erection of that building: for, on all appearances of danger from an enemy, the people uſed to aſſemble there, and offer up their united prayers that God would maintain the inheritance which he had beſtowed on them. The tears of Jehoſhaphat accompanied his prayers, in which he was joined by the whole aſſembly, including even the women and children.

During their devotions Jahaziel, a prophet, ſtood up and ſaid that their prayers were heard, and God would grant them victory in defence of their religion. He adviſed him to march the next day, and they ſhould find their enemies encamped on a hill called Sis (ſignifying an eminence) between Jeruſalem and Engedi; where God would fight the battle for them, while they might only look on, as ſpectators of the action. When the prophet had ended, Jehoſhaphat and his people fell on the ground in adoration, while the hymns and muſical inſtruments of the Levites accompanied their devotions.

On the following day the king roſe early, and going into the deſert near the city of Tekoa, told the people to rely on God by believing his prophet, and not to form in battle array. He directed the prieſts with their trumpets to advance, followed by the Levites and ſingers, as on a day of victory and triumph. This advice being obeyed, the Almighty ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, that they attacked each other, and fought with ſuch incredible fury, that they all fell ſacrifices to their mutual rage. On a view of the valley, Jehoſhaphat found it covered with dead bodies, and triumphantly rejoicing in a victory obtained without bloodſhed, permitted the ſoldiers to make booty of all the ſpoils, which were ſo conſiderable as to take three days to carry them off.

At the end of four days the people aſſembled in the valley of Beracha, where they offered thanks to God for the merciful exertion of his power. From this circumſtance the place was called the Valley of Bleſſings, which name it ſtill retains. Hence the army proceeded to Jeruſalem, where feaſts and ſacrifices employed ſeveral days. This ſignal victory impreſt all foreign princes and nations with a high opinion of the piety of Jehoſhaphat, as a perſon peculiarly favoured of heaven; and this ſentiment attended him

through

through life. In the mean time Jehoſhaphat was in friendſhip with Ahaziah ſon of Ahab, in conjunction with whom he fitted out ſhips for the gold trade; but the whole project failed, all the ſhips being loſt, partly through tempeſtuous weather, and partly from the veſſels being ill adapted to the ſeas they were to navigate.

In Samaria was a palace belonging to Ahaziah, ſon of Ahab king of Iſrael, a man who poſſeſſed the hereditary vices of his parents, and even ſought to exceed thoſe of Jeroboam. In the ſecond year of Ahaziah's reign the king of the Moabites refuſed the tribute he had heretofore paid his father. About this time Ahaziah fell down ſtairs, and was ſo bruiſed that his life was deſpaired of; on which he ſent to the God of the Accaronites to know his fate. Hereupon Elias, being commanded by the Almighty, met the meſſengers, told them the Hebrews had a God of their own, and bid them tell the king that he ſhould die of his bruiſes. The meſſengers went back; and the king being ſurprized at their ſudden return, aſked the reaſon of it. They ſaid they had met a man who bid them report, in the name of the God of the Iſraelites, that the king ſhould not ſurvive his diſorder. The king demanding a deſcription, they ſaid he was a hairy man, wearing a leathern girdle: on which, preſuming it could be no one but Elias, he ſent an officer to apprehend him. He was diſcovered on the top of a mountain; and the officer bidding him deſcend, and attend the king, the prophet ſaid, "To convince you that I am not an impoſtor, I will perform a miracle. If "I am a faithful ſervant of God, let fire deſcend from heaven, and "deſtroy thee and thy fifty men!" On this a fire came down, and devoured them. News of this awful circumſtance being conveyed to the king, he diſpatched fifty more men, on a like buſineſs, under the command of another officer, who addreſſing the prophet in the ſame manner, they were deſtroyed as the former had been. Hereupon a third party was ſent, the commander of whom, being a perſon of benevolence and candour, advancing reſpectfully towards the prophet, ſaid, "It is unneceſſary to ſay that I act but by "order; that this buſineſs is ungrateful to me, as it was alſo to thoſe who "preceded me; on which account I beg you will readily attend us to the "king, in compaſſion to me and my companions." The humble and civil deportment of the man ſo ſtruck Elias, that he immediately deſcended and followed him. Being introduced to the king, he was animated by the Spirit of God, and ſaid, "Thus, ſaith the Lord, as you think I am no God, nor "can foreſee the event of your illneſs; and as you have placed your confi-"dence in the falſe god Accaron, be forewarned your death will be the con-"ſequence."

This prophecy was ſoon accompliſhed; and Jehoram, the brother of Ahaziah, ſucceeded him; this man's life was not leſs vicious than that of Ahab; for though he was bleſſed with good abilities, and the requiſite qualifications for government, yet he followed ſtrange gods, to the diſgrace of religion, and the memory of his progenitors.

During this king's time Elias was tranſlated, and no account was ever afterwards heard of him: but he left behind him his diſciple Eliſha, of whom

mention has been already made. In like manner Enoch was tranſlated, before the flood, as it is recorded in holy writ.

Jehoram ſucceeding his brother in the government, determined to go to war with Meſha, king of the Moabites, on his refuſal to pay an annual tribute of two hundred thouſand unſhorn ſheep, in conſideration of what had been heretofore paid to Ahab his father. For this purpoſe he firſt raiſed an army, and then begged the aſſiſtance of Jehoſhaphat, who promiſed not only for himſelf, but for the king of Idumæa. Jehoram, aſcertained of this ſupport, marched to Jeruſalem, where the king received and entertained him in a ſumptuous manner. A council being held by the kings of Jeruſalem, Iſrael and Idumæa, they reſolved to direct their courſe through the deſerts of Idumæa, as a way leaſt likely to give alarm to the enemy. Thus determined, they ſet forwards; but at the end of ſeven days were ſo diſtreſſed for water, both for men and cattle, that they ſunk into the utmoſt deſpondency. Jehoram was ſo diſtreſſed, that he impatiently exclaimed, "What have we three kings done, that we "ſhould become captives to the king of the Moabites without a conteſt?" Jehoſhaphat adviſed Jehoram to enquire if there was not a prophet in the army of whom advice might be aſked. This being heard by a ſervant, he ſaid that Eliſha, the diſciple of Elias, was at hand; and of him the three kings went in ſearch. Having found his tent, which was on the borders of the camp, Jehoram enquired the fate of the army; to which Eliſha anſwered, "You ſhould have applied to the prophets of your parents, without troubling "me." Jehoram being ſtill anxious for an anſwer, for the ſake of ſaving the lives of ſo many people; the prophet declared that if it was not for the piety of Jehoſhaphat, he would not give any anſwer: but thus ſaying, he directed a muſician to be called; and while he was ſinging, the prophet, being inſpired by the Spirit of God, told the kings to cut ditches, which ſhould be ſupplied with water ſufficient for themſelves and their cattle; and that there ſhould be no drought henceforward. "Nor is this all, (ſaid the pro-"phet), God will enable you to overcome your enemies; to deſtroy their "plantations, choak up their rivers and fountains, and lay waſte their "country." Early in the morning, after this prophecy, a violent torrent came down from Idumæa, ſo that men and horſes were abundantly ſupplied with water.

The king of Moab being apprized that the three kings were on the march to attack him, collected all the forces he could, to meet them on the borders, whither either army was juſt arrived, when the beams of the riſing ſun playing on the waters of the torrent, the Moabites thought it was blood, and concluded that the invaders had quarrelled with and deſtroyed each other, which had produced this conſequence. Hereupon they went to their king, and aſked permiſſion to riſle the enemy's camp; which being granted, they ruſhed forward in the utmoſt diſorder, as certain of the conſequence of a victory without having obtained it: but being immediately attacked on every ſide, many of them were ſlain, and the reſt ſo routed that it was with difficulty they retreated home. In the interim the three kings entered the land of the Moabites, razed their cities and towns; drove off their cattle, and covered the paſture-grounds with gravel and ſand from the torrent; cut down their trees

and

and woods, pulled their walls to the ground, and choaked up their fountains and ſprings. On this incurſion, the king was compelled to ſeek refuge in a town, which being afterwards beſieged, he made a deſperate ſally, to break through the enemy's troops with ſeven hundred horſe; but being obliged to retreat, he adopted a meaſure that is altogether ſhocking to humanity. He ſacrificed his eldeſt ſon, the heir apparent, on the walls of the city, in full ſight of the enemy. This circumſtance being conſidered as the effect of the moſt wretched deſpair, the kings commiſerated his caſe, raiſed the ſiege, and every one departed to his own habitation. Some little time after this, Jehoſhaphat lived in an eaſy retirement, and then died in Jeruſalem in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the ſixtieth of his age; and was interred in a moſt pompous manner.

CHAP. II.

Jehoſhaphat is ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoram. Miracles wrought by Eliſha. Jehoram beſieged in Samaria by Adad. The ſiege miraculouſly raiſed. Adad ſtrangled by Hazael, who takes poſſeſſion of his government. The extreme wickedneſs of Jehoram, and the judgments with which he is threatened by Eliſha.

JEHORAM, the eldeſt of ſeveral ſons of Jehoſhaphat, ſucceeded his father in the government. He was named after his mother's brother, who was lately returned from the war againſt the Moabites, and had brought with him Eliſha the prophet, of whom many things are mentioned in holy writ, which are well worthy of regard. Eliſha was applied to by the wife of Obadiah, ſteward to Ahab, who hinted that he was acquainted with the rage of Jezebel againſt the prophets; and of her huſband having ſupported an hundred of them in the cave, by which he had ſo greatly involved himſelf in debt, that herſelf and children were likely to become ſlaves to the creditors: on which ſhe begged the prophet's aſſiſtance, in conſideration of her huſband's merit. Hereupon Eliſha demanded what her houſe afforded; and on her ſaying only a little oil in a cruiſe, he directed her to borrow a number of empty veſſels and pots of her neighbours, and making faſt her chamber-door, to pour a little oil into each, and they would be filled by the power of God. She did ſo; and having returned to the prophet with an account of her proceedings, he bid her ſell the oil, and diſcharge her debts; and ſhe would have ſomething left for her family. Thus ſhe got rid of a very diſagreeable incumbrance.

Eliſha being informed of a conſpiracy againſt Jehoram, and that Adad meant to attack him in a particular place when he went to hunt, adviſed the king not to go; by which his life was preſerved. Adad was ſo enraged hereat that he charged his ſervants with infidelity, in diſcovering what themſelves only could know. One of them replied, that he ought not to ſuſpect them, while his enemy had ſo faithful a ſpy as Eliſha, who was able to divine his moſt ſecret thoughts. Hereupon the king ſent a party to enquire after Eliſha, who learnt that he was at Dothan; on which chariots and horſemen were

ſent to take him into cuſtody. They ſurrounded the town in the evening ſo that no perſon could go in or out; and the prophet's ſervant haſted to him in the morning, to acquaint him with what had happened. The prophet bad him be of good courage, and rely on the Providence of God; and inſtantly prayed for ſome token of his protection, to confirm the faith of the ſervant. In conſequence hereof a number of chariots and horſes appeared about Eliſha, as a guard, and were viſible to the ſervant; upon which all his fears were diſſipated.

Eliſha now implored the Almighty to blind his enemies to ſuch a degree that they ſhould not know him from any other perſon; which petition being complied with, he went among the troops, and demanded who and what they were ſearching for. "For the prophet Eliſha," (ſaid they), on which he bid them follow him, and he would direct them to the place where he was. Now their intellects being as much clouded as their eyes, they followed him to Samaria, and were no ſooner within the city, than he deſired Jehoram to make the ports faſt, and confine them. The prophet now prayed once more, that the Syrians might be reſtored to ſight; and his prayers being heard, they were aſtoniſhed to find that they were within the walls of the enemies city, and wholly at their mercy.

The affrighted Syrians were doubting how to act in this ſituation, when the king adviſed that they might be put to death; but to this the prophet objected, as a diſhonourable proceeding, except towards perſons conquered in war: "Theſe men (ſaid he) had no hoſtile intentions againſt this country, "and appear to be mere agents in the hand of Providence." The prophet, therefore, adviſed that they ſhould be treated hoſpitably, and left to their own liberty, after they had been properly entertained. Hereupon Jehoram, in purſuance of the prophet's advice, entertained them liberally, and diſmiſſed them. On their return, they gave the king their maſter a minute account of what had happened, which greatly affected him, and convinced him that this miracle was wrought by the immediate hand of Heaven, and that the prophet was divinely inſpired when he delivered the prediction in the name of God. Adad reſolved that, henceforward, he would never ſeek to injure the king of Iſrael in a treacherous manner: but, confiding in his numbers and ſtrength, would engage him in open war.

Thus reſolved, Adad collected a numerous army, with which he marched againſt Jehoram; who thinking his forces inadequate to the riſk of a battle in the plains, remained within the walls of Samaria; which, being ſtrongly fortified, Adad heſitated whether he ſhould attack him in form, or endeavour to reduce it by famine. At length the place was beſieged, and the garriſon was ſo reduced for want of proviſions, that the head of an aſs was ſold for eighty pieces of ſilver, and five pieces was the price of a pint of pigeon's dung, as the ſauce for it. In this diſtreſs Jehoram was apprehenſive that ſome perſon might inform the enemy how greatly the famine had reduced them; for which reaſon he daily walked round the fortifications, had an eye upon the guards, and was very attentive that no ſpy ſhould enter the city in a private manner.

While

While the king was thus employed, a woman demanded his aſſiſtance. He ſuppoſed ſhe came to beg of him, and ſaid, "How can I aſſiſt you, who "have neither barns nor wine-preſſes?" Hereupon the woman ſaid, ſhe aſked not for food but for juſtice, and wiſhed he would determine a debate between another woman and herſelf. The king aſking her meaning, ſhe told him that her neighbour and herſelf being both ready to periſh for food, having each a male infant, agreed to kill their children in turn, to prevent themſelves from ſtarving. She ſaid her child was killed and dreſſed on the preceeding day, and the other woman had a ſhare of it; but now that ſhe ought to partake of the other child, the woman had departed from her promiſe, and concealed it. This narrative almoſt diſtracted Jehoram, who tore his garments, and exclaimed, that he was never completely wretched till that moment: "And "this, (ſaid he) would not have happened, if the prophet had applied to "God in my favour;—but his life ſhall pay the forfeit:" and, in the firſt impulſe of his rage, he ſent an officer to cut off the head of the prophet.

Eliſha was not unacquainted with this reſolution of the king, and while he was in company with his diſciples, he told them that Jehoram had commiſſioned an officer to head a party who were to deſtroy him. "Therefore, "(ſaid he), keep an eye on them, and when they approach, ſhut the door "till the king comes; for he has altered his intention, and is now on the "way to counteract what he ordered." Theſe directions were obeyed, and the party was ſhut out till the arrival of Jehoram, who had made all poſſible haſte to prevent his commands reſpecting the life of the prophet being executed.

The king had no ſooner arrived than he began to reviſe the prophet, who could ſuffer them to endure ſuch extreme diſtreſs, without offering one prayer to God on their behalf. In anſwer hereto the prophet ſaid, that by the ſame hour on the day following, proviſions ſhould be ſo cheap in Samaria, that the market price of a meaſure of fine flour ſhould be only a ſhekel, and the ſame ſum for two meaſures of barley. This prediction was credited by the king and his attendants, who had heretofore had ſufficient proofs of the prophet's veracity. Hereupon they had as much faith in the prophecy as if it had been already accompliſhed: but one of the king's favourite officers who commanded a third of the army, and was then in familiar converſation, leaning on the king, ſaid, "What you have now declared is as credible as that it "ſhould rain flour and barley from Heaven; and I ſhould as readily aſ-"ſent to it." To this the prophet replied, that what had been foretold ſhould infallibly happen, and that he ſhould be a witneſs of it, without partaking of the benefit: which accordingly came to paſs.

At this time four leprous perſons lived without the gates of Samaria, and it was not cuſtomary to admit any ſuch within the walls. The famine raged ſo violently in the city that no proviſion could be hoped for from that quarter, and to remain where they were, threatened equal deſtruction: on which they reſolved to ſubmit to the mercy of the enemy, who would either ſpare their lives, or deſtroy them in a more eligible way than ſtarving. Being all of the ſame ſentiment, they departed by night to the camp of the Syrians, who,

who, on the inſtant, were ſtruck with an imagination that they heard the trampling of horſes, and the noiſe of armed men invading them; on which they repaired in haſte to Adad, and acquainted him that Jehoram and his allies were on the march within hearing. This ſtory was the more readily believed by Adad, becauſe his own imagination had painted the ſame ſcene; wherefore every man began to ſhift for himſelf, and the whole army retired in confuſion, each anxious to ſave his own life, and leaving horſes, carriages and treaſure, behind them. The lepers arriving at the tents of the Syrians, and finding all quiet, refreſhed themſelves with eating and drinking, and then carried away gold and other rich effects, which they buried in a hole they had dug for that purpoſe. Having four times loaded themſelves in this manner, and finding the enemy quite retreated, they conſidered that they ought, on the firſt diſcovery, to have acquainted Jehoram, and the people in the city, with this event: on which they haſtened back to Samaria, and arriving at the walls of the city, called aloud to the watch that the camp was abandoned by the enemy. They likewiſe, at the ſame time, ſent notice hereof by the king's guards: on which a council was ſummoned, to whom Jehoram delivered his ſentiments, that it was an artifice of the enemy to draw his ſubjects into an ambuſh. "Probably, (ſaid he), they deſpaired of ſtarving "us, and have therefore had recourſe to this ſtratagem. Now, for this rea- "ſon, I would be guarded againſt this treachery, and not embark in an af- "fair that may totally ruin our cauſe." Hereupon one of the council, premiſing that his majeſty had formed a right judgment, hinted that it would be proper to ſend two horſemen as far as Jordan to learn the truth: that if they ſhould be made priſoners, the loſs would not be great, and it might ſerve as a caution to others. The king acceeded to this propoſal, and diſpatched the meſſengers, who ſoon returned with an account that not an enemy was to be ſeen; but that there was plenty of corn and arms, and abundance of things which the Syrians appeared to have left in their hurry. This intelligence induced the king to ſend out people to pillage the camp of Adad, where they obtained an immenſe booty in gold, ſilver, horſes, and other cattle, and an amazing quantity of corn; ſo great, indeed, that the former ſcarcity was forgotten in the preſent plenty, and, agreeable to Eliſha's prophecy, a meaſure of flour, and two of barley, were ſold each for a ſhekel; containing a buſhel and a half, Italian meaſure: but the officer before-named, who commanded a third of the army, received no benefit thereby, for, being ſtationed at the gate, by the king's command, he was cruſhed to death by the croud.

By this time Adad had retired in ſafety to Damaſcus; and having learnt that the haſty retreat from the camp was the conſequence only of their own fears, he conſidered it as the immediate judgment of Heaven, and fell ill through the anxiety of his mind. Eliſha now advanced towards Damaſcus, which Adad being informed of, ſent Hazael with rich preſents to the prophet, and bad him enquire whether the king would ſurvive his diſeaſe. Forty camels being loaded with valuable effects, Hazael proceeded on his commiſſion, and meeting the prophet, ſaluted him with the moſt profound reſpect, produced his preſents, and aſked him, in the king's name, what would be the iſſue of his

his diſorder. Eliſha ſaid the king would not live; but bad him conceal the intelligence from him. Hazael was ſhocked at this news; and Eliſha wept extremely, in conſideration of the future diſtreſſes of the people. Hazael demanding of the prophet the cauſe of his grief, he replied, "I weep to think "what miſery you will occaſion to the Iſraelites. Their principal men ſhall "be put to the ſword by you, who ſhall likewiſe deſtroy their cities by fire, "kill their children by daſhing them againſt the ſtones, and rip others from "the mother's wombs." Hazael aſked how he could be the author of ſuch diſtreſs; to which the prophet ſaid, "God has declared to me that you are to reign "in Syria." Hereupon Hazael departed, and told Adad he ſhould recover of his diſorder: but viſiting him on the following day, he took a wet cloth, with which he ſtrangled him, and uſurped the government. The Syrians had the higheſt opinion of Adad; and to this day they celebrate the memory of him, and his ſucceſſor Hazael, with divine honours, for the general greatneſs of their characters, and for their adorning the city of Damaſcus, and erecting pompous temples in it. In triumph of their antiquity (though but of eleven hundred years ſtanding) they carry their images in daily proceſſion about the ſtreets.

Jehoram, king of Iſrael, was happy to hear of the death of Adad, as it reſtored peace to his dominions. In the mean time the other Jehoram (king of Judah) commenced his reign by murdering his own brothers, and his father's beſt friends, and committing every enormity that could mark him for the worſt of characters. His wife Gotholiah, daughter of Ahab, encouraged him in his proceedings, and was a principal inducement to his worſhipping falſe gods. Though, agreeable to the promiſe made to David, it was certain that God would not extirpate his family, yet Jehoram's courſe of impiety was ſuch as ſeemed to ſolicit ſuch extirpation. At this period the Idumæans revolted from Jehoram, who collecting an army of horſe and charioteers, invaded them in the night; but was not able to do any conſiderable execution, and retreated after ravaging and burning their borders. This attack did not terrify the revolters, but rather encouraged others to follow their example; for about this time the people of Libna likewiſe rebelled. Jehoram was now ſo profligate in his impiety, that he compelled the Iſraelites to worſhip falſe gods, in the groves and high places of the mountains. Thus did he proceed, in defiance of Heaven; till at length Eliſha the prophet ſent him a letter, importing that "his practice and example having been "diametrically oppoſite to that of his anceſtors; his having ſeduced "the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jeruſalem, to the worſhip "of falſe gods, and other idolatrous practices, in contempt of the reli-"gion of their country, after the evil example of Ahab; his cauſing the "death of his own brothers, and other pious men: for all theſe offences a "remorſeleſs enemy ſhould deſtroy his family and ſubjects, ſparing neither "women nor children: and that, for himſelf, he ſhould be tortured with "the moſt excruciating pains in the belly, till his bowels ſhould become "rotten, and fall out by degrees."

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The country of Jehoram ravaged by the Arabians. His deplorable death. He is ſucceeded by his ſon Ahaziah.

NOT long after the above prophecy, the Arabians on the confines of Ethiopia, in company with other barbarians, aſſembled and forced their way into Jehoram's kingdom. Having laid waſte the country as they went, they entered the royal palace, and ſtripped it, and ſtabbed all the wives and children of the king, except only his ſon Ahaziah, who with great difficulty eſcaped from their rage. This misfortune was ſucceeded by Jehoram being ſeized with the diſorder which the prophet had predicted, which was ſo peſtilential, that it was juſtly deemed the conſequence of the immediate wrath of God; his bowels daily falling from him in his own view. His ſubjects even triumphed in his diſtreſs, and conſidered it as due to his execrable wickedneſs. When he died, his corpſe was denied the honour of a royal funeral, for they would not place it in the tomb of his father. His reign was eight years, and his age forty: and Ahaziah his ſon ſucceeded him in the government of the people of Judah.

CHAP. IV.

Ramoth beſieged by Jehoram, king of Iſrael, who, being wounded, retreats to Jezreel. The ſiege conducted by Jehu, who is anointed king, and ordered to root out the houſe of Ahab. He proceeds to Jezreel.

THE death of Adad afforded a proſpect to Jehoram, king of Iſrael, of the recovery of Ramoth-Gilead, for which purpoſe he raiſed a large army, and marched towards that city. An arrow ſhot by a Syrian wounding him, on the firſt attack, he was obliged to retire to Jezreel, to obtain a cure; leaving his army under the command of Jehu, who ſoon compelled the town to yield. It was Jehoram's intention to wage war againſt the Syrians as ſoon as he ſhould be recovered. In the interim Eliſha diſpatched one of his diſciples to Ramoth, to anoint Jehu with holy oil, and pronounce him king, by the Divine Authority. This meſſenger was likewiſe ordered to leave the place with expedition, and to keep his buſineſs a ſecret from every one. Finding Jehu with his officers, he begged to ſpeak to him in private; and Jehu retiring with him to his cloſet, was anointed king, with directions to deſtroy the houſe of Ahab, and revenge the death of the prophets whom Jezebel had cauſed to be inhumanly murdered. The meſſenger ſaid farther, that as Jehoram the ſon of Nebat, and all the family of Baaſha had fallen ſacrifices to their vices, ſo the whole race of Ahab ſhould be utterly demoliſhed. Having delivered his commiſſion, he retired as privately as poſſible, and Jehu returned to his officers. Theſe were anxious to know the buſineſs of the meſſenger, whom they thought was not in his ſenſes. "No "(ſaid Jehu) he ſpoke like a madman." This only excited their curioſity

to know the particulars; on which Jehu told them he had declared him king, by the command of God. Hereupon the officers taking each his cloak, piled them one on another, to form a kind of temporary throne, on which Jehu being ſeated, they ſounded horns and trumpets, congratulated him on his ſucceſſion, and ſaluted him as king. At this time Jehoram was at Jezreel, to be cured of the wound he had received at Ramoth: and Ahaziah, his ſiſter's ſon, was likewiſe there on a viſit to him. Hereupon Jehoram marched his army to Jezreel, where he propoſed to ſurpriſe them both: but he gave ſtrict orders to his ſoldiers, not to ſend the leaſt intelligence to Jehoram, as the teſt of their loyalty to himſelf.

CHAP. V.

Jehoram and Ahaziah killed by Jehu.

WITH the greateſt alacrity the army obeyed the orders of Jehu, ſtationing themſelves upon the paſſes towards Jezreel, and effectually preventing any intelligence being communicated to the enemy. In the mean time, Jehu mounted his chariot, and, being attended by a party of choſen troops, proceeded towards the city. This party being obſerved by a ſpy, related his diſcovery to Jehoram, who immediately ordered a horſeman to go up to the party and learn of whom it was compoſed. The man obeyed, and upon his making enquiry relative to the ſtate of the army, Jehu ordered him, without concerning himſelf about the troops, to fall into the rear and join the march. The ſpy having given notice that the meſſenger had joined the party which was advancing towards the town, another courier was diſpatched, and he was alſo detained by Jehu: upon which the king mounted his chariot, and being accompanied by his kinſman Ahaziah, the king of Judah, went forth towards Jehu, who continued his march at a regular and moderate pace. Upon his arrival in the field of Naboth, Jehoram queſtioned Jehu concerning the ſituation of his troops. Inſtead of giving an anſwer, Jehu ſaid he might boaſt of an abandoned proſtitute, and a witch in the perſon of his mother. Upon this, Jehoram obſerved to the king of Judah, that it was evident his deſtruction had been conſpired: and as he was providing for his ſafety by flight, Jehu let fly an arrow, which penetrating his heart, he fell from his chariot; and Jehu recollecting that he had heard Elijah pronounce that Ahab and his whole race ſhould periſh in the field which he had uſurped from Naboth, ordered Bidkar, who commanded a third part of his forces, to caſt the body of Jehoram into that field. Ahaziah apprehending himſelf to be in danger, turned into a private road, but being purſued and wounded by an arrow which was pointed at him by Jehu, he diſmounted from his chariot, took horſe, and fled to the city of Megiddo, where he ſoon fell a victim to the wound he had received. His remains were interred at Jeruſalem. He reigned one year, during which period he proved himſelf to be a man of more iniquitous principles than his predeceſſor.

CHAP. VI.

Jezebel, the ſeventy ſons, and all the kindred of Ahab, forty-two relations of Ahaziah, and all the prieſts of the Tyrian-Baal are put to death by the command of Jehu. The deſtruction of the temple dedicated to the worſhip of that idol.

WHEN Jehu made his entry into the city of Jezreel, queen Jezebel being ſumptuouſly apparelled, placed herſelf at a turret window, in order to view the proceſſion; and as he was paſſing, ſhe ſaid, "A faithful "ſubject that, who kills his ſovereign." This being noticed by Jehu, he demanded who the woman was, and ordered her to deſcend: but, as ſhe did not comply, he commanded the eunuchs by whom ſhe was attended, to caſt her down. They obeyed: and the walls of the tower, againſt which ſhe ſtruck in falling, were ſtained with her blood. Jehu and his followers proceeding to the palace, rode over the body and trampled it with the earth. After having remained a ſhort time in the palace, Jehu gave orders that, from a reſpect to the exalted ſtation of Jezebel, her domeſtics ſhould cauſe her remains to be buried with the honors due to her rank: but only a part of the ſkull, the palms of her hands, and ſoles of her feet could be found, the reſt having been devoured by the dogs. This circumſtance gave the new king additional veneration towards the propheſies of Elijah, who had foretold that in Jezreel, the fleſh of Jezebel ſhould be eaten by dogs.

The ſeventy ſons of Ahab reſided at this time in Samaria. In order to be convinced of the diſpoſition of the people towards him, Jehu wrote letters to the governors of the young princes, and the principal magiſtrates of the town, expreſſing that as they poſſeſſed numerous fortified towns, and other places of ſtrength, and were abundantly provided with troops, chariots, and every implement of war; it would be acting a commendable part to ſelect from the youths one who ſhould be moſt worthy to aſſume the regal dignity, and under his command to avenge the death of their late ſovereign. Theſe letters being taken under conſideration, the reſult was, that it would be a highly impolitic, and dangerous procedure to diſpute the power of a man who had already vanquiſhed two powerful kings: they therefore informed Jehu that they would acknowledge the ſovereignty of no other man than himſelf, and declared that they would implicitly ſubmit to his commands. Jehu wrote again, requiring them, as a teſtimony of their obedience, to ſend him the heads and hands of the ſons of Ahab. Hereupon a conference was held between the magiſtrates and the governors of the princes, and they came to a reſolution of complying with the requiſition of Jehu. He was at ſupper when intelligence was delivered that the heads and hands of the princes were arrived: he ordered them to be placed in heaps, one on each ſide of the palace gate. Going forth the following morning to view them, he ſaid to the multitude, "It is true that I killed the king my maſter, but by "whom have his ſons been ſlain?" He applied himſelf to convince the people that the ſacrifice of the houſe of Ahab was agreeable to the will of the Almighty, and the prediction which he had dictated to his prophet. Having

put

put to death all the perſons he could diſcover of the family of Ahab, he departed for Samaria. On his way he joined company with forty-two of the relations of Ahaziah, king of Jeruſalem, who informed him that the purpoſe of their journey was to acknowledge allegiance to Jehoram and Ahaziah: for they were ignorant that thoſe princes had been ſlain by Jehu. He cauſed all theſe perſons to be put to death. He afterwards met with Jehonadah, a man of ſtrict integrity, who applauded his zealous endeavours for extirminating the race of Ahab. Inviting him to take a place in his chariot, and to accompany him to Samaria; Jehu ſaid he ſhould bear witneſs that he would put all the apoſtates to the only true God to the ſword; and that men of virtue derived ſatisfaction from inflicting a juſt puniſhment upon the wicked. They repaired to the city, where Jehu cauſed the relations of Ahab to be put to death as faſt as they could be diſcovered. To prevent the eſcape of the falſe prophets and idolatrous prieſts, he ſuggeſted the following ſtratagem; he declared himſelf determined to obſerve a more ſcrupulous attention to the worſhip of Baal than had been paid by Ahab, and that he meant to offer a great ſacrifice to the idol, on which occaſion he required the attendance of the prieſts and prophets on the penalty of forfeiting their lives. On the appointed day they aſſembled at Samaria, and were preſented with veſtments, in which they habited themſelves preparatory to their religious ceremonies. Jehu, accompanied by Jehonadah, repaired to the temple of Baal, and cauſed all perſons to evacuate the building who were not ſervants to the idol, under the pretext of not ſuffering the ceremony to be profaned by the preſence of unqualified perſons. When the apoſtates were on the point of commencing their abominable worſhip, Jehu gave a ſignal to a party of fourſcore men, who were ſtationed near the entrance, upon which they ruſhed in upon the prieſts and prophets, and put them all to death. They were enjoined not to ſpare the lives of either prophets or prieſts, on pain of being themſelves put to death. Further to purify the city from the moſt abominable ſacrilege, Jehu's men ſet fire to the royal palace, which was entirely conſumed. Baal was the idol of the Syrians, to which Ahab had dedicated an altar, in compliment to his father-in-law Ithobal, king of Tyre and Sidon, and beſides appointing prieſts and prophets, provided every requiſite for their religious ceremonies. Though Jehu ſtill permitted the adoration of the Iſraelites towards the golden calves, the Almighty, in conſideration of the ſeverities he had inflicted upon the apoſtates, was pleaſed to intimate, by the agency of a prophet, that his poſterity, till the fourth generation, ſhould reign over the people of Iſrael.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Athaliah conſpires the deſtruction of the line of David. Joaſh, the ſon of Ahaziah, king of Judah, is preſerved by Jehoiada, the high-prieſt, and anointed king of Jeruſalem.

ATHALIAH daughter of Ahab, king of Iſrael, and widow of Jehoram, king of Judah, being informed of the devaſtation which Jehu had made in the iniquitous family of her father, formed a determination of revenging the deaths of her brother Jehoram, Ahaziah, her ſon, and other kindred, by ſo effectually extirminating the line of David, as not to ſuffer a man to eſcape her vengeance who ſhould boaſt an hereditary claim to the throne of Judah.

Athaliah gave orders that the ſons of Ahaziah ſhould be ſlain: the nurſe of Joaſh, who was then a year old, concealed the infant among the bodies of his deceaſed brethren; and upon Jehoſhabeth, ſiſter of Ahaziah, and wife of Jehoida, the high-prieſt, entering the palace, ſhe perceived the child, and ſecretly conveyed him to her dwelling, and thence into the temple, where, without the circumſtance being known to any perſon except her huſband, ſhe carefully nouriſhed him during the ſix years of Athaliah's reign over the two tribes in Jeruſalem.

Jehoiada, in the ſeventh year, produced the child to five captains, and prevailed upon them to unite their endeavours towards inveſting him with the regal dignity. Having bound themſelves by an oath of fidelity and ſecrecy, the captains departed, in order to ſummon the prieſts, Levites, and the principal men of the tribes, in the name of the high-prieſt, to aſſemble at Jeruſalem. Being arrived, Jehoiada informed them that, on condition of engaging in an oath of ſecrecy, he would communicate to them a matter of the higheſt importance to the public weal, wherein he ſhould have occaſion to requeſt their aſſiſtance. He adminiſtered the oath, and then pointing to Joaſh, ſaid, "Behold your king: he is the only ſurviving branch of "the houſe of David, whoſe poſterity it was the pleaſure of the Almighty "to promiſe ſhould continue to reign over us. It is my advice that you "form yourſelf into three parties; one to guard the king in the temple; "another to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſeveral avenues to the buildings; and "the third to guard the open gate leading to the palace. Such as "are unprovided with arms may follow their inclinations, as to remaining "in the temple, or otherwiſe: but no perſons bearing weapons muſt be "admitted to the building, excepting they be prieſts." He appointed certain prieſts and Levites to remain near the king, as the guard of his perſon, keeping their ſwords conſtantly unſheathed, and to ſlay any man who ſhould attempt to force into the temple with arms; and to employ the utmoſt vigilance towards the perſonal ſafety of the new ſovereign. The perſons aſſembled on the occaſion unanimouſly approved the conduct of the high-prieſt; whoſe next buſineſs was to open a magazine and deliver to the centurions, prieſts, and Levites, arrows, lances, and other implements of war,

which had been depoſited in the temple by David. The arms being diſtributed, the Centurions, prieſts, and Levites ſtationed themſelves without the temple, which they entirely ſurrounded: and as they ſtood ſo near as to be able to take each other by the hand, none could obtain admiſſion whom it was judged expedient to exclude. Joaſh, wearing a royal crown, was now produced; and being annointed with the holy oil, the high-prieſt, with the uſual formalities, proclaimed him king. The ceremony was accompanied with reiterated acclamations; and the perſons who attended on the occaſion joined in wiſhes that Joaſh might enjoy a long and happy reign, and prove victorious over his enemies.

The ſhouts of the people reached the palace, and proved terribly alarming to Athaliah, who ſummoned her guards, and repaired to the temple, where ſhe gained a ready admittance, but her attendants were not ſuffered to accompany her. Perceiving Joaſh ſeated on the throne, and wearing a crown of royalty, ſhe vehemently called for the uſurper to be deſtroyed. Jehoiada ordered her to be taken into cuſtody, and to be put to death at the brook of Kidron, ſaying that the temple was not to be polluted by the blood of a perſon ſo abandoned to wickedneſs. The officers appointed to execute this commiſſion were directed to put any man to death who ſhould attempt a reſcue.

The ſentence pronounced by Jehoiada being executed upon Athaliah, he aſſembled the populace in the temple, and adminiſtered to them the oath of allegiance to the new king. Joaſh now bound himſelf, under the ſolemnity of an oath, to a faithful diſcharge of the religious duties, and a rigid obſervance of the commandments of God, which had been tranſmitted to us by Moſes. Theſe ceremonies being concluded, the people haſted to the temple, which, with a view to ingratiate themſelves in the favour of Ahab, Athaliah, and her huſband Jehoram, had built and dedicated to the idol Baal: this building they entirely laid in ruins, and put to death a prieſt of Baal, named Mattan.

Agreeable to the inſtitution of David, the holy temple of Jeruſalem was committed to the care of the prieſts and Levites; and, according to the law of Moſes, Jehoiada appointed a ſolemn ſacrifice and incenſe to be offered each day: and he ſelected a number of the Levites to prevent the temple being polluted by unpurified perſons gaining admittance. Joaſh was now conducted from the royal palace to the temple; and being ſeated on the throne, was again declared king, amidſt the univerſal ſhouts and acclamations of the people. The death of Athaliah, and the ſucceſſion of Joaſh to the ſovereignty, were events ſo agreeable to the multitude, that they employed ſeveral days in feaſting and merriment. The mother of Joaſh was a woman of Beerſheba, named Zibiah. During the life of Jehoiada, Joaſh ſtrictly adhered to the duties of religion and the laws of his country. On his arrival to a ſtate of manhood, he obtained the approbation of the high-prieſt to eſpouſe two women, by each of whom he had iſſue.

CHAP. VIII.

Jehu dies, and is ſucceeded in the government of Iſrael by his ſon Jehoahaz. Joaſh, king of Jeruſalem, repairs the holy temple. The degeneracy of Joaſh, who cauſes Zachariah to be ſtoned to death. The ſiege of Jeruſalem by Hazael. Joaſh dies.

A deſperate war was proſecuted by Hazael, king of Syria, againſt Jehu, king of the Iſraelites, in the courſe of which an immenſe tract of land, eaſtward of the Jordan, was laid waſte, great havoc was committed upon the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manaſſes, and the cities of Gilead and Batanæa were vanquiſhed and plundered. Theſe places were entirely conſumed by fire, and the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, were put to the ſword: and theſe enterprizes were accompliſhed with very little oppoſition on the part of Jehu, who held the religion and laws of God in contempt. In the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign over Iſrael, Jehu died; and his remains were buried at Samaria. Jehoahaz, the ſon of Jehu, ſucceeded to the throne of Iſrael.

Joaſh, the king of Jeruſalem, formed the reſolution of repairing the temple, which had ſuffered great injury in the days of Jehoram, Athaliah and their ſons. He directed Jehoiada, the high-prieſt, to ſend certain prieſts and Levites to the ſeveral parts of his dominions for the purpoſe of raiſing a ſupply for repairing the temple, by impoſing a tax upon the people at the rate of a ſilver ſhekel by the head. Jehoiada being apprized that the public were not in a diſpoſition to apply their money towards the propoſed contribution, omitted to put the king's commands in force. In the twenty-third year of his ſovereignty, Joaſh repeated his order to the high-prieſts and the Levites, and cenſured them for their former neglect. Jehoiada ſuggeſted a variety of expedients for raiſing the money: and, at length, adopted the following, as promiſing to be the leaſt burthenſome to the people. A cheſt made of wood was placed near the altar, and through the cover of this repoſitory a ſlit was made for the purpoſe of admitting donations. It was recommended to the people to contribute towards the intended work, in proportion to their zeal for the holy religion. The public being perfectly ſatisfied with this mode of collecting the neceſſary ſum, brought contributions of gold and ſilver in great abundance. The prieſt was entruſted with the key of the cheſt, which, in the preſence of the king, was opened every day; and after the money was counted, it was regiſtered by the clerk of the treaſury.

When it was found that ſufficient treaſure was accumulated for beginning the work, maſons, carpenters, and other artificers were engaged, and the choiceſt timbers and other materials were provided. The reparations being compleated, a conſiderable overplus of gold and ſilver remained, which was expended in flaggons, goblets, cups, and other holy veſſels and utenſils. During the life of Jehoiada, a daily oblation of ſacrifice was made. He died in his hundred and thirtieth year: and in conſideration of his ſteady

attach

attachment to the houſe of David, and his exemplary virtues, his remains were depoſited in the ſepulchre of the kings.

After the deceaſe of Jehoiada, Joaſh, and the principal people of his dominions degenerated into an utter contempt of the holy religion. The Almighty ſent prophets to expoſtulate with them on their abominable apoſtacy: but the vengeance denounced againſt them, and the example afforded them in the fate of their predeceſſors and families, upon whom the judgment of heaven had been inflicted, as a puniſhment for the enormity of their crimes, were not ſufficient to effect a reformation. Zachariah, the ſon of Jehoiada, exhorted the king and the people to repentance, as the means of avoiding the dreadful judgments which would inevitably be the conſequence of perſiſting in their iniquity. The king, regardleſs of all the ſervices which had been rendered him by his father, cauſed Zachariah to be ſtoned to death in the temple. With his dying breath, he appealed to the Almighty, as his judge and witneſs, that he ſuffered for having adminiſtered good counſel, and for being ſon of a man who had effectually laboured in the ſervice of the king. Soon after this, Hazael ſubdued and plundered the city of Gath, and then led his troops towards Jeruſalem. Terrified by the approach of the Syrian army, Joaſh entered into a compoſition with Hazael, to whom he ſurrendered the immenſe treaſure contained in the temple, as a conſideration of his raiſing the ſiege. A ſhort time having elapſed, Joaſh, fell ſick; and this circumſtance was taken advantage of by the friends of Zachariah, who attacked him by ſurpriſe, and took away his life. He lived forty-ſeven years. He was interred at Jeruſalem: but his impious courſes had rendered him ſo obnoxious that his body was denied a place in the royal ſepulchre.

CHAP. IX.

Joaſh ſucceeded by his ſon Amaziah. Jehoahaz obtains the Divine aſſiſtance againſt Hazael. Joaſh, the ſon of Jehoahaz, becomes king. The deſtruction of the Aſſyrians foretold by Eliſha. Hazael dying, the kingdom of Syria deſcends to Adad his ſon.

THE government of Judah deſcended to Joaſh, from his father Amaziah; and when Joaſh had reigned near twenty-one years, Jehoahaz, the ſon of Jehu, began a reign, which laſted ſeventeen years, over the people of Iſrael, in Samaria. His conduct was very different from that of his father, ſince, by his diſregard to every thing that was praiſe-worthy, he imitated the worſt of his anceſtors. In the interim, the great force of the king of Syria, who had over-run many of his cities, and deſtroyed numbers of the inhabitants, was reduced to ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. Eliſha had predicted this misfortune to the Iſraelites, in informing Hazael that he ſhould deſtroy his lord, and take on himſelf the government of Damaſcus and Syria. At this unhappy period, Jehoiada humbled himſelf before the Lord, entreating relief from the oppreſſions of Hazael; and God being pleaſed to hear his prayers, peace and happineſs was reſtored to his dominions.

Joaſh,

Joash, the ſon of Jehoahaz, ſucceeded to the government of Iſrael and Samaria, in the thirty-ſeventh year of the reign of his name-ſake Joaſh, king of Judah. He reigned ſixteen years, and was in all reſpects the reverſe of his father, being a man of moſt exemplary character. At this time Eliſha the prophet was very old; and being on his death-bed, Joaſh made him a viſit, wept over him, and treated him as the father and friend of his country. He ſaid, that while the prophet lived, his prayers and predictions would defend them againſt their enemies, to whoſe mercy he ſhould be left when he was departed: "Wherefore (ſaid he) I would rather die with you, "than live without you."

The prophet was much affected with this generous ſorrow, and ordering a bow and arrows, bid the king ſhoot them. After ſhooting three times, he left off; on which the prophet ſaid, if more ſhafts had been diſcharged, he ſhould have over-run the whole kingdom of Syria; but as he had ſhot only thrice, he ſhould gain three victories over them, in which the lands they had taken from his father, ſhould be recovered. Hereupon the king left Eliſha, who ſoon afterwards died. This prophet was highly celebrated for the uprightneſs of his character, and the many miracles he wrought, an account of which is ſtill preſerved on the records of the Hebrews. He was buried in a moſt magnificent manner, agreeable to the merit of ſo illuſtrious a man. A little time afterwards ſome thieves having murdered a traveller, threw the body into the tomb of the prophet; but it had no ſooner touched him, than the man came to life. Thus his miracles laſted even after his death.

The death of Hazael ſoon happening, the ſon of Adad ſucceeded of courſe to the government of Syria; and Joaſh now obtained three victories over him; by which the Iſraelites recovered the country of Syria, as Eliſha had foretold. Jeroboam ſucceeded to the government, on the death of Joaſh his father.

CHAP. X.

The Amalekites, Edomites, and Gabilites, defeated by Amaziah. He turns idolater. He is conquered and taken priſoner by Joaſh. He ſaves his life by giving up Jeruſalem. He is murdered by his ſubjects, and ſucceeded by his ſon Uzziah.

AMAZIAH was advanced to rule over the tribe of Judah, in Jeruſalem, in the reign of Joaſh, king of Iſrael. Jehoadan, a native of Jeruſalem, was his mother. From his youth he was remarkable for his love of integrity; and the firſt thing he did was to puniſh the murderers of his father, who were all brought to juſtice; but he puniſhed not their children; following herein the ſentiments of Moſes, who held it wrong to chaſtiſe children for the crimes of their parents. Amaziah now enliſted, and appointed centurions over ſuch of the men of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, as were about twenty years of age. Having determined to wage war againſt the Amalekites, Edomites, and Gabilites, he agreed to pay one hundred talents of ſilver to the king of the Iſraelites, for twenty thouſand of his forces.

When he was ready to march againſt his enemies, a prophet adviſed him to diſcharge the Iſraelites, for they were an abandoned people, whoſe deſtruction would attend that of thoſe who were concerned with them; beſides, with God's help, his own army was ſufficient to deſtroy his enemies. As the king had already paid for his forces, he did not much like this advice; but being reſolved to ſubmit to the will of God, as expreſſed by the prophet, he diſmiſſed them, ſaying "he would freely give that as a bounty, which had "been received as wages." When theſe troops were gone, he advanced with his own forces, and conquered his enemies, ten thouſand of whom he killed in one battle, and drove the other ten thouſand to the extremity of a mountain which overlooks Arabia, down which they were thrown, and killed; after which Amaziah returned with immenſe treaſure. In the interim the twenty thouſand diſcharged troops were ſo enraged at the rejection of their ſervices, that they invaded the king's dominions, waſted the country quite to Bethſemere, killed three thouſand of the inhabitants, and drove off great numbers of cattle.

This victory ſo elated Amaziah, that he forgot the God of battle, and departed to the worſhip of the idols of the Amalekites. Hereupon the prophet went to him, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at his worſhipping thoſe gods, who ſo far from protecting others, were unable to defend themſelves, but were carried, with the reſt of the booty, by the Hebrews to Jeruſalem. The king bad him ſay no more, at his peril; to which the prophet only replied, that he would deſiſt; but that the vengeance of heaven would be the certain conſequence of ſuch a horrid ſuperſtition.

Notwithſtanding this, the late ſucceſs ſo elated Amaziah, that, regardleſs of the intervention of Providence, he wrote to Joaſh, king of the Iſraelites, a letter requiring ſuch ſubmiſſion from him and his people, as had been heretofore paid to David and Solomon, his anceſtors; and threatened that the ſword ſhould decide the difference, in caſe of refuſal. To this haughty letter Joaſh ſent an anſwer to the following purport:

"A thiſtle that grew on mount Lebanon ſent, on a certain time, to a "cyprus-tree growing on the ſame ſpot, ſaying, give thy daughter in mar-"riage to my ſon: on which a wild beaſt trod the thiſtle to the ground. "Learn hence to lower your ambition, nor aim at things ſo much above "you. Be cautious leſt your pride, on having conquered the Amalekites, "ſhould lead you to ſuch actions as may produce the loſs of your kingdom "and life."

Amaziah was now much more enraged than before, and Providence leaving him to the influence of his own paſſions, he prepared for battle: the forces were drawn up on each ſide; but the troops of Amaziah no ſooner ſaw the enemy, than they precipitately fled, and left the king to be taken priſoner. The opponents refuſed him quarter, but on the condition that the gates of Jeruſalem ſhould be thrown open to them. Neceſſity and the fear of death prevailed; and a breach of three hundred cubits wide being made in the wall, Joaſh entered the city in a triumphal chariot, with Amaziah his priſoner preceding him. Joaſh having made prize of the gold, ſilver, holy

utenſils, and other treaſure found in the palace and temple, gave the king his liberty, and retired with his booty to Samaria. It was in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, that this misfortune happened to Jeruſalem, the people of which conſpiring againſt him, he fled to Lachiſh; but thither they purſued, and deſtroyed him. His body being carried to Jeruſalem, was interred with regal honours. Thus ended the life of a king who owed his misfortunes to his departure from the true religion. He died at the age of fifty-one, having governed twenty-nine years; and Uzziah, his ſon, ſucceeded to the throne.

CHAP. XI.

The hiſtory of Jonah. Jeroboam dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Zachariah. Uzziah's victories, and his great care of Jeruſalem: his departure from God, and puniſhment. He is ſucceeded by his ſon Jotham. Zachariah killed by Shallum, who ſeizes the government. Shallum killed by Menahem, who reigns ten years, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Pekahiah. He is murdered by Pekah, who reigns in his ſtead, and is invaded by Tiglath-Pileſer. Jotham, king of Judah, a pious prince, in whoſe reign the deſtruction of Nineveh, and the Aſſyrian empire, is foretold by Nahum.

JEROBOAM, the ſon of Joaſh, became king of Iſrael in the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah. He reigned forty years, and held his court in the palace of his forefathers, at Samaria. He was addicted to idolatry, and was of a mind utterly depraved; and many were the judgments againſt the Iſraelites in conſequence of his wicked courſe of life. The prophet Jonah had predicted of him, that he ſhould conquer the Syrians, and extend his dominions to the city of Hamath northwards, and ſoutherly to the lake Aſphaltites, which had been formerly allotted by Joſhua as the bounds of the land of Canaan. This prophecy ſo elated Jeroboam, that he ſeized from the Syrians the lands thus deſcribed, and annexed them to his own dominions; thereby verifying the prophet's prediction. Having engaged to write a genuine hiſtory of the Hebrews, it will be proper that I recite what is found in holy writ, reſpecting this matter.

Jonah was inſtructed by God to go to Nineveh, and there to preach deſtruction to that wicked city, and the kingdom: but, unwilling to be the author of ſuch bad news, he took his paſſage at Joppa, on board a ſhip that was bound to Tarſhiſh in Cilicia. During the voyage the wind blew ſo tempeſtuouſly that the commander, ſeamen, and even the pilot, deſpaired of ever making land. While ſome of the crew were at prayers, and others labouring to ſave the ſhip, it was obſerved that Jonah lay on his face, without lending any aſſiſtance. The ſtorm becoming more violent, it was conceived that this judgment aroſe from the guilt of ſome perſon on board, and they agreed to caſt lots to diſcover the offender. This being done, the lot fell on Jonah; upon which they enquired who, and what he was; to which he anſwered, "I am an Hebrew, and a prophet of God; but I have occaſioned "this ſtorm, and you muſt throw me overboard, if you mean to ſave your-

"ſelves and the ſhip." At firſt they thought it extremely inhuman thus to devote to certain deſtruction a man who had put himſelf under their care; but at length his authority, their own tears, and the urgent neceſſity of the caſe, (for the ſhip was juſt ſinking) determined them to caſt him overboard; and in that moment the ſtorm ſubſided. We are farther told that he was ſwallowed by a whale, which threw him up three days afterwards, alive, and unhurt, on the coaſt of the Euxine ſea *. The prophet having beſought and procured God's pardon for diſobeying his commands, proceeded to Nineveh, where having exalted himſelf ſo as to be properly heard, he foretold that the empire of Aſia was nearly at a period: and departed when he had thus fulfilled his commiſſion.

Let us now return to Jeroboam, who was buried at Samaria, after a reign of forty years, and ſucceeded by his ſon Zachariah. Amaziah was ſucceeded by Uzziah, in the government of the two tribes at Jeruſalem, in the fourteenth year of Jeroboam's reign. The mother of Uzziah was born at Jeruſalem, and named Achia. This prince was careful, active, valiant, courteous, and juſt. He fought againſt the Philiſtines, demoliſhed the walls of Gath, and Jamnia, and took the places by aſſault. After a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Arabians, on the confines of Ægypt, he erected a town near the Red Sea, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in it. He then conquered the Ammonites, ſubdued to his power all the country as far as Ægypt, and laid the inhabitants under contribution. His next care was for Jeruſalem; he rebuilt the ruined walls, and repaired that breach which had been made for the entry of the king of the Iſraelites, when Amaziah was his priſoner. He built one tower of one hundred and fifty cubits high, likewiſe ſeveral others, and erected caſtles and forts for the protection of the country. He alſo conſtructed aqueducts, ciſterns and baſons, for his cattle to drink at, of which he had immenſe numbers, the lands being chiefly paſturage. Huſbandry, gardening, planting, tillage, and nurſeries, were much promoted by him. His military force conſiſted of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand men, commanded by two thouſand officers, all furniſhed with ſwords, bucklers, corſelets of braſs, ſlings and bows, and well experienced in the art of war. He poſſeſſed battering machines, and others for throwing darts and ſtones; with hooks, and other offenſive weapons. Theſe matters ſo engaged his attention, and fired his ambition for ſublunary glory, that he neglected the more important duties of his worſhip to God; herein following the example of his father, who was unable to enjoy a courſe of proſperity with moderation.

Uzziah, on the day of a ſolemn feſtival, having cloathed himſelf in the dreſs of a prieſt, went to the temple, to offer incenſe on the golden altar; on which the high-prieſt Azariah, and eighty other prieſts, haſtily repairing to the temple, proteſted againſt ſuch an aſſumption of the ſacerdotal rights, which had ever been the peculiar privilege of the prieſts of the houſe of Aaron. Azariah enjoined him to deſiſt from ſuch profanity; but the king bidding them depart, at their peril, an earthquake ſhook the temple, and opened the roof of it, through which a ſun-beam darting, ſtruck the impious prince with leproſy. Another miracle ſucceeded this: not far to the weſt of the city,

* Joſephus was miſtaken as to the place, as is proved by Bochart, in his Hieroz. Part. 2d. Book 1ſt. Chap. 19th.

city, at a place called Eroge, the ſame earthquake divided a mountain in the middle, and part of it rolling half a mile, ſtopped on the eaſt ſide of an oppoſite mountain, cloſed up the highway, and covered the royal gardens with part of its contents. The king being a leper, the prieſts adviſed him to depart the city, as one unfit for ſociety; and his ſpirit was ſo broken by his illneſs that he obeyed them. His ſon Jotham aſſumed the government, and the king having languiſhed awhile in retirement, died, and was buried in his gardens, in a tomb erected on the occaſion. He reigned near fifty-two years, and was near ſixty-eight years of age.

About this time, Shallum, ſon of Jabeſh, a domeſtic of Zachariah, king of the Iſraelites, murdered his maſter, before he had reigned ſeven months, and aſſumed the government: but news hereof reaching Menahem, who commanded an army at Tirzah, he marched to Samaria, when Shallum had governed only thirty days, routed him in battle, put him to the ſword, and appropriated to himſelf the enſigns of royalty. Menahem returned with his army to Tirzah, but the citizens refuſing him admittance, he ravaged the adjacent country, and, with unheard of cruelty, cauſed all the men, women, and children, to be deſtroyed: and his reign of ten years over Iſrael was of a piece with this commencement. Soon after the above maſſacre, Pul, king of Aſſyria, threatened to invade him; but he compounded the matter by paying a thouſand talents of ſilver at the rate of fifty ſhekels a head. This prince was buried at Samaria, and ſucceeded by his ſon Pekahiah, whoſe inhuman diſpoſition equalled that of his father. When Pekahiah had reigned two years, he was murdered at a public feaſt by Pekah, ſon of Ramaliah, who reigned about twenty years, and died with a character equally diſtinguiſhed by his impiety to God, and his want of common juſtice to his fellow creatures.

Tiglath-Pileſer, king of Aſſyria, made incurſions on the Iſraelites during the reign of the abovementioned Pekah, and having conquered the land of Gilead, the country beyond Jordan, and the adjacent part of Galilee, with Aſſora, and Cydida, made captives of the inhabitants, whom he conveyed to his own country.

The tribe of Judah, in Jeruſalem, was now governed by Jotham, the ſon of Uzziah, by Jeruſhah, a native of the city. This prince was diſtinguiſhed by his devotion, juſtice, and public ſpirit. He rectified all abuſes, and kept every thing in proper order. The galleries and porches of the temple were repaired by him, and the city walls prevented from going to decay. He built large and ſtrong towers; ſubjected the Ammonites to the payment of one hundred talents, and thirty thouſand meaſures of wheat and barley annually. He raiſed his kingdom to a ſtate of ſplendor; and while his people were dreaded abroad, they were happy at home.

The prophet Nahum, who lived in this king's reign, predicted the deſtruction of Nineveh, and the Aſſyrian empire, in words to this purpoſe: "Nineveh ſhall reſemble a fiſh-pool, the waters of which are agitated by a "violent wind. The ſtorm ſhall occaſion the people to fly, and cry one to "another, take with you your gold and ſilver; but this will be diſregarded, "as life ſhall be held more valuable than riches. Divided in ſentiments, "they ſhall run weeping and lamenting among each other, their knees "trembling

" trembling under them, and deſpair in their countenances. They ſhall " aſk what will become of the habitations of the lions, and the dams of the " lions whelps; and the Lord ſhall reply, that Nineveh ſhall be cut off from " the face of the earth, and the devaſtations of the wild beaſts ſhe has ſent " into the world ſhall ceaſe." This prophecy was fulfilled at the end of one hundred and fifteen years.

CHAP. XII.

Jotham dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Ahaz. Jeruſalem beſieged by Rezin and Pekah. The Iſraelites reproved by the prophet Obel.

AHAZ ſucceeded to the throne of his father Jotham, who died in the ſixteenth year of his reign, and the forty-firſt of his age. Ahaz was diſtinguiſhed by his imitating the kings of Iſrael in their idolatry, and by his violation of the laws of his country, beyond any prince who had preceded him. He raiſed altars in Jeruſalem, on which he ſacrificed to idols, and even offered his ſon, as a burnt offering, according to the cuſtom of the Canaanites; and committed other acts equally atrocious. During this conduct, Rezin, king of Damaſcus, and Pekah, king of the Iſraelites, uniting their armies, marched and beſieged Jeruſalem, which, however, was ſo fortified, that they were compelled to deſiſt from the attack. In the interim, the king of Syria took poſſeſſion of the city of Elath, near the red ſea, deſtroyed all the inhabitants, and ſupplied their places by a colony of Syrians. Soon afterwards he ſeized on ſeveral caſtles and fortreſſes, ſlaughtered the Hebrews in a dreadful manner, acquired great plunder; and then retreated to Damaſcus, with his victorious army.

The king of Jeruſalem having learnt that the Syrians were departed, advanced his army againſt the king of Iſrael: but ſuch was the diſpleaſure of God againſt him for his impiety, that he loſt one hundred and twenty thouſand men in the battle, in which Amiah, the ſon of Ahaz, fell in perſonal conteſt with Zachariah, general of the Iſraelites, who likewiſe killed Azica, captain of the guards, and took priſoner Elkanah, general of the Hebrew forces. He alſo made many captives, of both ſexes, of the Benjamites, and retreated towards Samaria in triumph. On their return to Samaria, they were met by a prophet of that place, named Obel, who told them they ought not to conſider this victory as the reward of their own courage and virtue, but as an inſtance of the vengeance of heaven againſt king Ahaz. Wherefore the prophet ſaid they were wrong not to be content with their ſucceſs, without enſlaving their brethren of the two tribes, to whom he recommended that immediate liberty might be granted, and denounced the vengeance of Heaven on the refuſal. A council was now aſſembled on the buſineſs, and Berachiah, a man of great influence, and three others, proteſted againſt bringing the priſoners into the town, leſt the judgment of heaven ſhould await the conquerors, who, as the prophet had ſaid, had already ſins enough of their own to anſwer for. The warriors, convinced by theſe arguments, agreed

agreed to give liberty to the captives, and permiſſion to carry back their effects: whereupon Berachiah and his three friends diſcharged them, ordered care to be taken of them, ſupplied neceſſaries for their journey, and accompanied them a conſiderable way towards Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XIII.

Ahaz is joined by Tiglath-Pileſer. Syria laid waſte; Rezin, king of Damaſcus, killed, and the place taken. Ahaz dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Hezekiah. Pekah killed, and the kingdom ſeized by Hoſea; who is made tributary to Salmanezer. The worſhip of God reſtored by Hezekiah, by whom the Philiſtines are conquered.

AHAZ being now reduced to demand help towards carrying on the war, ſent meſſengers to Tiglath-Pileſer, king of the Aſſyrians, with ſumptuous gifts and offers of large ſums of money, on the condition of his aiding him againſt the Iſraelites, and the people of Damaſcus and Syria. The prince immediately marched to the aſſiſtance of Ahaz, and in conjunction with him ravaged Syria, poſſeſſed himſelf of Damaſcus, and ſtabbed Rezin, the king thereof. He ſent the inhabitants of Damaſcus to Upper Media, and filled the place with his own ſubjects. The land of the Iſraelites was in great meaſure depopulated, and immenſe numbers of priſoners taken. This being done, Ahaz ſeized the gold and ſilver in the royal treaſury, and in the temple, together with the rich preſents, and carried the whole to Damaſcus, where he delivered it to the king of Aſſyria, in gratitude for his aſſiſtance, and returned to Jeruſalem.

Ahaz was ſo deſtitute of all ſenſe of true religion, that he worſhipped the gods of the Syrians, in the hope of their favouring his arms; on the contrary, when he had been overcome, he paid adoration to the Aſſyrian's gods; ſo that any kind of idolatry was equal to him; but he deſpiſed the worſhip of the true God, according to the religion of his forefathers; which brought on him the vengeance of Heaven. Such was his contempt for the worſhip of the true God, that having robbed the temple of all it's moſt valuable effects, he ordered the doors to be kept faſt, to prevent others offering up their devotions there. After a continued courſe of impiety he died in the ſixteenth year of his reign, aged thirty-ſix years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Hezekiah. At this period, by the treachery of Hoſea, a favourite at court, Pekah, king of Iſrael, was deprived of his government and life; Hoſea continuing nine years in poſſeſſion of his uſurped authority. His life and conduct proved that he believed not in God, and was one of the moſt abandoned of men. Being attacked by Salmanezer, king of the Aſſyrians, he was conquered, and obliged to become a tributary, being rejected by that God whom he had deſpiſed.

Hezekiah became king of Jeruſalem in the fourth year of Hoſea's reign. He was a prince of ſuperior abilities, and celebrated for his regard to equity and piety. On his firſt advancement to the throne, he determined to adjuſt the great buſineſs of religion; and thereupon ſummoning his prieſts and levites,

levites, he addreſſed them to the following purport. "It is unneceſſary for "me to remind you of the misfortunes conſequent on my father's ſins, in "your refuſing the worſhip due to God, and uniting with him in the ado-"ration of his idols: but as experience hath now taught you how dreadful "a thing it is to trifle with Heaven; I recommend that all paſt failings may "be buried in oblivion; that you, and the prieſts, and the levites, cleanſe "yourſelves from former pollutions; then opening the doors of the holy "place, purify it by ſacrifices and conſecrations; on which you may hope "for future proſperity as well as preſent pardon." The royal advice was ſo acceptable, that the prieſts immediately repaired to the temple, which they ſtripped of its impurities, prepared their holy veſſels, and placed ſacrifices on the altar, agreeable to the cuſtom of the Jews. In the interim the king diſpatched meſſengers throughout his territories, to demand the attendance of the people to the feaſt of the unleavened bread, which, through the impiety of former kings, had been long neglected. The meſſengers alſo warned the Iſraelites to ceaſe all ſuperſtitious worſhip, and return to that of the God of Truth, promiſing, in the king's name, that they ſhould be equally free as his own people, to paſs to and from this feaſt: they were alſo told that their intereſt, rather than that of the king, gave riſe to this invitation, and it was hoped they would find their advantage in it. The Iſraelites, however, treated the meſſengers with contempt, and inſulted the prophets, who recommended a return to their duty, and told them what miſery would reſult from their diſobedience: nay, they even ſeized and put to death ſeveral of the prophets, and proceeded from one impiety to another, till the vengeance of God yielded them a prey to their enemies; as will be hereafter ſeen. Of the tribes of Zabulon, Manaſſeth and Iſſachar, however, multitudes attended to the words of the prophets, and repaired to Hezekiah, at Jeruſalem, to offer up their devotions.

The concourſe being aſſembled, the king, accompanied by the princes and people, proceeded to the temple, where Hezekiah offered, of bulls, rams, and goats, ſeven each, on his own account. Having firſt placed his hands on the heads of the beaſts, the prieſts cut their throats, and then burnt without dividing them, while the Levites made a circle, and ſang divine hymns to muſical inſtruments, the other prieſts forming the chorus. This ended, both king and people worſhipped God with their faces bowed to the ground. Excluſive hereof, the king ſacrificed ſeventy bullocks, a hundred rams, and two hundred lambs, and likewiſe gave, as a feaſt for the multitude, ſix hundred bullocks, and three thouſand other cattle. The prieſts having ended their ceremonies, the king and people feaſted together, and combined in the praiſe of God.

Now approached the feaſt of unleavened bread, and during the preparations for it, ſacrifices were made for ſeven days, and Hezekiah gave the multitude two thouſand bulls and ſeven thouſand cattle of various kinds. The king's example was followed by the princes, who gave a thouſand bulls, and fourteen hundred other cattle; ſo that ſo ſumptuous a treat had not been known ſince the days of Solomon.

This feſtival being ended, and Jeruſalem being purified from the idols which had diſgraced its worſhip, a general purification took place throughout all the country. Hezekiah now ordered daily ſacrifices to be offered out of his own poſſeſſions, and directed the people to preſent tenths and firſt fruits to the prieſts and Levites; ſo that their attendance on the altar was not interrupted by other affairs. He likewiſe built granaries and ſtore-houſes, in which corn and fruit were kept for the uſe of them and their families: ſo that all things began now to run in the antient channel.

After this reſtoration of good order, Hezekiah waged war againſt the Philiſtines, and united to his own dominions all their cities from Gath to Gaza. In the interim the king of Aſſyria, required a tribute of him which had been heretofore paid to his father, and threatened an invaſion in caſe of refuſal: but Hezekiah paid no regard to theſe threats; relying on the mercy of Heaven, the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, and the aſſiſtance of the prophet Iſaiah, whom he knew would inform him of ſuch things as were to come to paſs.

CHAP. XIV.

Samaria taken by Salmanezer, who ravages the kingdom of Iſrael, takes king Hoſea priſoner, and tranſplants the people. A colony of Chuthithes placed in the kingdom of Iſrael.

IN the ſeventh year of Hoſea, king of Iſrael, Salmanezer, king of Aſſyria, having learnt that Hoſea was combined againſt him with So, king of Ægypt, he advanced his army againſt the city of Samaria, which, having reſiſted his attacks for more than two years, was taken by aſſault, in the ſeventh year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Jeruſalem. The kingdom of Iſrael was deſtroyed by the capture of this place, Hoſea being taken priſoner, and the inhabitants removed into Media and Perſia: Salmanezer bringing people from the borders of Chuthah, a river of Perſia, to ſupply the place of the Iſraelites in the land of Samaria.

It was about nine hundred and forty-ſeven years from the departure from Ægypt, eight hundred from the time of Joſhua, and two hundred and forty from Rehoboam's revolt, that the ten tribes were thus tranſlated. Such was the wretched fate of a people, who diſdained ſubjection to the laws, and deſpiſed the admonitions of the prophets, who forwarned them that a continued courſe of impiety would certainly end in their ruin. Theſe misfortunes aroſe from the revolt of Rehoboam, who advancing a ſervant above his maſter, in defiance of the laws of God, and inducing his people to follow ſuch a bad example, juſtly provoked the wrath of the Almighty.

The abovenamed Salmanezer ranſacked and triumphed over all Syria and Phœnicia. He is mentioned by Menander, in his hiſtory of the Tyrians, in the following manner. "Elulæus reigned thirty-ſix years, and the Gittæans revolting againſt him, he ſent a fleet to reduce them. The king of the Aſſyrians likewiſe diſpatched an army againſt him, and penetrated into Phœnicia, but retired with his troops on a peace being concluded.

"Not

" Not long after this, the cities of Sidon, Arce, Palæ-Tyrus, and many " other places, abandoned their countrymen, and ſubmitted to the king of " Aſſyria, who ſent a fleet of ſixty ſail againſt the reſt of the Tyrians, as " the only people that ſubmitted not to his authority. This fleet was con- " ducted by the Phœnicians, and had eight hundred rowers; but with only " twelve veſſels, the Tyrians attacked them, threw them all into confuſion, " and made captives of five hundred of the rowers; a victory which elevated " their naval ſkill to the higheſt degree of reputation." Thus vanquiſhed, the king of Aſſyria returned, and poſted guards on the banks of the river, to prevent the Tyrians getting water, for which they were diſtreſſed near five years, during which they had none but what they procured by the digging of pits.

The people newly planted in Samaria were called Chuthites, from the river Chuthah in Perſia, whence they were brought by Salmanezer. They conſiſted of five nations, each worſhipping their own gods, which they brought with them: on which the wrath of Heaven deſcended on them for their idolatry, and afflicted them with a peſtilence that nearly deſtroyed them. All human methods of relief being fruitleſs, the Oracle adviſed them to pay adoration to the true God, as the only means of having their evils redreſſed. Hereupon they diſpatched meſſengers to the king of Aſſyria, entreating him that ſome of the prieſts, who had been made priſoners with the Iſraelites, might be ſent to them. This was complied with; and on the arrival of the prieſts, the Chuthites deſired them to read the Law of Moſes, which they did, and likewiſe expounded it, ſhewing the reaſonableneſs of the worſhip: whereupon the Chuthites began the ſtudy and practice of the true religion, and the plague ceaſed in a ſhort time. The Hebrews ſtill call theſe people Chuthites, but Samaritans is the name they bear among the Greeks. They are a moſt unprincipled people, ſtill adapting their conduct to the change of circumſtances. When the Jews are in a proſperous ſituation, they claim a kindred to them; but when misfortunes ſurround them, they ſay " We are " ſtrangers, who came from a diſtant country, and have no connections " with you."

End of the Ninth Book.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK X.

Occurrences from the year of the World 3224 to 3425.

CHAP. I.

Sennacherib leads a powerful army towards Jeruſalem, and receives a ſum of money from Hezekiah on condition of drawing off his forces: he violates the treaty, and leaving the ſiege of Jeruſalem to the conduct of Rabſhaketh, marches againſt the Ægyptians and Æthiopians. The prophet Iſaiah aſſures Hezekiah of the aſſiſtance of the Almighty

SENNACHERIB, the king of Aſſyria, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, having ſubdued all the cities of Judah and Benjamin, led his army towards Jeruſalem, whence an ambaſſy was diſpatched to propoſe terms of accommodation, and to offer him tribute. He accepted the propoſals, and bound himſelf with the ſolemnity of an oath to decline hoſtilities, on condition of being paid thirty talents of gold and three hundred of ſilver. Hezekiah paid the ſtipulated ſum, in confidence that the enemy would evacuate his dominions: but, regardleſs of the treaty which he had ſworn to obſerve, he appointed his lieutenant-general Rabſhaketh, with Tharata and Anacharis, to direct the war againſt Jeruſalem, himſelf taking the lead of an army againſt the Ægyptians and Æthiopians. The commiſſioners who had

had been deputed by Sennacherib having cauſed the camp to be removed within ſight of the walls of Jeruſalem, diſpatched a courier to demand a parley with Hezekiah. Judging it unſafe to go in perſon, he ordered Eleakim, his deputy-governor, and Shebnah and Joah, the keepers of the records, to repair to the Aſſyrian army. Rabſhaketh, in a peremptory voice, bad them enquire of their maſter, wherefore he had preſumed to diſpute admitting the army into the city, and heſitated to acknowledge ſubmiſſion to the great and powerful Sennacherib. He ſaid that Ægypt was not in a condition to withſtand the Aſſyrian army, and therefore if Hezekiah flattered himſelf in the hope of aſſiſtance from that quarter, he would be deceived; for he would be truſting to a broken reed, which would wound the hand that preſſed it. He deſired them to inform Hezekiah that the preſent expedition was undertaken by the direction of the Lord, who had already granted Sennacherib a compleat victory over the Iſraelites, and would certainly render him equally ſucceſsful in the war againſt Jeruſalem. Rabſhaketh ſpoke in Hebrew, in which language he was well verſed; and Eleakim, apprehending that his addreſs being generally underſtood might have an unfavourable effect upon the multitude, requeſted him to proceed in the Syriac tongue: but being apprized of the motive on which a change of language was adviſed, he exalted his voice, and continued his harangue in Hebrew. "It is neceſſary (ſaid he) that your people ſhould underſtand the commands of "the king my maſter. I am aware that it is your purpoſe to amuſe the "people with the vain hopes of ſubduing our army: if you have courage to "attempt this enterprize, I will ſupply you with two thouſand horſes:—but, "alas! you are not able to provide them riders. Being thus reduced, why "will you longer deliberate? Your compliance will enſure your ſafety, "while a further oppoſition will involve you in the moſt imminent danger: "for neceſſity will, at length, compel the weak to yield to the ſtrong."

The purport of the above diſcourſe being communicated to Hezekiah, he cloathed himſelf in ſack-cloth, according to the cuſtom of the country, to denote his humiliation, and falling proſtrate on the ground, fervently prayed for the aſſiſtance and protection of the Lord. He charged a number of his ſelect friends to accompany ſome of the prieſts to the prophet Iſaiah, whom they were to entreat to exert his endeavours, by prayers and ſacrifices for obtaining the aſſiſtance and protection of the Almighty, and for humbling the power and pride of the enemy. Iſaiah yielded to the requeſt made to him on the part of Hezekiah; and was authorized by the Oracle to declare to him that, without proceeding to an engagement, the Aſſyrians ſhould be compelled to make a ſhameful retreat, with the loſs of a conſiderable part of the army; that Sennacherib ſhould not ſucceed in the war againſt the Ægyptians; and that, on returning to his kingdom, he ſhould die by the hands of his own ſons.

At this time Hezekiah received letters from the king of Aſſyria, expoſtulating on the dangerous policy of attempting to maintain a defence againſt a monarch who had reduced ſo many warlike nations to ſubjection, and menacing a general ſlaughter of men, women and children if the gates of the city were not thrown open to his army. Hezekiah having repoſed an abſo-

lute confidence in the truth and power of the Almighty, paid no regard to theſe letters; which he folded up, and laid in the temple. He continued to offer up ſupplications in favour of the people, till the return of Iſaiah, who reported to him the following anſwer. "That his petition having pre-
"vailed, no injury was to be apprehended from the enemy; and that the
"period was approaching when the people would be reſtored to the peaceful
"enjoyment of their poſſeſſions."

Sennacherib employed a conſiderable portion of time in laying ſiege to the city of Peluſium: but when he had raiſed his platforms nearly to a level with the tops of the walls, and had compleated every other material preparation for making the aſſault, he received intelligence that Tirhakah, king of Æthiopia, with a formidable reinforcement was marching to the aſſiſtance of the Ægyptians, and that he had directed his courſe through the deſert, in order to attack the Aſſyrian army by ſurpriſe. Alarmed by this information, the Aſſyrian abandoned a farther proſecution of the ſiege, and returned to his dominions, after the ſeveral enterprizes which he had meditated had been rendered abortive. This war by Sennacherib againſt the king of Ægypt, is called by Herodotus, the war againſt the prieſt of Vulcan; the Ægyptian king being a prieſt of that idol. This hiſtorian ſays, "Sennacherib raiſed the ſiege of Peluſium on the following occaſion: the
"king of Ægypt ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of his God, which being granted,
"proved fatal to the Arabian." He has been guilty of an error in writing Arabian inſtead of Aſſyrian. He adds that, "Immenſe ſwarms of rats came
"into the camp, and in one night deſtroyed all the bow-ſtrings, and ren-
"dered uſeleſs a great part of the other implements of war belonging to
"the Aſſyrians, in conſequence of which Sennacherib drew off his forces
"from the town." Beroſus, an hiſtorian of Chaldee, ſays, "Sennacherib,
"king of the Aſſyrians, waged war againſt all Aſia and Ægypt." He writes to the preciſe meaning of what is contained in the following chapter.

CHAP. II.

One hundred and eighty thouſand of the troops of Sennacherib are deſtroyed by the judgment of God. Sennacherib abandons the ſiege of Jeruſalem, and returns to Nineveh, where he is murdered by his ſons.

ON his return from the war in Ægypt, the king of the Aſſyrians found that the night after the ſiege had been commenced againſt Jeruſalem, his army had ſuſtained a dreadful havoc; general officers, tribunes, and private ſoldiers, amounting to one hundred and eighty thouſand, having fallen a ſacrifice to the judicial vengeance of heaven. Sennacherib conſidered the peſtilence as an effect of the divine wrath; and dreading that the mortality would prevail among his remaining people, he led them with the utmoſt expedition to the city of Nineveh, at which place he held his court. Some time after his return, he was murdered in the temple dedicated to the idol Araſcus, by Adramelek, and Sharezar, his two eldeſt ſons, who took refuge in Armenia. Eſarhaddon, the third ſon of Sennacherib ſucceeded to the throne.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The life of Hezekiah prolonged for fifteen years. A treaty of alliance concluded between Balad, king of Babylon, and Hezekiah. Iſaiah predicts the captivity of the Iſraelites, and the calamities to be inflicted upon Hezekiah and his poſterity. Hezekiah dies.

CONSCIOUS that his preſervation had been effected by the intervention of Divine Providence, in cauſing a judicial plague to prevail in the Aſſyrian army. Hezekiah now humbled himſelf in prayer and thankſgivings to God. While he was occupied in this holy buſineſs, he was afflicted with ſo grievous a diſtemper, that his phyſicians entertained no expectation of his recovery: and, in this extremity, he fervently prayed to the Lord to prolong his life till he ſhould become the father of a ſon, to whom the ſovereignty might be tranſmitted. On the conſideration that being deſtitute of an heir to the government, proved the ſourſe of greater affliction than he experienced from being deprived of the grandeur and other advantages of a throne, the Almighty accepted his ſupplications, and commiſſioned the prophet Iſaiah to aſſure him that his afflictions ſhould be removed in three days, that fifteen years ſhould be added to his life, and that he ſhould beget a ſon who ſhould ſucceed him in the government. The meſſage from the Lord was of ſo extraordinary a nature, that Hezekiah could not avoid entertaining a doubt of its authenticity; and he therefore deſired the prophet to afford a proof of the Divine commiſſion by the performance of ſome miracle. Being aſked what evidence he required, the king ſaid, that the moving of the ſhadow on his dial ten degrees backwards, would give him perfect ſatisfaction. This prodigy was wrought, and Hezekiah being ſoon afterwards reſtored to perfect health, repaired to the temple, where he devoutly prayed to, and worſhipped God.

About this period the Medes obtained a conqueſt over the Aſſyrian empire. Balad, the king of Babylon, diſpatched ambaſſadors charged with preſents for Hezekiah, to whom they were authorized to propoſe terms of alliance. Theſe ambaſſadors were graciouſly received, and after Hezekiah had magnificently entertained them, ſhewn them his armoury, and the immenſe treaſures which he poſſeſſed in gold and ſilver, he diſmiſſed them with gifts of value for king Balad. Iſaiah queſtioned Hezekiah reſpecting the ambaſſadors; and he anſwered, that they had been ſent to him by the king of Babylon, and that he had ſhewn them the treaſures of his palace, that they might be enabled to make a juſt report of his wealth and power to their maſter. Upon this, the prophet ſaid, "I am commiſſioned to inform you "that, in a ſhort time, your treaſures ſhall be conveyed to Babylon; and "that many of your poſterity are deſtined, after being deprived of virility, "to ſerve as eunuchs in the court of Babylon. Theſe events will inevitably "tranſpire; for they have been predicted by the Lord." This information deeply afflicted Hezekiah, both on his own account and on that of his family;

mily: and he ſaid that ſince the judgment of heaven could not be averted, he had only to ſupplicate that he might paſs the remainder of his life in a ſtate of tranquility. Iſaiah and twelve other prophets faithfully committed their predictions to writing, that poſterity might be convinced of their acting under the ſanction of the Divine commiſſion. Hezekiah died in the five and fiftieth year of his age, and in the twenty-ninth year of his ſovereignty.

CHAP. IV.

The iniquity of Manaſſeh, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Hezekiah. The king of Babylon conquers Judæa, and takes Manaſſeh priſoner, but upon his repentance, he reſtores him to his government. The death of Manaſſeh, who is ſucceeded by his ſon Amon. In the ſecond year of his reign, Amon is murdered, and his ſon Joſiah is proclaimed king.

HEZEKIAH was ſucceeded in the government by Manaſſeh, whom he had by Hepzibah, a woman of Jeruſalem. This prince acted on principles directly oppoſite to thoſe of his father. The moſt abominable practices, which had called down the vengeance of heaven upon the Iſraelites, were the examples by which his conduct was regulated. He even dared to profane the holy temple. He barbarouſly perſecuted men of the moſt exemplary piety; and the very prophets were ſacrificed to his inſatiable luſt of blood; ſcarcely a day paſſing whereon ſome of theſe pious men were not made victims to his cruelty. The Almighty ſent prophets to exhort the king and the people to repent of their crimes, on the penalty of ſuffering puniſhments equal to what had been inflicted upon their brethren, the Iſraelites. Theſe admonitions were treated with contempt; and the king and people of Judæa continuing to purſue their uſual courſes of iniquity, the Almighty was pleaſed to create a powerful enemy in the king of Babylon and Chaldæa, whoſe forces obtained a compleat victory over Manaſſeh, who was ſurpriſed and made a priſoner of war. His dominions being ravaged, and himſelf at the mercy of the conqueror, this unhappy prince fervently ſupplicated the Almighty to cauſe his enemy to treat him with clemency and tenderneſs. The Lord, in commiſſeration of his ſufferings, liſtened to his prayers, and, after ſome time had elapſed, the king of Babylon reſtored him to his throne.

Manaſſeh now exerted his utmoſt abilities to make every poſſible atonement for his former crimes. He purified the city, conſecrated the holy temple anew, and made it the buſineſs of his life to manifeſt a due reverence and gratitude towards his creator. Conſcious that his former guilt had, in a great meaſure, been the cauſe of the miſeries which his people had endured, he endeavoured to effect a reformation among them, both by his example and authority. He cauſed an altar to be erected agreeable to the directions of Moſes, upon which daily oblations were made: and having reſtored the religious ceremonies to their original purity, he directed his attention towards improving the fortifications of the city. He made the neceſſary reparations in the old walls, and, as a further ſecurity, encompaſſed them

them with new ones. He erected divers ſtrong and lofty towers, and provided the out-works with all neceſſary proviſions, and ſtores. During the remainder of his reign, his veneration to God ſuffered no abatement; and he was conſidered as one of the moſt happy ſovereigns. At the age of ſixty-ſeven, and in the fifty-fifth year of his reign, he died, and was interred in the royal garden. His ſon Amon, by Elmalſema, a native of the city of Jabat, ſucceeded to the throne. He followed the profligate examples which his father afforded in the early time of his life: and his mal-adminiſtration, induced ſome of his intimate friends and domeſtics to conſpire his death, which they effected in the twentieth year of his life, and in the ſecond of his government. The public puniſhed the murderers by death. The remains of this prince were depoſited in the ſepulchre of his father. Upon the deceaſe of Amon, Joſiah, his ſon, who was at that time about eight years old, aſcended the throne.

CHAP. V.

Joſiah aboliſhes the worſhip of Idols, and eſtabliſhes excellent regulations, both in religious and civil affairs.

THE mother of Joſiah was a native of Boſcath, and her name was Jehida. The new king was of a gracious diſpoſition, and naturally attached to virtue. He propoſed the truly excellent example of David as the rule of his conduct through life. Before he had compleated his twelfth year, he gave a ſignal inſtance of piety, by extirpating the abominable worſhip of idols, and reſtoring the people to the religion of the true God. Such of the ordinances of his predeceſſors as he found productive of ill conſequences, he aboliſhed: ſuch inſtitutions as were expedient he retained; and to thoſe which required alterations, he made amendments which would have conferred honor upon the moſt conſummate wiſdom, and the experience of advanced years. He cauſed all the groves and altars which his apoſtate predeceſſors had dedicated to the idolatrous worſhip, to be deſtroyed, and attached the people to a due reverence towards the worſhip of the living God. He appointed commiſſioners to ſuperintend the manners of the people, and determine on the merits of cauſes depending between individuals; and he rigidly adhered to the adminiſtration of public juſtice. He deputed commiſſioners to receive contributions of gold and ſilver for the purpoſe of repairing the temple; but, averſe to give cauſe of complaint, his ſubjects were at liberty either to promote or decline the ſubſcription. The contributions being depoſited in the treaſury, Amaſiah, governor of the city; Shaphan, the Scribe; Joaſh, the recorder, and Hilkiah, the high-prieſt, were nominated to engage artificers, provide materials, and regulate the expences of the intended reparations. The rebuilding the temple proved a laſting monument of the exemplary piety of Joſiah.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, Joſiah directed Hilkiah to apply what gold and ſilver ſhould remain, after defraying the expences incidental to the edifice, in the formation of cups, chalices, and other veſſels and uten-

ſils

ſils for the ſervice of the holy religion; and he ordered that all the gold and ſilver depoſited in the royal treaſury, ſhould be manufactured into veſſels for the ſame purpoſe. Upon removing the treaſure, the high-prieſt diſcovered the ſacred books of Moſes; which he delivered to Shaphan, the Scribe, who, after having peruſed them, repaired to the king, and informed him, that his commands had been obeyed; adding, that he had found the books of Moſes. Hilkiah read theſe books to the king, who, upon hearing their contents, in an agony of grief, tore his cloaths, and called for certain particular friends. On their arrival he deſired them to accompany the high-prieſt to the propheteſs Huldah, the wife of Shallum, who was a man of diſtinguiſhed reputation; requeſting that they would unite their endeavours to prevail upon her to make intereceſſion with the Almighty for pardon towards himſelf and his ſubjects; ſaying there was great reaſon to apprehend that the vengeance of heaven would be directed towards the preſent generation, as a puniſhment for the iniquities of their progenitors; and that without obtaining a reconciliation with the Lord, they ſhould be diſperſed over the face of the earth, and terminate their lives in miſery. Upon the king's order being communicated to the propheteſs, ſhe directed them to report this anſwer: "That the impious ſuperſtition of the people, and their contempt "of the menacing predictions of the prophets had incurred the wrath of Hea- "ven; that the people would be baniſhed from their native land, and be "deprived of the bleſſings of life; and that no ſupplications could prevail "to avert the judgment which the Lord had irrevocably pronounced. How- "ever (continued the propheteſs) report to Joſiah that, from a regard to "his piety, the Almighty will not inflict theſe puniſhments during the pe- "riod of his life, but that immediately after his deceaſe the divine ven- "geance will be executed upon the people."

Hereupon Joſiah diſpatched meſſengers to the ſeveral cities within his dominions, commanding the prieſts, Levites, and his ſubjects in general to repair to Jeruſalem: and upon their being aſſembled, the books of Moſes were read to them; after which, the king advanced to an eminence in the midſt of the multitude, and adminiſtered the oath of obedience to the laws of Moſes, and the holy worſhip and religion of God: and the people bound themſelves under this engagement with unanimous approbation. After the ſacrifices had been made, prayers were put forth for obtaining the bleſſing of the Almighty. The king enjoined the high-prieſt to take a particular ſurvey of the veſſels and other plate contained in the temple, and effectually to deſtroy ſuch articles as had been dedicated by his predeceſſors to the ſervice of the idolatrous religion. The king's commands was punctually obeyed, and the remnants of the utenſils were caſt away. In obedience to the command of Joſiah, all the prieſts who were not of the line of Aaron were put to death.

The reformation of the city of Jeruſalem being effected, Joſiah made a journey through his kingdom, and deſtroyed every evidence which remained of Jeroboam's ſuperſtition and idolatry: and the bones of the falſe prophets he cauſed to be burnt upon the altar which Jeroboam had erected. Thus, after the extirpation of three hundred and ſixty-one years, was the prediction

of the prophet verified; for he declared that theſe events ſhould be accompliſhed by a man of the race of David, named Joſiah.

The king, in perſon, and by the agency of meſſengers, applied to the Iſraelites who had eſcaped from the captivity of the Aſſyrians, with a view to reclaim them from the abominable adoration of idols, and to inſpire them with a juſt ſenſe of their duty towards the eternal God. The figures of horſes dedicated to the ſun, and placed over the porch of the temple, he cauſed to be deſtroyed; and he appointed officers to make ſtrict enquiry within the towns and villages of his dominions, for the relicts of idolatry, which he commanded them utterly to deſtroy.

After this purification of his realm, he aſſembled the people at Jeruſalem for the purpoſe of celebrating the feaſt of unleavened-bread, or the paſſover; and on this occaſion he gave from his own ſtore thirty goats, one thouſand lambs, and three thouſand oxen: the principal prieſt preſented to the others of the ſacerdotal order, two thouſand ſix hundred lambs; and the chiefs of the Levites gave to their tribe five thouſand lambs, and five hundred oxen. A ſolemn ſacrifice was made of theſe victims, according to the precepts of Moſes: and the ceremony was performed under the direction of the prieſts. An exact conformity to the law and ancient uſage was obſerved on the celebration of this feſtival, which was the moſt ſolemn that had been known ſince the time of the prophet Samuel.

CHAP. VI.

Pharaoh-Necho is oppoſed by Joſiah, who is ſlain by an arrow ſhot by an Ægyptian. Joſiah ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoahaz, who is made captive, and dies in Ægypt. Eliakim takes the name of Jehoiakim, and is made king by Pharaoh.

THE army of Pharaoh-Necho proceeded under his command towards the Euphrates, to attack the Medes and Babylonians, (who had over-run the empire of Aſſyria) and ſubdue Aſia to his dominion. Having proceeded to Megiddo, a place ſubject to Joſiah, the latter refuſed to let Pharaoh paſs; on which he diſpatched a meſſenger to tell Joſiah that his deſigns were not hoſtile to him, but he wiſhed to march towards Euphrates, and hoped the king would not compel him to force his way. Joſiah, however, perſiſted to deny him a paſſage, as if hereby predeſtined to his own ruin: for while he was riding to and fro, giving orders to his army, an Ægyptian ſhot him with an arrow, by which he was ſo dreadfully wounded, that he gave orders for his army to retreat, and went himſelf to Jeruſalem, where he expired, in the thirty-firſt year of his reign, and at the age of thirty-nine. He was interred with great ſolemnity, in the burial-place of his anceſtors, and ſeveral days were devoted to public mourning for his death. Jeremiah the prophet wrote an elegy on this occaſion, in which he foretold the advancement of the Babyloniſh captivity, and the misfortunes conſequent thereon. This elegy is ſtill in being. Ezekiel the prophet likewiſe left two books of predictions on this ſubject, in which he foretells the

calamities which ſhould follow this revolution. Both theſe prophets were of the line of the prieſt-hood: Jeremiah dwelt at Jeruſalem from the thirteenth year of Joſiah's reign, till the city and temple were deſtroyed.

Jehoahaz, who was twenty-three years old at the death of Joſiah, now aſſumed the ſovereign authority, and held his court at Jeruſalem. His mother was named Hamutal; and he was a prince of a profane and irreligious diſpoſition. When the king of Ægypt returned from the wars, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Jehoahaz to attend him at Hamath in Syria, when he depoſed him, put him in chains, and transferred the government to his elder brother by the father's ſide, who was named Eliakim, but, on this occaſion, aſſumed the name of Jehoiakim. The Ægyptian made this prince his tributary, by taxing his country to the amount of one talent of gold, and one hundred of ſilver. Jehoahaz he took with him into Ægypt, where he died, having reigned only three months and ten days. Zabida, of Raman, was the mother of Jehoiakim, who bore the character of a malicious, revengeful man, who neglected the worſhip of God, and had no compaſſion for his fellow-creatures.

CHAP. VII.

Pharaoh defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, to whom Jehoiakim becomes tributary. Jeremiah foretells the misfortunes that are to befall Jehoiakim.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR* proceeded with a large army to Carchabeſa, near the Euphrates, in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim; with a view to make war on Pharaoh-Necho, and reduce all Syria. Pharaoh raiſed a large army, and took the field to oppoſe him, and the armies engaging, on the banks of the Euphrates, Pharaoh was compelled to retire, with the loſs of ſeveral thouſands of his troops. After this, in the eighth year of Jehoiakim's reign, and the fourth of Nebuchadnezzar's, the Babylonians invaded Judæa, and threatened deſtruction to its inhabitants, unleſs they paid a tribute, like the reſt of the Syrians. Jehoiakim, terrified by theſe threats, purchaſed his peace, and paid contribution for three years; but in the fourth, hearing that the king of Ægypt was advancing againſt the Babylonians, he refuſed to pay tribute. He was, however, misinformed; for the Ægyptians were afraid to attack the Babylonians; which agreed with Jeremiah's prediction, that the Ægyptians would be no better than a broken reed to depend on. This prophet likewiſe foretold, that the Babylonians, ſhould ſoon deſtroy Jeruſalem, and take Jehoiakim captive. Theſe predictions were generally deſpiſed; and there were a few perſons who adviſed the exhibiting articles againſt the prophet, as a promoter of ſedition. This being done, the majority of the council would have puniſhed him with death; but others were for diſmiſſing him; alledging that other perſons, among

* From this place to the end of this book, Voſſius, in his 2d. exercit. de LXX cautions us not to pay too implicit a regard to Joſephus.

among whom was Micah, had predicted the ſame calamities, and inſtead of being puniſhed for it, were highly honoured as the prophets of God. Attention being paid hereto, the prophet was diſmiſſed.

Jeremiah now reduced his prophecies to writing; and in the ninth month of the fifteenth year of Jehoiakim's reign, on the aſſembling of the people in the temple, on a ſolemn faſt, he publickly read his book, containing predictions of the misfortunes to the people, city, and temple. On hearing the contents, the princes took the book from the prophet, and adviſed him and Baruch, his ſcribe, immediately to ſecrete themſelves. They then took the book to the king, who ordered his ſecretary to read it; but was ſo enraged at it, that he tore and burnt it; commanding that Jeremiah and Baruch ſhould be inſtantly brought before him, to receive ſentence of puniſhment: but they had previouſly abſconded.

CHAP. VIII.

Nebuchadnezzar received into Jeruſalem by Jehoiakim. Nebuchadnezzar's perfidious barbarity: Jehoiakim put to the ſword by him, and ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoiakin.

JEHOIAKIM, ſoon after the above events, being terrified by the predictions of Jeremiah, admitted Nebuchadnezzar and all his army into the city, on friendly terms, without having taken any meaſures for his own ſecurity, or even thought of excluding the Babylonian, who had no ſooner got footing in the city, than he violated the rights of friendſhip, by putting the king to the ſword, with all the principal young men of Jeruſalem. He then ordered the body of the king to be thrown into the fields without the walls of the city, and advanced his ſon Jehoiakin, to the government of the city and country. He made priſoners of about three thouſand perſons of diſtinction and eminence, whom he carried to Babylon in captivity; among whom was Ezekiel the prophet, then a very young man. Thus ended the life of Jehoiakim, at the age of thirty-ſix years, after a reign of eleven years. The mother of his ſucceſſor, Jehoiakin, was named Nehuſhta, who was a native of Jeruſalem.

CHAP. IX.

Jeruſalem beſieged by the army of Nebuchadnezzar; whoſe officers make priſoners of Jehoiakin, his mother, and friends.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR having revolved the former proceedings in his mind, repented his having placed Jehoiakin on the throne; conſidering that the young king would not eaſily forget the murder of his father, but would ſeek for the moſt favourable opportunity to revenge his death. Theſe reflections produced a reſolution to ſend an army to attack Jeruſalem; and Jehoiakin, who was a prince of a mild diſpoſition, and a lover of equity, agreed with Nebuchadnezzar's officers to ſurrender the place, on

the condition that both it, and the inhabitants, ſhould remain uninjured: and for the ratification of this treaty, the king's mother and relations were given up as hoſtages. At the end of one year, however, Nebuchadnezzar broke his agreement, and ordered his officers to ſeize the young men of the city, with artificers of all kinds, and convey them to him in fetters. This being done, ten thouſand, eight hundred, and thirty-two perſons were made captives, and confined in priſon, among whom were Jehoiakin, his mother, and relations.

CHAP. X.

Zedekiah advanced to the government, but reſtricted not to aſſiſt the Ægyptians. Zedekiah breaking his covenant, Jeruſalem is beſieged by Nebuchadnezzar. Pharaoh, king of Ægypt, attempting to raiſe the ſiege, is routed by Nebuchadnezzar, who returns to the attack. The prophecies and advice of Jeremiah rejected by Zedekiah.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR having impriſoned Jehoiakin, elevated his uncle Zedekiah to the government, binding him, by a ſolemn oath, neither to make innovations, or take part with the Ægyptians. When Zedekiah began to rule, he was twenty-one years old; and he had a brother, by the ſame mother, named Jehoiakim. The above prince was deficient in all virtues, and aſſociated with young men as abandoned as himſelf: ſo that Jeremiah the prophet frequently conjured him to the practice of religion; adviſed him not to liſten to flatterers and falſe prophets, who filled his imagination with ideas that the Babylonians would not again attack Jeruſalem; and that whenever the Ægyptians fought, they ſhould conquer them; which the prophet ſaid would not happen. Zedekiah would liſten to, and appeared convinced by the arguments of Jeremiah; but no ſooner did he mix with his old companions, than all the good advice was forgotten.

At this time Ezekiel, who reſided at Babylon, predicted the deſtruction of the temple, and ſent his prophecy to Jeruſalem. The two prophets agreed that the city ſhould be taken by force, and Zedekiah carried into captivity: Jeremiah ſaid that the king ſhould convey him priſoner to Babylon; while Ezekiel predicted that he ſhould not ſee that city. This apparent inconſiſtency in the prophecies, led Zedekiah to doubt the truth of the whole: but it will hereafter be ſeen that he was miſtaken in his conjecture.

At the end of eight years, Zedekiah violated his oath to Nebuchadnezzar, by taking part with the Ægyptians; thinking that, jointly, they could ſubdue the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar immediately marched, ravaged Zedekiah's country, ſeized his cattle and fortreſs, and proceeded to the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Pharaoh learning how Zedekiah was preſſed, advanced to his relief, with a view to raiſe the ſiege. Nebuchadnezzar having intimation hereof, would not wait his approach, but proceeded to give him battle, and, in one conteſt, drove him out of Syria. This circumſtance ſuſpending

pending the ſiege, the falſe prophets repreſented to Zedekiah how abſurd it was to fear that the Hebrews would be carried captive to Babylon: whereas it was more probable that the priſoners already taken would be brought back, and the plate and treaſure, which had been carried from the temple, reſtored. In contradiction hereto, Jeremiah charged the falſe prophets with being impoſtors; ſaid that no good was to be hoped from the Ægyptians; but that they ſhould be firſt conquered, and then the army of Babylon return to the ſiege: that thoſe who eſcaped death by ſword and famine, ſhould have their houſes ranſacked, their goods ſtolen, and the city and temple plundered, while themſelves ſhould be carried into captivity. "We "are doomed (ſaid the prophet) to ſeventy years ſlavery to theſe people and "their poſterity; at the end of which period the Medes and Perſians ſhall "free us from that ſlavery, by utterly deſtroying the empire of Babylon: "We ſhall then return hither, build the temple anew, and reſtore the city "to its former ſplendor."

The people in general paid great attention to what the prophet ſaid; but the moſt eminent people, and the unprincipled in general, conſidered and treated him as a mad-man. Jeremiah having proceeded twenty furlongs from Jeruſalem, in the way to Anathoth, (his birth-place) he was met by a magiſtrate, who confined him, on pretence that he was deſerting to the king of Babylon. It was in vain that he urged his being going home only: he was hurried before a tribunal of juſtice, examined, tortured, and condemned to death; and remained ſome time in this ſituation.

In the tenth month of the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, the king of Babylon again beſieged Jeruſalem with a large army, and, for a year and a half, exerted all his art and ſtrength to conquer it; but the city, though enfeebled by famine and peſtilence, did not yield. At this time Jeremiah, who was in priſon, called to the people to open the gates, and admit the Babylonians, as the only means to prevent their deſtruction: he ſaid thoſe who remained in the city would be deſtroyed by famine or ſword; but the enemy would ſpare ſuch as fled out to them. Hereupon the princes went to the king, and repreſented the prophet as one whoſe idle tales would delude the multitude; inſinuating that the people appeared reſolute to defend the city to the uttermoſt, till their courage was abated by his predictions. The diſpoſition of the king would not have led him to extremities; but urged as he was, and unwilling to diſoblige perſons of their rank, he permitted them to diſpoſe of the prophet as they pleaſed. Hereupon they repaired to the priſon, and taking out Jeremiah, lowered him with a rope into a pit, where they left him up to the neck in mud, that he might be ſuffocated. An Æthiopian, one of the king's favourite ſervants, informing his majeſty of his ſituation, he ordered him to ſelect thirty men who could be depended on, who ſhould take ropes, and inſtantly releaſe him. This being done, the prophet was privately introduced to the king, who aſked him if he could relieve his diſtreſs by the interpoſition of heaven. Jeremiah replied in the affirmative; "but (ſaid he) your people will neither credit me, nor take my "advice. Thoſe who call themſelves your friends, are my foes: they con-

" ſider me as a hypocrite, and are now combining my deſtruction: but " where are now thoſe deceivers that perſuaded the people no danger could " ariſe from the Babylonians? However, Sir, my life may pay the forfeit " if I tell you the truth." On this the king ſwore to the prophet that his life ſhould be ſafe; whereupon the latter ſaid, " Deliver up the city to the king " of Babylon. This is the only method to be ſafe from perſonal harm, " avoid the dangers which threaten you, ſave the temple from being burnt, " and the city from being razed to the ground. If you neglect this advice, " I declare in the name, and by the order of God, that all kinds of misfor- " tunes will ſurround you; and to you will be attributed the deſtruction of " yourſelf, family, and people." Zedekiah told him he inclined to purſue his advice, for the public good: but he was apprehenſive that ſome of his people, who had abſconded to the Babylonians, would adviſe the king to deſtroy him. The prophet told him to be eaſy on this head; for on giving up the city, himſelf, his wives, and children, ſhould be ſafe, and the temple ſhould ſuſtain no injury. Hereupon he bad the prophet depart, enjoining him not to divulge a ſingle ſyllable of what had paſſed, even to the princes: and if any one ſhould enquire reſpecting the viſit, he ſhould ſay he had been to ſolicit his liberty of the king. The prophet complied in all reſpects with theſe injunctions.

CHAP. XI.

The taking of Jeruſalem. The ranſacking and burning of the city, palace and temple. Zedekiah's children and friends ſlain; his eyes put out, and himſelf carried captive to Babylon. A liſt of the High Prieſts. Jeremiah committed to the care of Gedaliah. Iſhmael's treachery. The conqueſt of the Ægyptians, who are carried priſoners to Babylon. Account of Daniel, Shadrach, Meſhach and Abednego. Daniel interprets dreams. Nebuchadnezzar's death.

THE ſiege of Jeruſalem went on vigorouſly. The Babylonians compleated their works, having raiſed towers all round the city, ſo as to drive the invaded parties from its walls. The place, though a prey to the plague and famine, was obſtinately defended; every ſcheme of protection being oppoſed to that of attack, during the ſpace of a year and a half: but at length, want of proviſions and forces compelled its ſurrender, when Zedekiah had reigned eleven years, three months and nine days. It was delivered at midnight to Nergelaer, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabaſaries, and Echarampſaris, officers of Nebuchadnezzar. Zedekiah ſeeing the troops enter the temple, abſconded, by a narrow paſs, to the deſert, with his wives, children, officers, and friends: but advice of this being given to the Babylonians, they purſued them early in the morning, and ſurrounded them near Jericho. The friends of Zedekiah flying to ſecure themſelves, he and his wives and children, with a few adherents, were eaſily made priſoners, and conducted to the king, who no ſooner ſaw, than he reproached Zedekiah, ſaying, " Had " I not your promiſe to conduct, for my advantage, the power I inveſted

" you

" you with ? I made you a king in the ſtead of your brother Jehoiakin, and " you have endeavoured to repay me, by uſing your intereſt to my ruin. " But you are now become my priſoner, through the juſtice of God, for " the puniſhment of your ingratitude." The king having thus ſaid, ordered his wives and children to be put to death in the ſight of himſelf and the other priſoners; and then directed Zedekiah's eyes to be put out, and himſelf conducted to Babylon in chains. Thus were the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel verified; the former ſaying he ſhould be made priſoner, ſpeak with, and ſee the king, and be carried to Babylon: the latter, that he ſhould be carried to Babylon, and not ſee the king there; which he could not do; ſince his eyes were firſt put out.

By this we may ſee the wiſdom and power of God, and the regularity of the operations of his counſels. We may learn to reverence the preſcience of the Deity, and to know that all events are ordered by his providence. It is likewiſe a leſſon againſt that incredulity which prevents our knowledge of threatened evils.

The race of David was now extinct, after a ſucceſſive reign of twenty-one kings, in a period of five hundred and fifteen years, ſix months and ten days; but this includes the reign of Saul for twenty years, who was of a different tribe.

After the above ſignal victory, Nebuchadnezzar diſpatched his principal officer, Nebuzar-Adan, to Jeruſalem, to ranſack and burn both palace and temple, to raze the city to the ground, and conduct the captive inhabitants to Babylon. Nebuzar-Adan executed his orders in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, taking all the gold and ſilver veſſels from the temple, the brazen pillars, the tables and candleſticks of gold, and Solomon's large laver; after which he burnt the city, palace, and temple, to the ground. This happened in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. The temple had been built four hundred and ſeventy years, ſix months and ten days. It was one thouſand and ſixty-two years, ſix months and ten days, from the Iſraelites leaving Ægypt, and three thouſand, five hundred and thirty years, ſix months, and ten days, after the creation of the world.

Nebuzar-Adan carried priſoners, Seraiah the high-prieſt; Sepheniah, next in rank; three principal keepers of the temple; ſeven of the king's friends; the chief eunuch of the bed-chamber; the ſecretary to the king, and other perſons of diſtinction, in all about three-ſcore, who were conducted to the king, at the city of Reblathis in Syria. The king ordered the high-prieſt, and others of the firſt rank, to be beheaded there: but the majority of the priſoners were carried to Babylon with Zedekiah, among whom was Jehozadack the high-prieſt, who was ſon to the above-named Seraiah.

The royal line having been regularly mentioned from father to ſon, it may be proper to recite the ſucceſſion of high-prieſts, in whoſe families that dignity continued from one generation to another. Theſe are Zadock, Ahimaaz, Azariah, Joram, Iſus*, Axioramus*, Phideas, Sudeas, Julus, Jotham, Urias, Nerias, Odeas, Saldumus, Eleias, Saræas, and Jehozadack; which laſt was carried captive to Babylon.

On

* Biſhop Mountague, in his Apparatus, ſays that Iſus and Axioramus, are fictitious names.

On the king's return to Babylon, Zedekiah was thrown into priſon, where he expired; and he was buried with regal honours. The king gave Jehozadack his liberty, aſſigned dwellings for the priſoners in Babylon, and dedicated to his idols the holy veſſels which had been taken from the temple. The general Nebuzar-Adan had committed the majority of the captives to the command of Gedaliah, a man diſtinguiſhed by his juſtice and benevolence, who allowed to each man a certain portion of land for his ſubſiſtence, on paying the king a tribute. Jeremiah was releaſed from priſon; and the governor having received the king's orders to treat him well, Gedaliah offered him either to go to Babylon, or if he choſe another place of reſidence, he would write to the king reſpecting the matter. Jeremiah anſwered that he would rather live among the ruins of his native land. This being told to Nebuzar-Adan, he directed Gedaliah to provide properly for him, and ſent the prophet ſome valuable preſents. Jeremiah having obtained the liberty of his ſervant Baruch, choſe him for his companion, and fixed on Mizpah for his reſidence. Baruch was the ſon of Neriah, nobly deſcended, and a great maſter of his native language.

Thoſe who had fled the city during the ſiege, being by this time acquainted with its deſtruction, repaired, in great numbers, to Gedaliah at Mizpah; among whom were Johanan, the ſon of Careah, Jaazaniah and Seraiah, with Iſhmael, a perſon of royal blood, but of moſt abandoned character, who had been protected by Bathal, king of the Ammonites, while the ſiege laſted. Theſe people had applied to Gedaliah, who invited them to remain in that country, and cultivate the earth, and promiſed, under the ſanction of an oath, that they ſhould be undiſturbed in their poſſeſſions. He adviſed them to fix on their places of reſidence, and gave them the aſſiſtance of his own people to fit up their dwellings; but cautioned them to be aſſiduous in providing for the vintage and harveſt, that there might be plenty of corn, wine, and oil, for the winter. Having thus encouraged them, he left them to their own diſpoſal.

Gedaliah's benevolence to the fugitives ſo raiſed his credit among the ſurrounding nations, that numbers came to him, and formed a large ſettlement, having lands aſſigned them, for which they paid the king of Babylon a fixed tribute. Gedaliah's goodneſs to the ſettlers ſo engaged the eſteem of Johanan and the other principal men, that having intelligence of a conſpiracy forming againſt him, by Iſhmael and the king of the Ammonites, they informed him that the former was to deſtroy him, and reign over the Iſraelites. To counteract this plan, they requeſted his permiſſion to deſtroy Iſhmael; for they thought the Iſraelites would be ruined by the continuance of the plot. Gedaliah ſaid he deemed it impoſſible that any man could ſo far deviate from all ſenſe of moral obligation as to ſeek the deſtruction of his preſerver: but if this was the caſe, he would not ſo far violate the laws of hoſpitality as to take the life of the man who had ſheltered himſelf under his protection. On this declaration, Johanan and his friends departed.

A viſit being made, about a month after this, to Gedaliah, by Iſhmael and ten of his friends, they were moſt hoſpitably treated. The glaſs having gone round, till Gedaliah and his party were ſomewhat elevated, the others treacherouſly

cherouſly murdered them all. This happening at midnight, they ſallied into the ſtreets, deſtroying Jews and Babylonians, indiſcriminately. The following day a party of eighty men came from the country, with preſents for Gedaliah, but were unacquainted with the preceding murders. Iſhmael invited them in, as to Gedaliah; but cloſing the doors, cauſed them to be murdered, and thrown into a pit: but ſome of them were ſpared, on a promiſe of diſcovering where corn, cloaths, and other effects, were hid in the earth: but the men in general of Mizpah, with the women and children, were carried off; among whom were Zedekiah's daughters, who had been left under Gedaliah's protection, by Nebuzar-Adan.

This being done, Iſhmael repaired to the king of the Ammonites with the news; but Johanan, and the other principal people, having heard of the death of Gedaliah, and the cruelties at Mizpah, combined their forces, and purſued Iſhmael, whom they came up with near the fountain of Hebron. The captives, ſeeing the purſuers, ran to them in rapture; while Iſhmael and eight of his followers, haſtened to the king of the Ammonites. In the interim, Johanan, with the eunuchs, women, children, and others, who had fled from Iſhmael, proceeded to Mandra, where they reſted one day, doubting if they ſhould depart to Ægpyt, leſt the Babylonians ſhould attack them, in revenge of the murder of Gedaliah. But reſolving to conſult Jeremiah, they bound themſelves by an oath to follow his directions. The prophet promiſed them an anſwer; and at the end of ten days he was viſited by the Almighty, who directed him to tell Johanan and the other chiefs, that "if "they remained in their preſent ſituation, they ſhould be ſecure againſt the "Babylonians; but if they went into Ægypt they muſt expect judgments "ſimilar to thoſe which had befallen their brethren." Inſtead of giving credit to this meſſage, they thought it was an invention of Jeremiah, in favour of his ſervant Baruch, and calculated to leave them a prey to the Babylonians: on which Johanan and his adherents ſeized on Jeremiah and Baruch, and departed into Ægypt; where being arrived, the prophet had a viſion from Heaven, which informed him that an army ſhould be brought into Ægypt by the king of Babylon, the country conquered, part of the people ſlain, and the reſt carried captives to Babylon: and this the prophet was to declare to the people. This prediction was verified in the twenty third year of Nebuchadnezzar, who making an incurſion into Cœle-Syria, ſubjected that country, then went againſt the Ammonites and Moabites, whom having ſubdued, he penetrated into Ægypt, killed the reigning king, advanced another in his ſtead, and carried priſoners to Babylon ſuch of the Jews as he found in the country.

Thus the Hebrews were twice carried priſoners beyond the Euphrates. The Aſſyrians, in the reign of Hoſea, firſt carried the ten tribes; and Nebuchadnezzar, on the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, made captives of the other two. Salmanezer removed the Chuthites from Media and Perſia into the land of the Iſraelites, where they took the name of Samaritans: but the king of Babylon left no ſettlers in the room of the two tribes he carried away. Hence it happened, that, for the ſpace of ſeventy years, Judæa, Jeruſalem, and the temple were totally abandoned. One hundred and thirty years, ſix

months and ten days, elapſed between the captivity of the ten tribes, and the departure of the other two.

Some of the fineſt young men among the Jews being ſelected for Nebuchadnezzar's particular ſervice, had tutors appointed to inſtruct them in the learning of Chaldæa: and ſome of them were caſtrated, agreeable to the cuſtom of the country. Among them were four relations of Zedekiah, viz. Daniel, Ananias, Miſhael, and Azariah; but their names were changed to Belteſhazzar, Shadrack, Meſhech, and Abednego. The king was equally pleaſed with the goodneſs of their tempers and ſtrength of their judgments, and directed proviſions to be ſent them from his own table: but Daniel, conſidering that ſuch elegant viands ſuited not their ſituation, applied to Aſchanes, the eunuch, and begged that, inſtead of the king's proviſions, they might eat pulſe or dates, or any homely food. The eunuch expreſſed a readineſs to gratify them; but ſaid, that if they ſhould grow lean on ſuch food, and decline in health and complexion, the king might ſuſpect what had happened, eſpecially if their companions looked better than they did; which might endanger his life. However, they urged the eunuch to make the experiment, ſaying they could return to their former food, if this was found not to agree with them. The trial being made, the eunuch found they increaſed in health of body, and vigour of mind; on which he kept to himſelf the king's allowance. A courſe of this temperance ſo ſtrengthened their faculties, that they rapidly encreaſed in Hebrew and Chaldæan learning; particularly Daniel, who became a proficient in their arts, undertook to expound dreams, and had ſometimes viſions of his own.

Nebuchadnezzar, two years after the conqueſt of Ægypt, had a dream, and its interpretation, which he forgot in the morning; on which he ſent for the Chaldæans, magi, and prophets, and told them what had happened; but demanded their interpretation. They told him this was impoſſible; but if he would recite the dream, they would explain it. Hereupon the king demanded their compliance, which they ſaid was out of their power; on which he ordered them to be put to death. Daniel hearing of the intended execution, went to Arioch, the captain of the guards, to enquire the cauſe; on which the captain informed him they were to die becauſe they could not explain a dream which the king had forgot. On this Daniel requeſted they might be reſpited for one night, and he hoped God would enable him to interpret the dream. The captain acquainting the king with this circumſtance, the execution was ſuſpended. The friends of Daniel retired with him to his chamber, where they ſpent the night in prayer that God would be pleaſed to reveal to Daniel the dream which the king had forgotten. Their prayers were heard, and God made known to Daniel both the dream and its interpretation. He aroſe early in the morning, and repairing to the men under ſentence of death, bad them be of good courage, for he was certain of delivering them. They returned their joint thanks to Heaven, and then Daniel went to Arioch, deſiring to be introduced to the king, whoſe dream he could now interpret.

Daniel no ſooner ſaw the king, than he ſaid he did not approach him from motives of vanity, or a pretence of poſſeſſing more wiſdom than the Chaldæans

dæans and Magi; but that God, in pity to the unfortunate, had permitted him to explain the king's dream. "I conſult (ſaid he) your honour, in the "endeavour to ſave the lives of thoſe worthy men, whom you would de- "ſtroy, for not being able to reveal a ſecret which it was not in the power of "human wiſdom to diſcover. Your dream was to the following purport: "having reflected on the fate of your dominions after your deceaſe, you "dreamt that you ſaw a ſtatue ſtanding upright, the head of which was "gold, the arms and ſhoulders ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, and the "legs and feet of iron. To your ſight a ſtone then broke from a mountain, "and falling on this ſtatue, overthrew it, and cruſhed it ſo that the duſt of "the gold, ſilver, braſs, and iron, was blown by the wind to the uttermoſt "part of the earth; while the ſtone encreaſed to the ſize of a mountain. The "interpretation of your dream is, that yourſelf and the preceeding kings of "Babylon are meant by the golden head: the hands and ſhoulders ſignify "that your empire ſhall be deſtroyed by two kings: the braſs imports that a "king from the weſt, cloathed in brazen armour, ſhall overturn their empire: "and a man clad in iron, which is ſtronger than gold, ſilver, or braſs, is "to ſubdue this laſt king." Daniel likewiſe explained the meaning of the ſtone, which I omit, as I write of paſt, not of future events. The curious, however, may refer to the Book of Daniel in the Holy Scriptures.

Struck with aſtoniſhment, Nebuchadnezzar owned the above to be his dream; and, bowing to the ground, worſhipped Daniel, beſtowing on him the name of his god, Belteſhazzar. He likewiſe commiſſioned Daniel, in conjunction with ſome of his relations, to rule over the whole province. Daniel and his friends were much envied for this promotion, which ſeemed to threaten their lives, as appears by the following narrative.

Nebuchadnezzar fixed up, in the plain of Babylon, a golden image, ſixty cubits high, and ſix broad. On the dedication of this image he ſummoned a meeting of the princes, officers, &c. throughout his dominions, and cauſed proclamation to be made by the ſound of trumpet, that all ſhould proſtrate themſelves, and worſhip the image, on pain of being thrown into the fiery furnace. The trumpet being ſounded, all the people fell down in adoration, except Daniel and his kinſmen, who refuſing thus to violate the laws of their country, information was laid againſt them, and they were thrown into the fire. The Providence of God now ſo interpoſed on their behalf, that they remained unhurt amidſt the flames, which had not even the power to ſcorch them. This circumſtance ſtruck the king with ſuch an idea of the goodneſs of God in the preſervation of his ſervants, that he ever afterwards held them in great honour and eſteem.

Soon after this event Nebuchadnezzar had a ſecond dream, which was that, "after being driven out from his kingdom, and living ſeven years "among the beaſts of the foreſt, he ſhould be reſtored to his former rank "and ſplendor." On this dream alſo the king conſulted his wiſe men; but Daniel alone could interpret it; and agreeable to his explanation it happened, that after Nebuchadnezzar had ſpent ſeven years in abſolute ſolitude, during which no perſon attempted to ſeize his government, it pleaſed God to reſtore him to the regal power.

Nebuchad-

Nebuchadnezzar died in the forty-third year of his age, having been diſtinguiſhed for his vigilance, and a better fortune than attended any of his predeceſſors. The Chaldean hiſtory, written by Beroſus, recites the following particulars: "Nabuchodonozor the elder, learning that an officer to "whom he had entruſted the government of Ægypt, Cœle-Syria, and Phœ-"nicia, had departed from his fidelity; and illneſs preventing his engaging "in war, he ſent Nebuchodonozor his ſon, with part of his army, to chaſtiſe "him. He fought him, gained the victory, and reduced the provinces to "obedience. In the interim the father died at Babylon, in the twenty-firſt "year of his reign. The young king, hearing of his father's death, adjuſt-"ed the affairs of Ægypt and the other provinces, and charged ſome friends "to conduct to Babylon the army, with the Jews, Syrians, Phœnicians, and "Ægyptians, who were his priſoners; and then travelled over the deſert, "with a few attendants. In the interim, the Chaldæans took care of his "government, ſo that, on his coming home, he was fully eſtabliſhed. His "firſt buſineſs was to divide his captives into colonies; and he next adorned "with the ſpoils of war, the temple of Belus, and other places of worſhip. "He enlarged and repaired the old city buildings, and erected fortifications "on the banks of the river. Within the city he built three entrenchments "of brick-work, and the ſame number without it. The place being thus "fortified, he adorned the gates in a curious manner, and built a moſt "magnificent palace near that of his father. This building was wonder-"fully grand; and it is remarkable that it was compleated in fifteen days. "There were arches in this edifice ſupporting huge ſtones that had the ap-"pearance of mountains hanging in the air; and on theſe were planted ſe-"veral kinds of trees, to gratify the queen (a Median by birth) who wiſhed "to ſee the curioſities of her country repreſented." Theſe gardens are celebrated by Magaſthenes, in the fourth volume of the Hiſtory of India. This author ſpeaks of the king as ſuperior even to Hercules, as he had reduced almoſt all Lybia and Ibenia. This monarch is alſo mentioned by Diocles, in the ſecond part of his hiſtory of Perſia; and by Philoſtratus, in his account of the Phœnicians and Indians, who records that in the reign of Ithobal, king of Tyre, he laid ſiege to that city for thirteen years.

CHAP. XII.

Nebuchadnezzar ſucceeded by Evil-Merodach, who ſets Jehoiakin at liberty. Belſhazzar beſieged in Babylon by Cyrus and Darius. A viſion expounded to Belſhazzar by Daniel. Cyrus takes Babylon. Daniel becomes the favourite of Darius. The wonderful predictions of Daniel.

EVIL-MERODACH ſucceeding his father Nebuchadnezzar, gave liberty to Jehoiakin, king of Jeruſalem, made him various preſents, repoſed great confidence in him, and committed the government of the palace at Babylon to his care.

Evil-Merodach reigned eighteen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Niglisar, who, having reigned forty years, the kingdom devolved to his ſon Laboſar-

Laboſardochus, who died at the end of nine months, when the ſovereign rule deſcended to Belſhazzar, who was called Naboandel by the Babylonians.

Againſt this prince, Cyrus, king of Perſia, and Darius, king of the Medes, waged war; and when they were beſieging Babylon, an aſtoniſhing viſion appeared to Belſhazzar. While he was ſurrounded by his courtiers and concubines at ſupper, the table being decorated with veſſels of ſilver, he profanely called for the ſacred veſſels, which Nebuchadnezzar, after the ranſack of Jeruſalem, had depoſited in the temple; though he never applied them to vulgar uſes. Belſhazzar being elevated with liquor, was talking profanely of the true God, when looking towards the wall, he beheld a hand, writing ſome words thereon, which terrified him to ſuch a degree, that he inſtantly aſſembled his wiſe men and Chaldæans, to diſcover the meaning of the words. Having conſulted together, they declared their total ignorance of the whole. Hereupon the king, utterly diſtreſſed in mind, ordered proclamation to be made throughout his dominions, that whoever could interpret the writing, ſhould receive as a reward a royal purple robe, and a gold chain, and ſhould rank as third man in the kingdom; on which the wiſe men once more aſſembled, each anxious to develop the ſecret; but their labours proved altogether fruitleſs.

This ſecond diſappointment made the king perfectly miſerable; on which his grandmother informed him, that among the priſoners whom Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jeruſalem, there was a man of great wiſdom and penetration, who appeared to be actuated by a divine ſpirit in the reſolving abſtruſe queſtions; and ſhe, therefore, adviſed him to ſend for Daniel, queſtion him reſpecting the writing, and offer him every encouragement to ſpeak the truth, however diſagreeable that truth might be. Belſhazzar confeſſed he had heard of Daniel's wiſdom, and took her advice in ſending for him. When he approached the royal preſence, the king aſſured him that all which he had promiſed in his proclamation ſhould be made good, if he could reſolve the queſtion; which would extend his fame wherever the affair ſhould be heard of.

Daniel declined accepting either preſents or honourable diſtinctions; ſaying, "Wiſdom is the gift of heaven, not to be purchaſed, but ever diſpoſed "to aſſiſt thoſe who want her advice. The writing predicts that your death "is near. You ought to have been warned by the fate of your great prede- "ceſſor, for his contempt of heaven, and regulated your conduct by the "principles of religion. Nebuchadnezzar, as you well know, was "driven from the ſociety of men, and obliged to herd with beaſts; till, on "his humble penitence, God was pleaſed to re-inſtate him in his govern- "ment; a bleſſing he ever afterwards acknowledged with the moſt devout "gratitude. But ſo little are you influenced by his example, that you "openly blaſpheme God, and, in the company of your harlots, profane the "veſſels of his holy altar. This impious conduct hath brought on you the "vengeance of God; and this writing is predictive of your fate. By MENE is "implied *number*, which portends that the days of your life and reign ſhall

" be few. TEKEL ſignifies *weight*; and intimates that your concluding " reign is weighed in the balance. PERES imports a *fragment*, and declares " that the Medes and Perſians ſhall divide your kingdom." Dejected as the king was at this interpretation, which foretold his deſtruction, yet he ratified to Daniel all that had been promiſed; for he conſidered that, however fatal the news might be to him, the prophet had acted the part of a conſcientious man, in telling him the real truth.

Soon after this, the city of Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus, who took it in the ſeventeenth year of the reign of Belſhazzar, who is deemed the laſt king of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. Darius was ſixty-two years old when Babylon was taken, by the aid of his kinſman, Cyrus, the ſon of Aſtyages. Cyrus took Daniel with him to Media, where he promoted him to the rank of one of the three chief governors, under whom were three hundred and ſixty others, as Darius had originally modelled the government. Darius had ſuch veneration for Daniel, that he ſeldom engaged in any buſineſs of conſequence without his advice, which drew on him the envy of the other favourites at court: but Daniel was particularly cautious not to fall into their ſnares. He was wholly above receiving a bribe, and took only a legal acknowledgement for a favour conferred: yet this did not deter his enemies from combining his deſtruction, which they attempted in the following manner.

As Daniel regularly prayed to God three times every day, his opponents ſought to entrap him from this circumſtance: on which they made application to Darius, in the name, and by order of the officers of ſtate, to iſſue an order, that whoever ſhould ſolicit any thing, from God or man, for thirty days, ſhould be thrown into the lions den. Darius, unaware of their intentions, paſſed the decree. This circumſtance ſhocked all the people except Daniel, who continued to worſhip God publickly, as if the order to the contrary had never iſſued His enemies had now a pretence for their proceedings, and immediately waiting on the king, informed him that Daniel was the only perſon who deſpiſed the royal proclamation, by continuing his worſhip, which, they ſaid, was not done from a motive of religion, but in mere contradiction to the king's authority. Their malice was the more violent, from an apprehenſion they entertained that the king's partiality for Daniel might induce him to pardon the ſuppoſed offence: on which they preſſed him for immediate juſtice on the delinquent, whom they inſiſted ſhould be caſt into the lions den. Darius, compelled to yield to their importunities, told Daniel he had no doubt but the life of ſo good a man would be protected by the immediate interference of Divine Providence. Daniel being put into the den, the mouth of it was made cloſe by a large ſtone; and Darius having ſealed the door with the royal ſignet, returned to his palace. The king was ſo troubled that he could neither eat nor ſleep during the night; and in the morning early, he repaired to the den, where he found the ſeal unbroken, and every thing as he had left it. Darius looking through a grate, called Daniel by his name, to enquire if he was ſafe and well; which the prophet anſwered in the affirmative: on which the king ordered him to be ſet free; but the enemies of Daniel denied that this was a Providential deliverance; inſiſting that the reaſon why Daniel remained unhurt was, that the lions had

then

then no appetite. Darius was ſo enraged at this palpable malice, that he ordered the lions to be fed till they were perfectly ſatisfied, and then that the accuſers of Daniel ſhould be put in among them: ſaying, "If the lions "touch them not, it is becauſe they are filled; but if they deſtroy them the "preſervation of Daniel muſt be aſcribed to Providence." They were no ſooner thrown in, than the Providence of God was manifeſted by their being torn to pieces.

Soon after this wonderful deſtruction of Daniel's enemies, Darius cauſed proclamation to be made throughout all his dominions, that his ſubjects ſhould acknowledge the God of Daniel as the only true God. He likewiſe made the prophet his moſt particular favourite, and advanced him to the higheſt honours. Daniel having now acquired univerſal eſteem, built a magnificent edifice at Ecbatane, the capital of Media, which is equally wonderful for its beauty and ſtrength. This building ſtill remains entire, as when firſt erected, being no way impaired, like other buildings, by the injuries of time. It is kept as a monument of the kings of the Medes, Perſians, and Parthians, and a Jewiſh prieſt has, to this day, the care of it.

The life of Daniel is pregnant with many remarkable circumſtances worthy notice. Excluſive of the gift of prophecy, he was happy in the enjoyment of the higheſt reputation both with prince and people; and his writings ſtill extant, prove that he was admitted to the immediate converſation of God, who revealed to him not only future events, but the particular time when thoſe events ſhould happen. Other prophets generally foretold misfortunes; by which they made enemies both of princes and people; but Daniel poſſeſſed the eſteem of both, from the good news he had the happineſs to reveal. It was alſo univerſally allowed that his predictions were infallible, which may be alſo judged from the works which he has left us.

Daniel relates, that as he was enjoying the air with his friends, at Suſa, the capital of Perſia, they were ſuddenly ſurpriſed by an earthquake; on which his friends fled, and left him aſtoniſhed on the ground. In this ſituation ſomebody ſeemed to touch him, bid him riſe, and he ſhould ſee what would happen to his countrymen in future ages. On his getting up, he ſaw a ram with ſeveral horns, one of which was higher than the reſt: looking weſtward he beheld a goat paſſing through the air, which attacked the ram, beat him twice down, and trod on him. Then a large horn grew from the forehead of the goat, which being broke, four more aroſe in its ſtead, directed to the four quarters of the heavens. The prophet writes that, from one of theſe came forth a ſmall horn, which, on its increaſe, was to make war againſt the Jews, deſtroy Jeruſalem, and aboliſh the ceremonies of the temple, and all ſacrifices, for 1296 days. Daniel thus expounds this viſion. The Medes and Perſians are intimated by the ram: their following kings by the horns, and the laſt of their ſovereigns, by the laſt horn, as his wealth and power was to exceed the reſt. A king of Greece, who ſhould deſtroy the perſian empire, is meant by the goat. The horn on the goat's forehead, means the firſt of their kings, and the four budding horns, their ſucceſſors, who, though not allied to them, ſhould divide their dominions: that theſe ſhould reign many years, and from them a king ſhould ariſe, who ſhould

wage war againſt the Jewiſh nation, aboliſh their laws, deſtroy their commonwealth, plunder their temple, and prevent for three years, all worſhip and ſacrifice. This misfortune happened under Antiochus Epiphanes.

Daniel wrote many wonderful predictions concerning the Roman empire, and its inroads on the Jews; which he has left in writing as a proof of their Divine Authority, by their accompliſhment. This ought to confound the Epicureans, who deny an over-ruling Providence, and contend that all things happen without Divine direction; which is as abſurd as it would be to turn a ſhip looſe to the mercy of the winds and waves, without a pilot. When I reflect on the prophecies of Daniel, I am aſtoniſhed at the ignorance and irreligion of thoſe people who deny a providence; for how ſhould it happen that things predicted in one age, ſhould be punctually fulfilled in another, if all things were left to the contingency of a mere chance.

End of the Tenth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XI.

Occurrences from the year of the World 3425 to 3635.

CHAP. I.

The Jews reſtored to freedom by Cyrus, who commands his officers and governors to aſſiſt them in rebuilding the city and temple at Jeruſalem.

IN the ſeventieth year of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, and in the firſt year of the reign of Cyrus, the Almighty accompliſhed the prediction which he made by the prophet Jeremiah, previous to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, that, "After a bondage for the ſpace of ſeventy years, under "Nebuchadnezzar, and his ſucceſſors, the Hebrews ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed "in their former ſtate of happineſs and ſplendor." The Lord was pleaſed to incline Cyrus to circulate letters throughout Aſia, purporting that the God adored by the Iſraelites was the eternal Being, through whoſe bounty he enjoyed the regal dignity, and that he had found himſelf honourably mentioned by the prophets of ancient date, and repreſented by them as the man who ſhould cauſe Jeruſalem to be rebuilt, and reſtore the Hebrews to their former ſtate of grandeur and independency. Cyrus had read the prophe-

cies of Iſaiah, which had been written two hundred and ten years previous to his birth, and which included a revelation from the Lord, that he would create a man named Cyrus, who ſhould reign over many powerful nations, and give the Hebrews poſſeſſion of their native land. This prediction was delivered one hundred and forty-years before the deſtruction of the temple. Cyrus entertained a due veneration towards the prophecies reſpecting himſelf; and having ſummoned the principal people among the Jews to Babylon, he informed them that he would grant paſſports to ſuch of their nation as ſhould be inclined to return to their native country; and that they ſhould be at liberty to rebuild the city and temple of Jeruſalem; adding, that he would command his governors, and other officers on the confines of Judæa, to provide them with gold, ſilver, and other materials for conſtructing the edifice, and likewiſe beaſts for ſacrifice; and he obſerved, that the bleſſing of the Lord would certainly attend the righteous undertaking. The principal people of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the prieſts and Levites, immediately departed for Jeruſalem: but many of the Jews determined to remain in Babylon, rather than relinquiſh the poſſeſſions they had obtained in that city.

When the people who had accepted the propoſal of Cyrus for rebuilding the temple arrived at Jeruſalem, great contributions were made in gold, ſilver, horſes, and other cattle. Numbers attended the ceremony of oblations, and the ancient forms of religious inſtitutions with as great punctuality as was obſerved when the city was firſt erected. Cyrus had ſent to Jeruſalem the holy veſſels and other utenſils which had been taken from the temple, and conveyed to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, Mithridates*, the king's treaſurer, being charged to deliver them to the care of Abaſſar, in whoſe poſſeſſion they were to remain till the temple ſhould be compleated; when he was authorized to depoſit them with the prieſts and magiſtrates. Cyrus addreſſed the following letter to the governors of Syria.

Cyrus *the king, to* Syſina *and* Sarabaſon, *greeting.*

" I have given permiſſion for all the Jews within my dominions, to return " to their own country, to rebuild the city of Jeruſalem, and to erect the " holy temple on the ſpot where that fabric originally ſtood. Mithridates, " my treaſurer, and Zerubbabel, governor of Judæa, have my directions " to ſuperintend the ſtructure, and cauſe it to be raiſed ſixty cubits from the " earth, and to be of the ſame meaſure in breadth; the walls to be com- " poſed of three ranges of poliſhed ſtone, and one of wood, the produce of " the country; and to provide an altar for ſacrifice. The whole expence at- " tending the above, I ſhall myſelf defray. Mithridates, my treaſurer, and " Zerubbabel, Prince of Judah, have been commiſſioned to reſtore the " following holy utenſils, which Nebuchadnezzar carried from the temple: " fifty ewers of gold, and four hundred of ſilver; fifty golden, and four " hundred ſilver veſſels; fifty golden water-bailes, and five hundred of ſilver; " thirty

* According to ancient coins, this name ſhould be Mithradatos, *vide* Spanheim.

" thirty chalices compoſed of gold, and three hundred of ſilver; thirty " golden, and two thouſand four hundred ſilver phials; and one thouſand " large veſſels of various kinds. It is my pleaſure that they ſhall receive the " revenues which their predeceſſors enjoyed; and that in conſideration of " beaſts for ſacrifice, wine, and oil, they be paid two hundred and five thou- " ſand, five hundred drachmas; and in lieu of the fine flour, two thouſand " five hundred meaſures of wheat: and that this proviſion ſhall iſſue from " the tribute of Samaria. In conformity to the law of Moſes, the prieſts " only, are to offer up ſacrifice; they are to put forth daily prayers for the " king and royal family, and for the proſperity of the Perſian empire. Such " as ſhall preſume to act in oppoſition to this my royal proclamation, ſhall " be condemned to the loſs of their lives, and the confiſcation of their poſ- " ſeſſions."

The number of perſons who were relieved by Cyrus from the captivity in Babylon, and returned to Jeruſalem, was forty-two thouſand, four hundred and ſixty-two.

CHAP. II.

The conſtruction of the city and the holy temple intercepted by the Chuthites. Cyrus dies, and his ſon Cambyſes ſucceeds to the throne.

WITH the greateſt induſtry the Jews applied themſelves to form the foundation of the temple; but they had made no conſiderable progreſs, when application was made to the neighbouring nations, requeſting the princes and governors, who had been appointed to ſuperintend the work, to prevent farther proceedings. The moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the intended ſtructure, were the Chuthites, whom, after he had expelled the Jews, Salmanaſſer, king of Aſſyria, led to re-people Samaria. Conſiderable bribes, and flattering promiſes prevailed upon the commiſſioners to neglect the execution of the important undertaking: and Cyrus being at this time engaged in the war againſt the Maſſagetes, was entirely unacquainted with the ſuſpenſion of his commands.

Cyrus fell a victim to the rage of war: and the government being aſſumed by his ſon Cambyſes, the Syrians, Phœnicians, Ammonites, Moabites, and Samaritans, cauſed a remonſtrance to be preſented to him, ſigned by Rathymus, hiſtory-ſecretary; Semelius, the Scribe, and the magiſtrates of Phœnicia and Syria. This remonſtance was to the following purpoſe: "We " are to inform you, great and powerful Sir, that the Jews who were tranſ- " ferred into Babylon, are returned to their former poſſeſſions, where they " are occupied in the re-conſtruction of their city, the ruin of which was the " juſt puniſhment of their ſedition. They are rebuilding the temple, eſta- " bliſhing markets, and other places of commerce, and providing for their " defence, by a general reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem. If they are " permitted to continue their operations, be aſſured, Sir, that no ſooner " will they be in a condition to command, than they will refuſe to obey; " for they are declared enemies to monarchical government. We conſider it

" as

" as the indiſpenſable duty of faithful ſubjects to apprize you that they will " diſclaim allegiance to their lawful ſovereign, and deny their proportionate " contributions towards the requiſite ſupplies of the ſtate. We beſeech you, " Sir, to recur to the hiſtory of your predeceſſors, where you will find the " Jews to be a generation who have ever been profeſſed oppoſers to regal " government; and that the daring crime of rebellion was the cauſe of lay- " ing in a ſtate of deſolation that city which they are now rebuilding. We " account it our duty humbly to ſubmit to the conſideration of your ma- " jeſty, that if they are ſuffered to proceed, your communication with Phœ- " nicia and Cœle-Syria will be effectually deſtroyed."

CHAP. III.

The building obſtructed for the ſpace of nine years. Cambyſes dies; and after the government had remained one year in poſſeſſion of the Magi, Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, is inveſted with the ſovereignty.

CAMBYSES who was naturally of a vindictive and haughty diſpoſition, was greatly irritated by the above remonſtrance, to which he gave the following anſwer.

" *King* CAMBYSES *to* RATHYMUS *his Hiſtoriographer*, SEMELIUS, *the Scribe, and the reſt of the people of* Samaria *and* Phœnicia, *greeting.*"

" In conſequence of your addreſs, I have cauſed the records of former " times to be examined, and have found your obſervations reſpecting the " city of Jeruſalem to be founded on good authority. The Jews appear " ever to have been a vindictive, turbulent people, naturally diſpoſed to " rebellion, and their kings in the laſt extreme vexatious and tyrannical in " the impoſition of taxes. On theſe conſiderations I command that you exert " your utmoſt power to prevent the re-conſtructing of the city; for, in pro- " portion to the increaſe of power among theſe people, will the ſpirit of ſe- " dition revive; and as they have revolted againſt former ſovereigns, there is " the greateſt reaſon to apprehend that they will audaciouſly contend againſt " the authority of the preſent government."

The mandate having been peruſed by Rathymus and Semelius, they immediately took horſe, and, attended by an immenſe concourſe of people, repaired to Jeruſalem, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of the building, which remained in a ſtate of ſuſpence for about nine years; for the undertaking was not renewed till the ſecond year of the reign of Darius, king of Perſia.

Upon his return from the conqueſt of Ægypt, after he had reigned ſix years, Cambyſes died in the city of Damaſcus. The government was tranſferred to the Magi, who held the adminiſtration one year, at the expiration of which period, Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, was advanced to the throne

by the ſeven Satrapæ, or the heads of the ſeven principal Perſian families, and the unanimous ſuffrages of the people.

CHAP. IV.

On the interceſſion of Zerubbabel, Darius conſents to the reconſtruction of Jeruſalem. The temple is compleated in ſeven years.

PREVIOUS to his advancement to the throne, Darius made a ſolemn vow, that if it ſhould ever prove his fortune to rule in Babylon he would reſtore the holy veſſels which had been taken from Jeruſalem. When he was elected king, Zerubbabel, the leader of the Jewiſh captives, who had been long his intimate friend, repaired to Babylon; and he, with two other officers of rank, was admitted to the particular confidence of Darius, who conferred on each an office of great honor and truſt in the royal houſehold.

In the firſt year of his ſovereignty, Darius gave a ſuperb entertainment to his principal officers, the princes and nobility of the Medes and Perſians, and the governors of one hundred and twenty-ſeven provinces ſituated in that part of his dominions laying between India and Æthiopia. When the entertainment was concluded the company retired. Darius having awaked from a ſhort ſleep, and being unable to compoſe himſelf again to reſt, engaged in converſation with Zerubbabel, and the other two favourite officers above alluded to. He told them that to him who ſhould give the moſt ſatisfactory reply to the queſtions he meant to propoſe, he would grant the privilege of wearing purple, drinking from a golden cup, ſleeping upon a bed of gold, riding in a chariot with a golden harneſs, wearing a ſilken tiara with a golden chain, poſſeſſing the place next inferior to himſelf in the council, and being conſidered as one of the blood royal. The king now propoſed the following queſtions:

1. Is there any thing ſtronger than wine?
2. What can exceed the ſtrength of kings?
3. What is ſuperior to the power of women?
4. Can any thing ſurpaſs truth?

Having deſired the officers to conſider theſe queſtions, he retired. The next morning he convened his gueſts, and having aſſumed the ſeat of juſtice, he ordered the three officers to be called, in order to report, before the aſſembly, their ſentiments on the queſtions he had ſuggeſted.

The firſt who ſpoke contended for the ſuperiority of wine, ſaying, "It "diſturbs the underſtanding, reduces the greateſt ſovereign to an equality "with infancy, gives liberty to the ſlave, and makes the beggar equal to an "emperor: it elevates and enlivens the hearts of the miſerable, diſcharges "debts, and relieves every want: it gives confidence to the villain, and puts "him above the fear of kings: it cauſes men to diſregard their deareſt "friends, and aſſault them with as much fury as they would ſhew towards "their moſt deadly enemies: when a man has ſlept off the effects of a de-"bauch, he has no recollection of his conduct during a ſtate of intoxication.

" For theſe reaſons, I conceive the operation of wine to be the moſt pow-
" erful."

The ſecond argued in favour of the power of kings. " It cannot be diſ-
" puted (ſaid he) that the Almighty has created man ſo far the maſter of all
" ſublunary things as to apply them to whatever purpoſes his inclinations
" may direct. As all earthly creatures are ſubſervient to men; ſo kings
" have an authority over men themſelves. The ſovereign of theſe ſove-
" reigns of the creation muſt be allowed an indiſputable ſuperiority. Sub-
" jects willingly expoſe themſelves to the moſt imminent dangers of war, and
" even contend with nature herſelf, in obedience to the command of their
" prince, who takes to himſelf the whole honor and profit of victory. The
" huſbandman with unremitting toil cultivates the earth; and his firſt duty
" is to ſupply the king's ſtores with the produce of his grounds. Thus, while
" the people are fighting and working for him, the ſovereign indulges in all
" the luxuries of abundance, ſecurity and eaſe: he ſleeps ſurrounded by his
" guards, who dare not cloſe their eyes while their maſter enjoys his re-
" poſe; and no other concerns muſt interrupt that ſlavery of attendance to
" which they are indiſpenſably bound. What power, then, can exceed
" that of the man to whom the public pays ſuch implicit obedience?

Zerubbabel now ſpoke concerning the power of women and of truth; and his diſcourſe was to the following effect: " Neither the force of wine, nor
" the power of princes, who bind the multitude in a common bond of alle-
" giance, can be denied: but women have inconteſtibly the ſuperiority.
" Before the king, the mother of the king exiſted: kings are the gifts of wo-
" men: women are alſo the mothers and nurſes of thoſe by whom the vine-
" yards are cultivated: they direct our domeſtic concerns, provide neceſſary
" and ornamental coverings for our bodies; and they are ſo abſolutely ne-
" ceſſary that we can neither be brought into exiſtence, or ſupport life with-
" out them. When a beautiful woman is before us we diſregard gold and
" ſilver, or eſteem them only as being the means of obtaining poſſeſſion of
" the beloved object. The charms of women compel us to abandon our
" country, relations and deareſt friends, and to attach ourſelves wholly to
" them. When we have explored the ſea and land for things moſt valuable
" and curious in nature, do we not congratulate ourſelves in the opportu-
" nity of preſenting our acquiſitions to a favourite miſtreſs? Frequently have
" I ſeen the king condeſcend to receive a blow on the face from his concu-
" bine Apame, daughter of Rabepſaces Themaſinus! She has taken the
" diadem from his head, and placed it on her own; and, dreading to give
" her offence, he has accommodated himſelf to all her caprices, and yield
" ed to her varying humours."

The freedom of this addreſs was a ſubject of admiration to the princes and nobles. Zerubbabel now proceeded to a diſcourſe on the ſuper-eminency of truth. " Neither women nor kings (ſaid he) can be put in competition
" with the power of truth. Admitting the amazing magnitude of the earth,
" the elevation of the heavens, the aſtoniſhing rapidity of the ſun's motion,
" and that the whole is influenced only by the Divine Providence it muſt,
" follow that the Almighty is juſt and true, and that the power of truth
againſt,

" againſt which nothing can ultimately prevail, ſupercedes every other " power that can enter the conception of man. Truth alone is immutable " and perfect: the advantages we derive from it are not ſubject to the " viciſſitudes of fortune, but are pure, irreproachable and eternal."

The auditors beſtowed the moſt liberal acclamations upon Zerubbabel, and unanimouſly acknowledged that he had proved truth to be the only bleſſing not liable to change or diminution. Darius as a teſtimony of his entire ſatisfaction, told Zerubbabel that he would perform his promiſe: " and " (ſaid he) in conſideration of your ſuperior underſtanding, you ſhall enjoy " the firſt place in my eſteem, be next in honor to myſelf, and be adopted " a branch of the royal family."

Zerubbabel availed himſelf of this favourable opportunity of reminding Darius of the vow he had made, that if he ſhould be advanced to the ſovereignty, he would rebuild Jeruſalem and the holy temple, and reſtore the ſacred utenſils. He thus addreſſed the king: " Your majeſty having been " pleaſed to allow me the reputation of wiſdom, I preſume to ſolicit that you " will diſcharge the vow under which you voluntarily bound yourſelf re- " ſpecting the city and temple of Jeruſalem." Darius chearfully embraced Zerubbabel; and preſently iſſued orders for his governors and principal officers to eſcort him in ſafety to Jeruſalem, and to afford him all neceſſary aſſiſtance towards re-conſtructing the temple. He alſo diſpatched letters to the magiſtrates of Phœnicia and Syria, requiring them to furniſh vehicles for conveying to Jeruſalem cedar from Libanus, and to join their endeavours in forwarding the important deſign. The king iſſued a mandate exempting the Jews who ſhould return from captivity from all public taxes, and pronouncing them to be at full liberty, and that the Samaritans, Edomites, and the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, ſhould reſtore their antient poſſeſſions, and contribute fifty talents towards the ſtructure. The king cauſed organs to be conſtructed, and aſſigned a portion of land to the uſe of the officers and keepers of the city and temple, and, in fine, fulfilled every reſolution that had been made by Cyrus.

Zerubbabel returned thanks to the Almighty for the honourable diſtinction he had received from Darius, gratefully acknowledging it to be an effect of Divine Providence; and having fervently prayed for the protection of Heaven to the work he was about to undertake, he repaired to his countrymen in Babylon, and imparted to them the joyful news of being relieved from bondage. Upon this intelligence the Jews unanimouſly joined in thankſgivings; and the ſolemnity being concluded, they employed ſeven days in feaſting and merriment. Darius having appointed a convoy to attend the Jews to Jeruſalem, thoſe who were to undertake the expedition were ſelected by the principals of the tribes, who provided carriages, horſes, and other beaſts of burden, for conveying the women and children.

The proceſſion which departed from Babylon was compoſed of a certain number of Jews, ſelected from each of the ſeveral tribes. Perſons playing on cymbals and other inſtruments, went firſt: they were followed by four millions ſix hundred and twenty-eight thouſand, ſelected from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; four thouſand and ſeventy Levites, and forty thouſand

ſeven hundred and forty-two, women and children: the Levites conſiſted of one hundred and twenty-eight ſingers, one hundred and ten porters, and three hundred and twenty-two aſſiſtants in the ſanctuary; ſix hundred and fifty-two perſons who denominated themſelves Iſraelites, but were unable ro authenticate their claim; five hundred and twenty-five having contracted matrimony with women, whoſe extraction could not be traced among the Levitical or ſacerdotal archives; and theſe laſt were deemed unqualified for the diſcharge of the ſacred functions. The people were led to this expedition by Zerubbabel, the ſon of Salathiel, who belonged to the tribe of Judah, and was deſcended in the line of David: Jeſus, the ſon of Joſedec, was the high-prieſt: and Mardochæus and Serebæus, whom the tribes had elected to ſhare in the command, contributed one hundred pounds of gold, and five hundred pounds of ſilver, towards the expences of the expedition. The Jews who choſe to remain in Babylon followed the proceſſion to ſome diſtance on the road to Jeruſalem, but gradually forming themſelves into ſmall parties, they returned to their ſeveral places of reſidence.

Zerubbabel, the leader, and Jeſus, the high-prieſt, in the ſeventh month after the Jews had retired from Babylon, iſſued orders for an aſſembly of the people in Jeruſalem. Theſe orders being chearfully complied with, an altar was erected, according to the inſtitution of Moſes, on the ſpot, where the altar had ſtood in former times. Hereupon the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries were greatly offended; and indeed they were enemies to the Jews, and inclined to obſtruct all their operations.

About this period the feaſt of the tabernacles occurred, according to the order of the Moſaical law; and it was followed by the daily oblations, the ſacrifices of the Sabbaths, and the new moons and other ſacred feſtivals. From the firſt day of the ſeventh month people repaired to Jeruſalem in order to diſcharge ſuch vows as they had bound themſelves to perform.

The building was now commenced, and immenſe ſums were expended among the various artificers, and in making the neceſſary proviſions for thoſe who were employed in the conveyance of materials. The Sydonians liberally aſſiſted in the undertaking: they conveyed vaſt numbers of cedar-planks from Libanus, and framed a great number of boats, which they removed to the port of Joppa, agreeable to the directions of Cyrus, which Darius had confirmed and ordered to be carried into execution.

The foundation of the temple having been compleated in the ſecond month of the ſecond year after the return of the Jews, they began to raiſe the ſuperſtructure on the firſt day of the third month; the direction of the work being entruſted to ſuch of the Levites who were twenty years of age and upwards, Jeſus, the high-prieſt, his ſons and brothers, Zolimiel, and others, who executed their ſeveral commiſſions with ſuch induſtry that a progreſs was made in the undertaking greatly ſuperior to the moſt ſanguine expectations.

The prieſts, habited in ſacerdotal garments, and provided with muſical inſtruments, repaired to the temple, and being joined by the Levites and the ſons of Aſaph, the ſacred hymns of David were ſung, agreeable to the original inſtitution. The prieſts, Levites, and others, who had been witneſſes to the aſtoniſhing magnificence of the former ſtructure, with violent exclamations

mations of ſorrow, lamented the great inferiority of the new temple; but ſuch as were not qualified to judge of the diſproportion were perfectly ſatisfied.

The rejoicings, ſorrow, and muſic, brought numbers of the Samaritans to learn the cauſe of ſuch a confuſion of ſounds; and finding that the Jews had been reſtored to freedom, and were employed in re-conſtructing the temple, they applied to Zerubbabel, Jeſus, and the chiefs of the tribes, entreating to be admitted to ſhare the common privileges; urging that they had adored the ſame God, and obſerved the ſame ceremonies in religious worſhip from the time of being tranſplanted from Chuthia and Media by Salmanaſar, king of Aſſyria, into the land they then inhabited. The anſwer was, that they could not be admitted to aſſiſt in compleating the fabrick, the conſtruction of it having been excluſively aſſigned to the people already engaged, both by Cyrus and Darius: but they were informed, that acceſs to the building would be indiſcriminately allowed to all who were diſpoſed to pay adoration to the Lord. This reply proved ſo diſagreeable to the Chuthites (who are alſo called Samaritans) that they inſtigated the Syrians to uſe their endeavours, as they had done in the reign of Cyrus, for obſtructing the work. Siſinnes, governor of Syria and Phœnicia, Sarabazanes and others, queſtioned the principal people at Jeruſalem, under the ſanction of what authority the temple was to be built; ſaying it had rather the appearance of a caſtle than a temple; and wherefore the walls and gates of the city were made ſo ſtrong? Zerubbabel and Jeſus replied, that they were the ſervants of the Almighty, to whoſe honor the temple was dedicated by a ſovereign ſuperior in power, happineſs and wiſdom, to any who had before been known; that after many ages the iniquities of the people had called down the vengeance of God, who had permitted the city to be deſtroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, who ſubjected the people to bondage in Babylon, where he carried veſſels and other holy utenſils found in the temple: but that Cyrus, king of Perſia and Babylon, by his royal mandate, had ordered the reconſtruction of the temple, and the reſtoration of the articles taken from the holy fabrick by Nebuchadnezzar; they added that, if it was judged neceſſary, they might apply to Darius, requeſting to inſpect certain records to confirm the truth of this relation. The Jews became apprehenſive that Darius might be induced to retract his orders; but the prophets Haggai and Zacharias encouraged them againſt entertaining any dread from the Perſians, ſaying they might rely on the promiſed favour and protection of the Lord. Thus encouraged, the people applied themſelves to the completion of their deſign without intermiſſion or delay.

The Samaritans wrote to Darius, objecting to the fortifications of Jeruſalem, and repreſenting, that an edifice was erecting which had a greater reſemblance to a citadel than a place of worſhip, and obſerving that the works could not be wholly intended for the ſervice of the king: they cauſed an epiſtle written by Cambyſes to be ſhewn to Darius, wherein he had interdicted the proſecution of the plan, as a meaſure highly prejudicial to the public. Darius ordered the royal archives to be ſearched on the ſubject of this addreſs; and at Ecbatane, a caſtle in Media, a book was found containing a record to the following purpoſe.

"In the first year of the reign of king Cyrus, it was ordained, that the holy "temple of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, the height to be sixty cubits, and "the breadth of the same measure, and that an altar should be constructed "within the edifice; that the walls should be formed by three ranges of po-"lished marble, and one range of wood, the produce of the country; that "the sacred vessels taken into Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar should be re-"stored; that Abassar, governor of Syria, and others, should be appointed "to superintend the structure, and, from the taxes of the province, to fur-"nish victims for sacrifice, wine, oil, and every other article which the "priests should judge necessary; that these commissioners should not remain "in Jerusalem, but leave the work to be executed by the servants of the "Lord; that the priests should put forth supplications for the prosperity of "the king and people; that whoever should dare to act in opposition to these "commands should be condemned to be hanged, and his effects be confis-"cated; and that, as a punishment for his impiety, he would be struck by a "severe and instant judgment from Heaven."

Upon discovery of the above record, Darius wrote to Sisinnes and his colleagues to the following effect.

"*King* DARIUS *to* SISINNES, *master of the horse*; SARABAZANES, *and other* MAGISTRATES, *greeting*.

"I transmit you the copy of a letter extracted from the records of Cyrus: "it is my royal command that you strictly adhere to the directions therein "contained."

In consequence of this letter, Sisinnes and the others to whom it was addressed, determined to unite their endeavours towards compleating the edifice; and with such industry this undertaking was prosecuted, that in the space of seven years it was entirely finished. On the twenty-third day of the eleventh month, which the Hebrews call *Adar*, and the Macedonians *Dystrus*, and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, a solemn sacrifice was made, consisting of an hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve goats, as an offering, in gratitude for the restoration of the twelve tribes from the Babylonian captivity. Galleries were erected round the structure; and the priests and Levites appointed porters to attend the several gates.

Upon the fourteenth day of the first month, men, women and children, assembled in the city, and celebrated the festival of unleavened bread, after the example of their predecessors, observing a purity of zeal suitable to the solemn ceremony. After seven days had been spent in making oblations, and in rejoicings, the people dispersed.

An aristocracy was established, the administration of public affairs being vested in the high-priest: but a monarchical form of government was afterwards introduced by the Asmonæan family. Previous to the bondage in Babylon, the Jews, from the days of Saul and David, remained under the government of kings, for the space of five hundred and thirty-two years, six months

months and ten days: and the ſame form of government was exerciſed before, notwithſtanding the adminiſtration of juſtice was lodged in the hands of the officers called judges; who after the deceaſe of Moſes and Joſhua, preſided upwards of five hundred years.

The Samaritans valued themſelves on the alliance which they claimed to the Perſians; and being a powerful and rich people, and naturally of an haughty and malignant diſpoſition, they proved exceedingly vexatious to the Jews, complaining of the contributions levied upon them for ſacrifices, and exerting their utmoſt endeavours to harraſs and annoy them. The diſſentions continuing, the Jews drew up a memorial of complaint againſt the Samaritans, which they deputed Zerubbabel and four others to preſent to Darius; who, having attended to the accuſation, charged the commiſſioners with the following letter.

"*King* DARIUS *to* TANGAR *and* SAMBABA, *maſters of our horſe at* Samaria; SADRACK BOBELON, *and the other inhabitants of that country, greeting.*"

"You ſtand accuſed by Zerubbabel, Ananias, and Mardochæus, on the "part of the Jews, of intercepting the re-conſtruction of the temple, and of "contempt of my expreſs commands, by withholding your contributions "for ſacrifices. I therefore ſtrictly enjoin you to ſupply them from my trea- "ſury in Samaria, with what they ſhall require for a due obſervation of the "religious ceremonies, that they may offer daily prayers and ſacrifices for the "favour of God towards myſelf, and my ſubjects."

CHAP. V.

Darius ſucceeded by his ſon Xerxes, who grants favours to the Jews by the means of Eſdras. The death of Eſdras. Xerxes gives leave to Nehemiah to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem.

DARIUS was ſucceeded by his ſon Xerxes, who was the heir of his father's virtues. He confirmed to the Jews all the favours his predeceſſors had promiſed. At this time Joiakim, the ſon of Jehu, was high-prieſt; but the high-prieſt of the Jews was Eſdras, an inhabitant of Babylon, diſtinguiſhed by his piety, and honoured by the general eſteem. He was an adept in the law of Moſes, which rendered him a particular favourite with the king. Eſdras having reſolved to go to Jeruſalem, and to take with him a number of Babylonian Jews, requeſted the king to grant him a recommendatory letter to the governors of Syria; which favour was obtained, and ran in the following terms.

"Xerxes, ſovereign of kings, to Eſdras, prieſt and reader of the law of "God, greeting. Whereas I and my ſeven counſellers have determined that "ſuch of the Iſraelites with their prieſts and Levites, as chuſe to accom- "pany you to Jeruſalem, to worſhip according to the laws of their country, "may depart; it is likewiſe granted that they may carry their gold and ſilver; "and that their brethren throughout Babylon may contribute towards the

"purchaſe

" purchaſe of ſacrifices for the altar of your God, and for the making ſuch " gold and ſilver veſſels as you may judge neceſſary. I likewiſe order that " what is thus given you, be dedicated to your God; and your farther ne- " ceſſities, if any, ſhall be ſupplied from the public treaſure: for which pur- " poſe I have written to my officers in Syria and Phœnicia, with expreſs di- " rections for them immediately to furniſh what Eſdras ſhall deſire. And " in the hope that Heaven will proſper me and my family, I direct that one " hundred meaſures of wheat be dedicated to God, as is required by law. " I hereby charge the magiſtrates not to receive any thing from the prieſts, " levites, ſingers, porters, or other perſons belonging to the temple. With " regard to you, Eſdras, I hereby authorize you (according to the wiſ- " dom God has given you,) that you appoint to preſide over Syria and Phœ- " nicia, Judges of integrity and knowledge in the laws. In the mean time, " do you inſtruct the ignorant, that thoſe who tranſgreſs the laws of God, or " the king, may receive the reward of their crimes, ſome being puniſhed " with death, and others by fine, as the nature of the offence may require. " Farewell."

Eſdras having received this letter, gave thanks to God for the king's goodneſs. On this occaſion the Jews were ſummoned to meet at Babylon, the letter read, and copies of it ſent to the Jews in Media; but Eſdras retained the original. The goodneſs of the king to Eſdras furniſhed matter of agreeable ſurpriſe to the people, many of whom packed up their property, and repaired to Babylon, with a view to return to Jeruſalem; while others, habituated to the place, choſe to remain in their old habitations: and this accounts for two tribes of Jews only being found in Aſia, and Europe, under the Roman emperor. The other ten tribes are ſituated beyond the Euphrates, where their numbers are encreaſed almoſt beyond credibility.

Numbers of people, viz. prieſts, levites, porters to the temple, officers, and ſervants, flocked to Eſdras on the publication of the above recommendatory epiſtle. Thoſe who choſe to return from captivity into their own country, were appointed to aſſemble at the Euphrates, where having held a ſolemn faſt for three days, and offered prayers for the ſucceſs of their expedition, they departed on the twelfth day of the firſt month, and reached Jeruſalem in the fifth month, of the ſeventh year of the reign of Xerxes. On his arrival, Eſdras delivered ſix hundred and fifty talents of ſilver, a hundred talents of ſilver veſſels, twenty talents of golden veſſels, and twelve talents of fine braſs (more valuable than gold) to the prieſts who took care of the holy treaſure; being the gifts of the king and his friends, and ſuch of the Iſraelites as remained in Babylon. Eſdras having diſcharged his truſt, offered burnt-offerings to God, viz. twelve bulls for the Iſraelites in general, with ſeventy-two ſheep and lambs, and for a ſin-offering, twelve goats. To the officers in Phœnicia and Syria, Eſdras delivered the king's letter; in obedience to which the Iſraelites were furniſhed with all ſuch things as they ſtood in need of.

Eſdras had not long adjuſted the affairs of the people, when he was informed that certain prieſts and levites had diſobeyed the law, and departed from their duty, by marrying into foreign families, ſo as to confound the

race of the prieſt-hood. He was now, therefore, applied to, that he might maintain the laws, leſt God, in his wrath, ſhould puniſh the whole people for the crimes of a few. Hereupon Eſdras, in the extremity of his grief, rent his cloaths, tore his hair off his head and beard, and threw himſelf on the ground in deſpair; for ſo many perſons of conſequence had been guilty of the abovementioned crime, that he deſpaired of prevailing on them to quit their wives and children: wherefore he ſtill continued in deſpondency on the ground. Thoſe whoſe hearts were not dead to the feelings of humanity, flocked around him, to ſhare his ſorrows, and condole with him in his diſtreſs. In the interim, the good man, liſting up his hands, exclaimed, "Gracious God! I bluſh to implore thy mercy in favour of theſe people, "when I reflect that notwithſtanding thy judgments on their fore-fathers for "diſobedience, they will ſtill proceed in the ſame path: but thy mercy, "O God, is infinite; on which account pardon, I entreat thee, this wretched "remnant of thy miſerable ſervants; and as thy goodneſs has reſtored "them to their ancient habitation; compleat thy goodneſs to them by the "forgiveneſs of their preſent crimes. I acknowledge that their iniquities "are deſerving of death; but in thy goodneſs they place their confidence."

During this heart-felt prayer of Eſdras, and while he was ſurrounded by a croud of people of both ſexes and all ages, Jechonias, a man of diſtinction in Jeruſalem, brought to him the confeſſion of thoſe who had broke the law, by marrying foreign women, and adviſed Eſdras to bind them by an oath to diſmiſs their wives, and the children of thoſe marriages; and that thoſe who refuſed ſhould be puniſhed. Eſdras, approving this advice, impoſed the oath, and then retired to the chamber of Johanan, the ſon of Eliaſhib, where, through the exceſs of his grief, he remained all day without food. He next publiſhed a proclamation for thoſe who had returned from captivity, to aſſemble at Jeruſalem, on pain of forfeiting their effects to the holy treaſury, and of being excommunicated. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin met on the twentieth day of the month Thebeth, and having ſtationed themſelves in the upper part of the temple, Eſdras addreſſed the elders, informing them that they had committed a heinous offence againſt the laws of their country, by intermarriages with ſtrangers, and that the only way to obtain the favour of God would be to diſmiſs the wives they had married. To this they declared their aſſent; but ſaid that, as the offenders were many, the ſeaſon ſevere, and the matter of high concern, it would be proper to take time to reflect on it: whereupon it was agreed that power ſhould be given to the elders, and men of diſtinction, who were innocent of the alledged crime, to make the propoſed enquiry. On the firſt of the tenth month, this motion was made: and the enquiry laſted till the firſt day of the ſucceeding month. On examination, it appeared that many of the kinſmen of Jeſus the high-prieſt, with other prieſts, Levites, and many of the Iſraelites, had been involved in the tranſgreſſion: on which they immediately diſowned their wives and children, preferring a regard to the laws, to all other conſiderations. This being done, they offered up rams as peace offerings: and it was acknowledged that the order of Eſdras, regarding the reſtraint of marriage, ſhould be eſtabliſhed for future ages.

The feaſt of tabernacles having commenced, and the people being aſſembled in the eaſtern part of the temple, Eſdras, at their deſire, ſtood in the midſt of them, and read the law of God: which ſervice continued from morning till noon, to the great inſtruction of the audience, who learnt the laws of truth and uprightneſs, and were taught to reflect on the fate of their forefathers, in conſequence of the violation of thoſe laws, the obſervance of which would have enſured their happineſs. This reflection melted them into tears, which Eſdras obſerving, bad them go home and make themſelves eaſy: obſerving that the feſtival was rather profaned by their grief. He adviſed that they ſhould eat, drink, and rejoice, and regard the feſtival no farther than as it might prevent their being again guilty of their former error. They took his advice, and having ſpent eight days in feaſting, every man returned home, with acknowledgements to Eſdras for the reformation he had occaſioned. The hearts of the people of Iſrael were won by the conduct of Eſdras, who lived honourably: died, at a great age, in Jeruſalem, and was interred in a moſt pompous manner. Nearly at the ſame time died Joiakim, the high-prieſt, who was ſucceeded by his ſon, Eliaſhib.

Among thoſe Jews who had been taken priſoners was Nehemiah, cupbearer to Xerxes, who being walking near Suſa, the capital of Perſia, heard ſome people converſing in Hebrew; on which he aſked them whence they came. They ſaid from Judæa, and on his enquiring reſpecting Jeruſalem, they ſaid that the walls were deſtroyed, the country expoſed to the inroads of the enemy, the people carried into captivity, and dead bodies left on the highways. Nehemiah wept at theſe misfortunes, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, "When, O God, ſhall thy people ceaſe to be oppreſſed, "and expoſed to the inſults of others!" While Nehemiah was thus lamenting, a perſon informed him that the king was going to ſupper; on which he hurried to attend his duty. After ſupper, the king obſerving Nehemiah look dull, aſked him the cauſe; on which (privately praying to God for directions) he ſaid "How can I but be miſerable when the place of my birth "is deſtroyed; Jeruſalem become a heap of rubbiſh; the gates of the city "burnt, the tombs of my anceſtors violated, and the aſhes of the dead pro-"faned? I have but one favour to aſk;—your royal permiſſion to go to Je-"ruſalem, to aſſiſt in compleating the temple, and rebuilding the walls." This requeſt the king complied with, and promiſed him letters to his governors, who ſhould aſſiſt him in his intended work; and, on the following day, the king ſent for Nehemiah, and delivered to him letters to Sadæus, governor of Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria, to afford him proper aſſiſtance. Nehemiah going firſt to Babylon, was accompanied by voluntary friends to Jeruſalem, and arriving in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes, ſhewed his friends his letters of credit, and then delivered them to Sadæus. After this he ſummoned a general meeting of the people at Jeruſalem, whom he addreſſed to the following purport.

"It muſt be evident to you, men of Judæa, that the ſame God who pro-"tected our fathers Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, in regard of their juſtice "and piety, now affords his protection to us. By the goodneſs of this God "the king has permitted me to rebuild your walls, and compleat your tem-

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" ple. I am ſenſible that you have envious neighbours, who will endeavour " to fruſtrate the undertaking: wherefore I recommend that you truſt in " God who will defeat your enemies, and labour day and night for the " completion of the work, for which you have now a happy opportunity." Nehemiah now directed the magiſtrates to meaſure the walls, ſurvey the ground, and allot to the people of each town and village, their ſeveral proportions; engaging that himſelf, and his dependants would aid the buſineſs; and then diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Nehemiah's authority had ſuch an influence, that the Jews immediataly applied themſelves to compleat the work.

The report of this intended re-conſtructure ſo alarmed the Ammonites, Moabites, Samaritans, and Cœle-Syrians, that they exerted all their ſkill to fruſtrate it. They lay in ambuſh for the Jews, many of whom they ſuddenly attacked and deſtroyed. They hired deſperate men to attempt the life of Nehemiah, and filled the minds of the people with ſuch a variety of fictitious tales, that they were almoſt induced to abandon their work: but Nehemiah remained undaunted, and, with a ſlight guard, continued his vigilance, deſpiſing danger and fatigue: yet the fear of death, or regard for his perſonal ſafety, took no part in his thoughts; but he foreſaw that if he ſhould be deſtroyed, his dependants would be unable to compleat the work. He ordered that his carpenters, maſons, and labourers ſhould work with their ſwords by their ſides, and have their bucklers ready in caſe of neceſſity. He likewiſe ſtationed trumpeters, at five hundred paces from each other, that, if an enemy approached, the people might be alarmed in time to defend themſelves. He patrolled the whole city every night; neither ate nor ſlept more than was proper for the ſuſtenance of nature, and bore his labour, watching, and hard living, ſo that he defied all difficulties.

The fortifications being compleated, Nehemiah and the people offered ſacrifice, and made a feaſt of eight days, which greatly chagrined the Syrians. Nehemiah conſidering that the city was but thinly inhabited, prevailed on the prieſts and levites to reſide therein, promiſing to provide them houſes at his own expence. He alſo directed that the huſbandmen ſhould carry their tithes into the city, for the ſupport of the prieſts and levites, the duty of whoſe offices ought not to be interrupted by worldly cares. Theſe directions were readily obeyed, and the city ſoon became more populous. Theſe things happened in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes. After many worthy actions, Nehemiah died in a good old age: and he will be ever remembered with gratitude for his goodneſs in the reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Xerxes ſucceeded by Artaxerexes, who turns off his wife Vaſhti, and marries Eſther, Mordecai's neice. Haman adviſes the deſtruction of the Jews, and that Mordecai be put to death. Haman hanged on the gibbet provided for Mordecai, and the latter advanced.

ON the death of Xerxes, his ſon Artaxerxes ſucceeded to the government of the Perſians, and had no ſooner commenced his reign, than he appointed governors over one hundred and twenty-ſeven provinces between Ethiopia and India. In his third year he ordered a grand entertainment at Suſa, at which his friends and great officers were entertained for one hundred and eighty days. The ambaſſadors of other nations attended this entertainment for ſeven days, and the feaſt was conducted in the following manner. A tent was erected on pillars of gold and ſilver, covered with purple and fine linen, large enough to contain ſome thouſands of people. The wine was ſerved in veſſels of gold and ſilver, adorned with ſtones of great value. The attendants were directed (as uſual among the Perſians) that no one ſhould be compelled to drink more than he choſe; and proclamation was made, that a certain number of days ſhould be appointed as a feſtival for the general welfare of the kingdom. Vaſhti the queen had a ſeparate apartment where ſhe entertained her women. Her beauty was ſo great, that the king ſent for her, that his company might ſee her; but in obedience to the rigid laws of Perſia, (where a woman only ſees her domeſtics) ſhe refuſed to attend: the eunuchs were repeatedly ſent to ſummon her, but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her refuſal. This ſo incenſed the king, that, when the feaſt was ended, he adviſed with the ſeven commiſſioners appointed to interpret the laws of Perſia, how he ſhould act in this caſe of his wife's refuſal. Muchœus, one of the commiſſioners, ſaid that the offence was not ſimply againſt the king, but of dangerous precedent to his ſubjects, whoſe wives might be taught diſobedience to their huſbands, if the queen's preſumption ſhould go unpuniſhed; wherefore he adviſed that the king ſhould iſſue a proclamation, importing that he had baniſhed Vaſhti for ever from his court and preſence, and would take another wife in her ſtead. The king's love for the queen pleaded ſo powerfully for his living with her, and the laws ſo much to the contrary, that he knew not how to act. While he was almoſt diſtracted with his own thoughts, his friends adviſed him to conſider the unreaſonableneſs of his attachment to one woman, when he had only to chuſe among the whole ſex, and fix on that wife who ſhould be moſt agreeable to him. They urged that the former wife would ſoon be forgotten, in the charms and converſation of a new one.

In conſequence of this advice, perſons were deputed to ſearch through the king's dominions for ſome diſtinguiſhed beauty; and at length they found at Babylon a maid named Eſther, the elegance and grace of whoſe perſon rendered her the object of univerſal admiration. Her parents being dead, ſhe had been educated in the houſe of her uncle Mordecai, a man of

great diſtinction, of the tribe of Benjamin. Eſther being committed to the care of the king's eunuchs, was attended with great reſpect, and furniſhed with perfumes, eſſences, and ſuch other things as ladies uſe, to improve their charms. She thus continued with four hundred other virgins, for ſix months, at the end of which the king received them alternately to his bed: but when Eſther's turn came, her converſation and behaviour ſo charmed the king, that he reſolved to marry her, and accordingly celebrated his nuptials in the month Adar, being the twelfth month of the ſeventh year of his reign. He diſpatched meſſengers to proclaim the marriage feaſt, which laſted a month, at which the king entertained the principal men of the Medes, Perſians, and other nations. When the queen entered the palace, the king put the crown on her head, and thenceforward lived with her without enquiring reſpecting her country. In the mean time her uncle Mordecai removed to Suſa, and often enquired at the palace for the welfare of Eſther, whom he loved as tenderly as if he had been her father.

About this time the king iſſued orders that when he ſhould ſit on the throne no perſons ſhould approach him without being commanded to attend, on the forfeiture of their heads; and the officers attended with axes, to execute ſuch as diſobeyed. But the king held in his hand a golden ſceptre, which he extended when he choſe to ſave ſuch as diſobeyed the order: and their touching this ſceptre ſealed their pardon.

Bigthan and Tereſh, two of the eunuchs of the chamber, now plotted the deſtruction of the king; but Barnabaſus, a Jew by deſcent, who was ſervant to one of them, told Mordecai of the affair, who made it known to the king, by the means of Eſther; on which the conſpirators were ſeized, convicted, and executed. For this ſervice Mordecai was admitted a domeſtic in the palace, and the circumſtance was entered on record to his honor.

The king promoted Haman, the ſon of Hammedatha, an Amalekite, who was often at court, where, agreeable to the king's pleaſure, both Perſians and ſtrangers paid him great homage. Mordecai alone bowed not to him, ſuch obedience being againſt the cuſtom of his country. This being remarked by Haman, he enquired who he was; and learning that he was a Jew, exclaimed at his inſolence in affronting him to whom the natives paid ſuch reſpect. Haman now conceived a ſcheme of revenge, not only againſt Mordecai, but the Jews in general, remembering that theſe people had formerly beaten his countrymen, the Amalekites, and driven them out of their land. Hereupon Haman repaired to the king, hinting that the Jews were a vile race, of bad tempers, diſagreeable manners, and ſuperſtitious in their ceremonies; who lurked about his dominions, and appeared to be the enemies of mankind by their general behaviour. He then beſought the king to oblige him in the higheſt degree, by ordering the utter extirpation of theſe people: "And, (ſaid he) that your revenue may not ſuffer hereby, I will, "out of my own eſtate, pay into your treaſury forty thouſand talents of "ſilver; for I ſhall be happy in the loſs of part of my private fortune, ſo that "theſe abandoned people are but rooted out of your dominions." In anſwer hereto, the king refuſed to take Haman's money, but bid him deal with

the Jews as he thought proper; whereupon the latter gave orders for publiſhing throughout the king's dominions the following edict:

"ARTAXERXES *the* Great King, *to the one hundred and twenty-ſeven* Governors "*of the provinces of* India *and* Æthiopia, *greeting.*"

"For as much as God hath given me the ſupreme rule over numerous na- "tions, and as much command over the reſt of the world, as gratifieth my "higheſt ambition: I am diſpoſed, therefore, not to tyrannize over my ſub- "jects, but to rule them with a gentle hand, to ſecure them in peace and free- "dom, and to ſettle their tranquility on a firm baſis. Theſe things I have "maturely conſidered; and being informed by Haman, my favourite friend "and counſellor, on whoſe allegiance, diſcretion and juſtice, I can depend, "and who ſtands firſt in my eſteem, that a barbarous people have intermixed "with my ſubjects, who preſume to govern themſelves by their own laws, "and preſcribe a rule of conduct contrary to good order and ſubjection: a "people who in their manners and behaviour hold our monarchy and admi- "niſtration in defiance: you are therefore hereby commanded, that when "Haman, (whom you are to deem as a father) ſhall give notice who are meant "by this proclamation, that, in purſuance of this decree, you put all the "ſaid people to the ſword, men, women, and children, without diſtinction: "and I farther enjoin that this be executed on the thirteenth day of the "twelfth month of the preſent year; that one day may compleat the de- "ſtruction of your enemies and mine, and our lives be ſpent in peace and "ſecurity."

This order was ſoon circulated through all the towns of the empire, and the people prepared to deſtroy the Jews on the fixed day: nor was the diſpoſition at Suſa leſs violent againſt them, than in other places. In the interim the king and Haman ſpent their time in feaſting and drinking; but people of reflection were ſhocked at the approaching maſſacre.

Mordecai no ſooner learnt the purport of the proclamation, than he rent his cloaths, covered himſelf with ſack-cloath, threw aſhes on his head, and went through the city, proteſting againſt the deed; but ſtopped at the gate of the palace, which no man durſt enter in ſuch a dreſs: in all other places the Jews were likewiſe abandoned to grief. The queen learning that Mordecai was at the palace-gate in ſuch a habit, ſent and begged that he would change his dreſs: but he replied that he would not, till the cauſe of it was removed. The queen ſent Hatach, one of the king's eunuchs, to learn Mordecai's reaſon for ſuch an appearance; on which he told him the particulars of the king's order for the deſtruction of the Jews; and what a ſum of money Haman had offered for the grant. He gave Hatach a copy of the original order, to communicate to the queen; and begged his intereſt with the king to ſpare the lives of a whole people; entreating him not to heſitate, for Haman was perpetually traducing the Jews to the king, and would certainly ſucceed if not counteracted. The eunuch told this to the queen, who ſent word to Mordecai, that to interrupt the king on his throne, without orders

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to attend, was an offence punishable with loss of life, except the king granted pardon by extending his sceptre. Mordecai now urged the messenger to remind the queen, that not her personal safety, but that of a whole people, was to be regarded; cautioning her not to omit so charitable an office; and hinting that if she did, Providence would preserve the Jews, and she and her family might hereafter lie at their mercy. Esther now directed the eunuch to tell her uncle that he should assemble the Jews at Susa, and order a fast of three days for the queen's safety; saying, that herself and attendants would observe the same, and at the end of that time she would go to the king at the hazard of her life. The queen's orders were obeyed by Mordecai, who fasted and humbled himself, beseeching God to extend his mercy to penitent sinners, and turn away the malice of their enemies; for that not their own crimes, but the pride of Haman, who expected such adoration as was due only to God, had reduced them to that distress; by which a nation who refused to violate the divine laws, was to be rooted out. The Israelites in general prayed to the same purpose, beseeching God to avert his judgments. The queen wore a mourning veil, according to the custom of her country, prostrated herself on the ground, and abstained from food and all refreshments for three days; and implored God to incline the king's heart in her favour, to render her person and words more acceptable than ever in his sight, that their enemies might be confounded, and her unhappy countrymen escape that snare that had been laid for them.

Three days being thus spent in humiliation, the queen dressed herself in her royal attire, took with her two handmaids, and advanced to the king, leaning on one, while the other bore her train. Dignity, elegance, and concern, were mingled in her appearance. The king was seated on his throne, dressed in robes adorned with precious stones, gold, and pearl. The queen trembled at the sight; and fancying that the king looked displeased, fainted in the arms of one of her attendants. The king, shocked at this accident, descended from the throne, catched her in his arms, and assured her that, though she came unsent for, no punishment should follow, as the law was intended to restrain the subjects, and had no reference to her, who was his partner in the sovereign authority. Thus saying he laid the sceptre lightly on her neck, and gave it into her hands; which dissipated all her fears. Having recovered the use of speech, she said she could not account for her sudden illness, but that her heart failed on the splendid appearance of the king. These words were spoken in such a weak and languishing tone, that the king, impressed by the idea of what she suffered, said, he would grant any thing, even the half of his kingdom, to her petition. Esther only begged he would that day bring Haman with him, and accept of a treat she had provided. They both went, and when elevated with liquor, the king bad her only name her request, and it should be complied with: on which she solicited that he and Haman would attend her the following day, when she would prefer her petition. This pleased the king, and enraptured Haman, who was not a little proud of this eminent distinction. In his way home he met Mordecai in the palace, who paid him no respect; on which he went to his wife Zeresh, and several of his friends, whom he informed on

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what terms he was with the king and queen, with whom he had supped, and received a similar invitation for the following day: "but yet (said he) "the insolence of Mordecai chagrines me." Zeresh advised him to erect a gallows fifty cubits high, and obtain the king's permission to hang Mordecai on it in the morning. He took her advice, and the gallows was put up within his own palace. But the providence of God defeated the hopes of Haman; for the king being unable to sleep that night, arose, and ordered his secretary to bring him a number of state papers for his perusal. On reading them, the king found great honours and riches had been bestowed on one man for his valour; that the fidelity of a second to his prince had made his fortune: at length he came to the account of the conspiracy of the eunuchs, Bigthan and Teresh, of which Mordecai had made discovery. The king bad the secretary stop here, and asked him if the party had been rewarded for his services; to which the other said that no reward was mentioned in that account. The secretary was now ordered to enquire the hour; and bringing word that it was day-break, the king bad him see if any of his friends were at the gate of the palace. He there found Haman, with his petition against the life of Mordecai. The king being told that Haman waited, ordered him in, and said, "As I esteem you my "best friend, I wish for your advice: but what honours, consistent with "my own dignity, and my affection for the party, shall I bestow on the "man who has conferred the greatest obligation on me?" Haman, thinking this question related to himself, said, that the man thus to be distinguished should be cloathed in the royal apparel, be presented with a chain of gold, and being mounted on the king's own horse, his majesty should direct one of his confident friends to march before him through the city, and proclaim, "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to "honour." The king appearing pleased with this proposal, said, "Do "you take the horse, apparel, and golden chain, and having found Mor-"decai the Jew, dress him, see him mounted, and walk before him as the "herald; for you, being my most worthy friend, are the most proper person "to execute what you have advised. This honour shall be done to Mordecai, "because I owe my life to his zeal." Haman was confounded at this order, but obliged to comply; wherefore he took the horse, the royal apparel, and chain of gold, and went in search of Mordecai, whom he found cloathed in sackcloth at the gate of the palace, and desired him to put on the purple robes. Mordecai, ignorant of what had passed, thought Haman intended to ridicule him, and therefore treated him as one who meant to insult the unfortunate. The matter being explained, Mordecai was convinced that the king intended him this honour in reward of his preventing the effects of the eunuchs conspiracy: whereupon he put on the robes, invested him with the chain, and, getting on the horse, rode through the city; Haman preceeding him with this proclamation: "Thus shall it be done to the man whom "the king delighteth to honour." This ceremony being ended, Mordecai repaired to the king, while Haman went home dejected, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened. On hearing hereof they were convinced

vinced that they could not wreak their vengeance on Mordecai, who appeared to be protected by Heaven.

During their converſation, ſome eunuchs came from the queen to ſummon Haman to ſupper: Sabuchadas, one of the eunuchs, ſeeing a gibbet in the court-yard, enquired who it was intended for; and being told for Mordecai, the queen's uncle, he ſaid no more. While they were at ſupper, the king again deſired the queen to make her demand, and it ſhould not be refuſed. On this ſhe recited the imminent danger of the Jews; lamented that herſelf and countrymen were devoted to deſtruction, and ſaid, that was the ſubject on which ſhe wiſhed to ſpeak to the king. She was unwilling to interrupt buſineſs of ſtate; and thought that if her countrymen had been only doomed to ſlavery, the ſentence might have been ſubmitted to; but ſhe implored his majeſty to put a ſtop to their total deſtruction. The king immediately aſked who had a deſign to deſtroy them; to which the queen anſwered that, in mere malice, Haman had given ſuch advice. The king being hurt by this diſcourſe, retired to the garden; and in the mean time Haman, who ſaw the gathering ſtorm, beſought the queen's pardon for his errors, and threw himſelf on the bed by her, in a poſture of humiliation. At this inſtant the king returned, and obſerving Haman in this ſituation, reproached him as a villain for attempting the honour of the queen; accompanying what he ſaid with ſuch violent action, that Haman was at a loſs to reply. Sabuchadas, the eunuch abovementioned, now told the king of the gibbet erected in Haman's court, for the execution of Mordecai: hereupon the king gave orders that Haman ſhould be hanged on the very gibbet he had prepared for the other. Thus wonderful was the wiſdom of Providence, in bringing Haman to the very puniſhment he had deſigned for another.

Haman being executed, his eſtate was given to the queen, who had by this time informed the king of her affinity to Mordecai; on which the king ſent for him, and gave him the ring which had been heretofore entruſted with Haman, and the queen beſtowed on him the eſtates of the delinquent. She next reminded the king of the letters Haman had diſpatched through the empire; and begged that he would eaſe the Jews of their apprehenſions, ſaying that her own life was involved in the ſafety of her friends. The king aſſured her that nothing ſhould happen to the Jews without her conſent; and permitted her to write to them in his name, and the letters ſhould be delivered throughout his dominions, ſealed with the royal ſignet, which would give them ſufficient validity. But the king ordered his ſcribes and ſecretaries to write a letter, of which the following is a copy, in behalf of the Jews, to the one hundred and twenty-ſeven governors of the nations between India and Ethiopia.

"ARTAXERXES *the* Great King, *to his faithful governors, greeting.*

"It is but too general a practice for men whoſe fortune hath been greater than "their merit, to inſult both their inferiors and benefactors, and, extinguiſh, "as far as in their power, all ſenſe of gratitude and benevolence: they like-

" wife pervert the power beſtowed to the diſcredit of thoſe who gave " it; and this under ſuch diſguiſes as if God could not penetrate them. Nor " is it any new matter for favourites, by the miſrepreſentation of men and " things, to gratify their private paſſions to the injury of their maſters; and " thus endanger the lives of honeſt men by their ill offices with the prince. " This I declare, not on the credit of report or hiſtory, but on perfect de- " monſtration within my own knowledge. For the future, therefore, let no " regard be paid to ſlanderous accuſations; but let facts be carefully en- " quired into, and let full proof of the innocence or guilt of the party ac- " quit or condemn him.

" You are not unacquainted that Haman is not a Perſian, but an Ama- " lekite by extraction, nor how affectionately I have treated, and what ho- " nour done this man, having called, and regarded him as my father, or- " dering my ſubjects to obey him next to myſelf. Now his pride had in- " duced him to depart from his duty, and prompted him to think of ſuc- " ceeding to the government, by the deſtruction of Mordecai, to whom I " owe my life; and likewiſe to deſtroy the queen; the end of his plot being " to uſurp my authority, when his plans againſt the lives of my friends had " ſucceeded.

" Wherefore, as the deſigns of this man to deſtroy the Jews are notorious, " I hereby certify, that, far from finding them ſeditious, according to his " report, I approve of them as a people worſhipping that God to whom I and " my family owe the poſſeſſion and ſupport of our dominion. Theſe letters " are therefore to command that you abſtain from all puniſhment of theſe " people ordered by the letters of Haman: and you are alſo to treat them " with all reſpect, notwithſtanding the commands of Haman, whom, as a " ſacrifice to juſtice, I have cauſed to be executed on a gibbet before the " gates of Suſa.

" And I farther command that copies of theſe letters be tranſmitted " throughout my dominions, that the Jews may enjoy their laws in peace; " and that you afford them help againſt thoſe who oppreſs them. And as " the thirteenth day of the twelfth month (Adar) is fixed for the extirpation " of theſe people, it is my will that you fix on this time, as the moment of " their deliverance: aſſured that this proceeding will ſatisfy my friends, " and afford a cautionary example to future traitors. Be it farther known " to the parties herein concerned, in all our cities and towns, that military " execution ſhall be the conſequence of diſobedience to theſe commands: of " which all our ſubjects are to take notice; and the Jews ſhall be ready to " avenge themſelves on their enemies at the appointed time."

Perſons were immediately diſpatched with theſe letters. In the interim Mordecai, coming out of the palace, dreſſed in the royal robe, gown and chain, the Jews triumphed in this circumſtance as a prelude to their happineſs; and the joy was extreme wherever the king's letters were publiſhed. People of other nations were likewiſe ſo affected, that many of them were circumciſed, to eſcape as Jews. On receiving this letter, the princes, magiſtrates,

magiſtrates, and governors, dreading the reſentment of Mordecai, paid more than uſual reſpect to the Jews.

The publication of the edict cauſed the Jews of Suſa to deſtroy five-hundred of their enemies; and the king informing the queen hereof, aſked her if ſhe had any thing farther to demand, for he ſhould not refuſe her requeſt. She begged that Haman's ten ſons might be hanged on the gibbet, and that the Jews might be allowed one other day of revenge. This being granted, they aſſembled on the following day, and killed near three hundred more at Suſa; and it was judged that ſeventy-five thouſand more were deſtroyed throughout the empire. The ſlaughter at Suſa was on the thirteenth; that in the country on the fourteenth of the twelfth month; which days are ſtill celebrated as feſtivals among the Jews, agreeable to an order of Mordecai, for a perpetual remembrance to poſterity, that the days intended for their deſtruction proved thoſe of their deliverance: and theſe days are now called *Purim*, or feaſts of preſervation. Mordecai continued in great credit with the king and queen, and ſo directed public affairs, that the Jews flouriſhed wonderfully during his adminiſtration.

CHAP. VII.

Eliaſhib the high-prieſt ſucceeded by Judas. Jeſus ſlain in the temple, by his brother John. Manaſſeh, brother of Jaddas, the high-prieſt, married to Sanballat's daughter, Nicaſa.

THE high-prieſt Eliaſhib, being dead, was ſucceeded by his ſon Judas, and he, by his ſon John. This John cauſed the temple to be profaned by Bagoſes, commander of Artaxerxes's troops, levying a fine on the Jews, of fifty drachmas daily, for each lamb they ſacrificed, to be paid before the offerings commenced. The cauſe of this fine was as follows. The brother of John was named Jeſus, and Bagoſes being his intimate friend, ſought to elevate him to the prieſthood. Jeſus, preſuming upon this diſtinction, quarrelled with his brother in the temple, and the latter, much enraged, attacked and killed him: a circumſtance ſo diſhonourable to religion, that heaven would not permit it to remain unpuniſhed. The conſequence was that the Jews loſt their liberty, and the temple was profaned by the Perſians: for no ſooner had Bagoſes heard that the high-prieſt had ſlain his brother in the temple, than he exclaimed, in contempt of the Jews, "Abominable people! to make your houſe of worſhip like a ſhamble." He now crouded to get into the temple; but ſome perſons oppoſing him, he ſaid "Conceive you that my living body is more offenſive than the dead "within this place?" And thus ſaying, he forced his way. From this period, his conduct over the Jews was very rigid, for about ſeven years: but John dying, was ſucceeded in the prieſthood by his ſon Jaddus. Now Jaddus having a brother named Manaſſeh; and Sanballet conſidering how great a city Jeruſalem was, and that the Syrians and Aſſyrians had been frequently routed by the kings thereof, gave his daughter Nicaſa in marriage to Manaſſeh,

naſſeh, as a teſtimony of the friendſhip which he intended to maintain with the Jews. This Sanballat was a Chuthite, and from him the Samaritans derive their original; he having governed Samaria, under the laſt king, Darius.

CHAP. VIII.

The war removed from Europe to Aſia by Alexander the Great. He ravages the Perſian empire; but, inſtead of deſtroying Jeruſalem, treats the Jews with all poſſible kindneſs.

PAUSANIAS having about this time murdered Philip, king of Macedon, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Alexander, who paſſing the Helleſpont, gained a great victory over Darius, by the river Granicus. He then reduced Lydia and Ionia, marched through Caria, and arrived in the country of Pamphylia.

About this time the elders of Jeruſalem were engaged againſt Manaſſeh, for marrying a ſtrange wife, fearing that if this circumſtance paſſed unnoticed, it might be a dangerous precedent for others, and might at length become cuſtomary. They remembered, likewiſe, that marrying women not of their own people, had heretofore cauſed their captivity, and the misfortunes conſequent thereon: wherefore they inſiſted that Manaſſeh ſhould no longer attend the altar, unleſs he diſmiſſed his wife; and the high-prieſt and people abſolutely refuſed his officiating. Hereupon Manaſſeh told Sanballat, his father-in-law, of the high regard he had for his daughter; but ſaid he could not ſubmit to be deprived of the prieſthood and its honours on account of his marriage, even to ſo worthy a woman. Hereupon Sanballat ſaid that if he would continue to acknowledge his wife, he would not only ſecure him in his preſent ſtation, but raiſe him to the rank of high-prieſt, eſtabliſh him as a prince of the country, and build him a temple on mount Garizim, equal to that at Jeruſalem: and all this ſhould be performed by permiſſion of Darius. Relying on theſe promiſes, Manaſſeh remained with his father-in-law, who now grew very old. Many prieſts and other Iſraelites having married ſtrange women, they all reſorted to Manaſſeh, to ſupport whom in his views of ambition, Sanballat ſupplied them with houſes, land, flock, and money.

Alexander having paſſed the Helleſpont, and obtained the victory at the Granicus, Darius aſſembled his forces, reſolved to give battle to the Macedonians, and prevent their ravaging Aſia, as they had propoſed. Having paſſed the Euphrates, he diſpoſed himſelf to battle on the other ſide mount Taurus, in Cilicia. Sanballat, pleaſed with this march of Darius, told Manaſſeh, that on the king's return he would ratify all his promiſes; as he had no doubt but that the Macedonians would be routed on the firſt encounter. In this, however, he was miſtaken; for Darius was routed, his army being chiefly cut off, his mother, wife, and children made captives, and himſelf obliged to fly to Perſia for refuge. In the interim Alexander marched

into Syria, made capture of Sidon and Damaſcus, and beſieged Tyre. He now wrote to the high-prieſt of the Jews, claiming the aſſiſtance heretofore given to Darius, and demanding that his army might be ſupplied with neceſſaries, which ſhould be paid for punctually. The high-prieſt returned a ſhort anſwer, intimating that they had ſworn not to bear arms againſt Darius, during their lives. This anſwer enraged Alexander, who, however, proceeded in his attack of Tyre, but vowed that, when he had conquered it, he would attack the high-prieſt, and teach his people not to violate their oaths. Alexander ſoon conquered Tyre, and then proceeded to reduce the Perſian government at Gaza.

Sanballat, finding that Alexander lay before Tyre, repaired to him with eight thouſand men, thus abandoning his faith to Darius. Alexander received him graciouſly, and bid him ſpeak freely; on which he ſaid that his ſon-in-law, Manaſſeh, brother to Jaddus, high-prieſt of the Jews, was following him with a great concourſe of people, who requeſted leave to erect a temple in that province. Sanballat intimated likewiſe how much Alexander's intereſt was concerned in this permiſſion, as the Jews, who were very numerous, might be as troubleſome to him, as they had heretofore been to the Syrians. The requeſt was granted, and they began to build the temple, of which Manaſſeh was to be the high-prieſt, and his deſcendants, by Sanballat's daughter, to ſucceed to that honour. At the end of nine months, Sanballat died, and Alexander having made a conqueſt of Gaza, proceeded towards Jeruſalem. Jaddus the high-prieſt was now confounded to think how he ſhould behave to a prince whoſe former commands he had diſobeyed: on which he ordered prayers and ſacrifices for the general proſperity of the people. On the following night it was revealed to Jaddus in a dream, that he ſhould adorn the city with garlands and flowers, open the gates, and let the people, dreſſed in white, go out to meet Alexander; himſelf and the other prieſts proceeding, in their proper habits. In the morning, Jaddus, highly rejoiced, told the citizens what had been revealed, and proceeded to make the neceſſary preparations for meeting the king. Learning that he approached, Jaddus, with the prieſts and people, went on to a place called Sapha, (or the place of proſpect) from its commanding a view of the city and temple. The Chaldæans, and Phœnicians, thought to deſtroy and plunder the high-prieſt and people; but it happened otherwiſe: for Alexander, ſeeing the people walking in white, the prieſts in ſilk robes, and the high-prieſt in purple, embroidered with gold, wearing his mitre, and having on his forehead a golden plate, with the name of God on it, advanced alone, paid homage to the inſcription, and complimented the high-prieſt. Hereupon the Jews gathered in crouds, and proclaimed the praiſe of Alexander. This behaviour aſtoniſhed the kings of Perſia and others; and Parmenio aſked Alexander how it happened that he, whom almoſt every man worſhipped, ſhould bow to a prieſt of the Jews. Alexander replied, "I "worſhip not this man; but his God. Some time ſince I ſaw this very per- "ſon, in the ſame habit, at Dion, in Macedonia. I was debating how to "conquer Aſia, when he bad me conduct my army over the river, and I "ſhould

" ſhould ſubdue the empire of Perſia. On ſeeing him in this habit, the idea " of my dream recurs, and I am ſure this is the perſon who encouraged me " to this expedition: thus convinced of the divine interpoſition, I have no " doubt of ſucceſs againſt the Perſians." Having ſaid this, the king ſaluted Jaddus, and the other prieſts eſcorting him into the city, he advanced to the temple, and offered ſacrifice. Alexander paid great reſpect to the high-prieſt, who, on the concluſion of the ceremony, ſhewed him a prophecy of Daniel, which predicted that, in future time, a Greek ſhould conquer the empire of Perſia. Alexander preſuming that this meant himſelf, was highly gratified, and diſcharged the people till the following day, when they were to make known what they deſired he ſhould do for them: On their meeting, the high-prieſt ſaid, they wiſhed to enjoy their own laws, to be freed from a tribute paid once in ſeven years; and to poſſeſs the ſame privileges as the Jews of Media and Babylon; all which Alexander granted, and ſaid farther, that if any of them choſe to enliſt in his army, they ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion; on which many of them engaged in his ſervice.

Alexander having adjuſted affairs at Jeruſalem, proceeded to different places, and was well received in them all. The city of Sichem, near the mount Garizim, was at this time the chief reſidence of the Samaritans, who retained their old diſpoſition of being friends to the Jews in proſperity. Alexander was met by the Sichemites, (accompanied by the troops Sanballat had ſent) who, with apparent joy, begged he would honor their city and temple with a viſit. The king ſpoke kindly to them, and promiſed a viſit on his return. They then aſked a remittance of the ſeventh year's tribute. Alexander demanded of what nation they were: they anſwered Hebrews, but the Sidonians called them Sichemites. They were then aſked if they were Jews; but they anſwered in the negative; upon which Alexander ſaid, " The favour you aſk I have granted to the Jews; and, when I re- " turn, and am better informed, I ſhall indulge you in what may be thought " reaſonable." Saying this, the king diſmiſſed the Sichemites; but took Sanballat's troops with him to Ægypt, where they had lands allotted them; but they were afterwards placed in garriſon in Thebes, where they had the ſame indulgence.

Alexander dying, his empire was divided among his ſucceſſors. The temple of Garizim remained untouched. When the Jews at Jeruſalem violated their laws, by a breach of the ſabbath, or eating meats that were forbidden, they uſed to take ſanctuary with the Sichemites, pretending that they were falſely accuſed. Jaddus, the high-prieſt, died at this period, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Onias.

End of the Eleventh Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XII.

Containing the hiſtory of the tranſactions from the year of the World 3635 to 3804.

CHAP. I.

The Macedonian empire divided into principalities, after the deceaſe of Alexander. Ptolemy obtains poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem.

ALEXANDER died, after having obtained an entire conqueſt over the Perſian empire, and eſtabliſhed divers regulations in Jeruſalem, as we have already mentioned: and his kingdom was divided among the chiefs of his army. Antigonus aſſumed the command of Aſia; Seleucus that of Babylon and the bordering countries; the Helleſpont was under Lyſimachus; * Caſander reigned over Macedon; and Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, over Ægypt. Theſe princes ſeverally aimed at univerſal ſovereignty, and the conſequence was a war of long duration, in the courſe of which great numbers

* Spanheim proves the true reading to be Caſſander.

numbers of people were facrificed, and many capital cities utterly deſtroyed. The country of Syria was particularly affected by theſe contentions, during the reign of Ptolemy, who was called the ſaviour: but no man leſs deſerved that honourable diſtinction. This Ptolemy, under the pretext of a religious motive, obtained admittance to the city of Jeruſalem on the ſabbath, and gained poſſeſſion of the place, without oppoſition, the Jews being prohibited the uſe of arms on that ſacred day. In his hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, Agatharchides, the Cnidian, ſays, "The people called Jews, "inhabiting the ſtrongly fortified and populous city of Jeruſalem, ſub- "mitted to the intolerable oppreſſion of Ptolemy, from a ſuperſtitious re- "gard to their ſabbath, by which they were withheld from taking up arms "to repulſe the invader."

Ptolemy made captives of a great number of Jews from Jeruſalem, Samaria, and mount Garizim, and tranſplanted them into Ægypt. The anſwer of the Jews to Alexander, after he had vanquiſhed Darius, convinced Ptolemy that they were a people who paid a ſacred obſervance to an oath; and, on this conſideration, having firſt ſworn them to fidelity to himſelf and his ſucceſſors, he entruſted them to defend ſeveral places of ſtrength, appointed them to offices of conſiderable truſt, and admitted them to the ſame privileges in Alexandria which were enjoyed by the Macedonians. The liberality of Ptolemy, and the fertility of the country, induced great numbers of Jews to repair to Ægypt. The ancient laws and cuſtoms were a continual ſource of diſſentions among the Jews and Samaritans; the former declaring the temple at Jeruſalem to be the only holy place, and the others as poſitively inſiſting in favour of the temple at Garizim: and in theſe conteſts many lives were loſt.

CHAP. II.

One hundred and twenty thouſand Jews reſtored to liberty by Ptolemy Philadelphus. He employs ſeventy-two learned men of Judæa to give a Greek tranſlation of the legiſlative inſtitutions of the Jews. His munificence towards the holy temple.

PHILADELPHUS ſucceeded his father Ptolemy, (who was called the ſaviour) in the government of Ægypt. On the following occaſion he reſtored to freedom one hundred and twenty thouſand Jews who were captives in Ægypt. Demetrius Phalereus, who was appointed to the care of the royal library, with remarkable induſtry laboured to procure all the books which were deſerving a place in the king's ſtudy. Being aſked by Philadelphus how many books he had collected, Demetrius replied, that the number amounted to two hundred thouſand volumes, which he hoped ſoon to encreaſe to five hundred thouſand, having learnt that the Jews poſſeſſed a vaſt number of manuſcripts on the ſubject of their laws, ceremonies and cuſtoms, which would prove a valuable acquiſition to the royal library: he obſerved that though the characters and language of the Hebrews bore ſome affinity to the Greek, yet there were many niceties peculiar to each tongue, which would contribute to render the tranſlation a work of difficulty, but that it

might notwithſtanding be accompliſhed if the king ſhould judge it expedient to incur the expence of the undertaking. Philadelphus expreſſed an entire approbation of what had been intimated by his librarian: and diſpatched a letter to the high-prieſt of the Jews, requeſting his aſſiſtance towards the intended acquiſition. Ariſtæus, whoſe wiſdom and modeſty had obtained him a diſtinguiſhed place in the king's eſteem, had long cheriſhed the hope of reſtoring the Jews to freedom; and determining to avail himſelf of the favourable opportunity which now offered, he applied to Soſibius, Tarantinus and Andræus, captains of the guards, entreating them to join their intereſts for effecting the deſired purpoſe. Having received their promiſe of aſſiſtance, he thus addreſſed the king:

" Your majeſty having been pleaſed to ſignify a deſire of having a tranſla-
" tion of the laws of the Jews, I humbly apprehend that the buſineſs cannot
" be fairly executed while ſo many of the people from whom you expect
" aſſiſtance remain in bondage. To relieve their diſtreſs is an act worthy
" your exalted ſtation and character, ſince we all worſhip the Almighty God
" under the ſeveral names of Jove, Jupiter, à Juvando. From a ve-
" neration to the univerſal Creator, may you be inclined to reſtore the mi-
" ſerable captives to the land aſſigned them by Providence. I do not pre-
" ſume to eſpouſe the cauſe of theſe people on account of a family alliance,
" but entirely on the conſideration that we are the ſervants of the ſame God,
" to whom the ſolicited clemency, will prove highly acceptable."

The king enquired of Ariſtæus what number of Jews were in bondage; and he was informed by Andræus, that they amounted to about one hundred and twenty thouſand: upon this, the king aſked Ariſtæus, whether he thought he had requeſted a moderate favour. It was obſerved by Soſibius, and others, that compaſſion towards the miſerable was worthy the royal character, in gratitude for having been advanced to the ſovereignty. Philadelphus was perfectly ſatisfied with the conduct of the perſons who had interceeded in favour of the captives, and ordered that, on the enſuing pay-day, his ſoldiers, excluſive of their uſual ſtipend, ſhould receive an hundred and twenty drachmas in lieu of every Jew whom they held in ſlavery; promiſing further to extend his clemency in compliance with the requeſt of Ariſtæus, or rather with the decrees of Providence, and that the whole ſhould be ratified by a proclamation emancipating the Jews who had been made priſoners during his father's reign, as well as thoſe who had fallen into captivity before and ſubſequent to that period. He was informed that the deliverance of theſe people would incur an expence of at leaſt forty talents: and he ſaid that notwithſtanding the ſum was conſiderable, his promiſe ſhould be punctually fulfilled. The edict iſſued by this illuſtrious monarch in behalf of the Jews, was to the following effect.

" It is our royal pleaſure hereby expreſſly to command that all Jews con-
" quered in the incurſions of my father's troops into Syria and Phœnicia,
" and ſold into theſe my dominions, and thoſe likewiſe who were conquered
" before and after thoſe days, be reſtored to liberty, the redemption fee of
" one hundred and twenty drachmas, for each captive, excluſive of their
" uſual ſtipends, to be paid the ſoldiers from the royal treaſury. The ſub-

" jecting ſuch conſiderable numbers of people to bondage, and deſtroying
" their country, were outrages to which the army was induced by the hope
" of booty; but theſe licentious proceedings were as contrary to the inten-
" tion of my father as to juſtice and reaſon. From a veneration to the me-
" mory of the king my father, and a deſire to relieve the oppreſſed, I hereby
" enjoin that the Jews be immediately delivered from bondage upon the re-
" demption-money beforementioned being paid to their preſent maſters;
" that for three ſucceſſive days this proclamation be made public; and far-
" ther that ſuch perſons as hold any of the Jews in ſervitude ſhall produce
" authentic liſts of their priſoners, and, without fraud or coiluſion, act in
" due conformity to this our royal mandate, on the penalty of a confiſcation
" of effects."

The above draught being preſented to the king, he obſerved that what related to thoſe enſlaved before and after Ptolemy ſubjugated ſuch vaſt numbers of Jews in Ægypt, was not expreſſed with the neceſſary preciſion, and he cauſed additions to be made in favour of thoſe whoſe liberty it was judged had not been ſufficiently provided for. He ſtrictly commanded the officers of his treaſury, and the collectors of the tribute, to reſerve in their poſſeſſion ſufficient ſums for the redemption of the Jews. In the courſe of ſeven days the Jews were ranſomed, at the expence of four hundred and ſixty talents, for though the proclamation extended only to thoſe who had been made priſoners, the maſters inſiſted on one hundred and twenty drachmas, for the emancipation of each child born in captivity.

The king ordered Demetrius to publiſh the particulars concerning the tranſlation of the books and records of the Jews. Upon a regiſter was inſerted a tranſcript of the petition of Demetrius, a liſt of the donations towards the undertaking, with the names of the ſeveral ſubſcribers, and the letters which had paſſed on the occaſion, ſo that the munificence of the king, and the liberal aſſiſtance afforded towards perfecting the work might be apparent on the firſt view. The petition was conceived in terms to the following effect:

" DEMETRIUS *to the* Great King.

" This is humbly to inform your majeſty that, agreeable to your royal
" command, I have exerted my utmoſt endeavours to obtain the moſt uſeful
" books and copies for enriching the royal library: and that after an un-
" wearied attention to the ſubject, the hiſtory of the Jewiſh laws I conceive
" to be an acquiſition moſt to be deſired. Being written in the characters
" and idiom of the Hebrews, an accurate tranſlation of them muſt neceſ-
" ſarily be attended with much difficulty. The tranſlation we now poſſeſs
" would have been free from many of the errors it contains, had it been ex-
" ecuted under the ſanction of the royal authority. Theſe laws were the
" production of the Almighty himſelf, and form the only perfect legiſlative
" code extant; it is therefore neceſſary to obtain an authentic verſion of
" them. Hecatæus, the Abderite, obſerves that the poets and hiſtorians
" avoided mentioning theſe inſtitutions, for being of divine origin they were

" not to be profaned. On the above conſiderations it is ſuggeſted to your " majeſty, if you ſhall deem it expedient, to write to the high-prieſt of the " Jews, requeſting him to ſelect from each tribe ſix elders, converſant in " the Jewiſh cuſtoms and conſtitutions, to interpret and expound the writings " in queſtion, whereby your majeſty will obtain the ſatisfaction required."

The king ordered letters to be addreſſed to Eleazar, the high-prieſt, on the ſubject of the propoſals made by Demetrius, and that they ſhould mention the deliverance of the Jews from captivity. He ſent preſents of fifty talents of gold for cups and other holy veſſels, precious ſtones to a great amount, which thoſe who had the care of the coffers were directed to ſuffer the lapidaries to ſelect at their own diſcretion, and an hundred talents of ſilver for ſacrifices and other holy uſes of the temple.

Simon ſucceeded his father Onias in the high-prieſthood: he was a man of exemplary piety, and of a diſpoſition remarkably tender towards his fellow-creatures; and by his virtues he acquired the ſirname of *the Juſt*. He died at an early age, and his only iſſue being an infant ſon, named Onias, the pontifical office was aſſumed by his brother Eleazar, to whom the king wrote as follows:

" PTOLEMY *the* King, *to the* High-Prieſt, *greeting*.

" The late king my father having found great number of Jews in his do- " minions, who had been made captives by the Perſians, he employed " many of them in his armies, and ſtationed others in garriſons and places " of ſtrength, as a check upon the Ægyptians, making for them ample pro- " viſion in conſideration of their ſervices. Since my advancement to the " throne, I have invariably exerciſed a mild government; and towards your " people I have entertained a particular eſteem. I have redeemed more " than an hundred thouſand of them from bondage, and paid their ranſoms " from my own treaſury. I have diſpoſed of ſome in my army: others, on " whoſe fidelity I conceived I might rely, I have appointed to offices in my " palace: and I conſider that acts of benevolence are moſt acceptable to the " Almighty Power to whom I am indebted for the exalted ſtation I hold. " From a deſire to ſerve the Jews in general to the extent of my abilities, " I have conceived a deſign to procure a Greek verſion of your legiſlative " inſtitutions, and to give the work a place in my own library. It will be " conſidered as a particular act of kindneſs if you will ſelect from each of " your tribes ſix elders, the moſt experienced and ſkilful in the laws, for " aſſiſting in the tranſlation, from the accompliſhment of which I expect to " to derive a very diſtinguiſhed ſhare of reputation. The commiſſioners " whom I have appointed to negotiate this buſineſs with you are Andræus, a " captain of my guards, and Ariſtæus; and theſe truſty and beloved friends " I have alſo charged to preſent you an hundred talents of ſilver to be em- " ployed towards the charge of ſacrifices, and in other holy uſes of the " temple. Your reply will be gladly received."

" ELEA-

" ELEAZAR, *the* High-Prieſt, *to* King PTOLEMY, *greeting.*

" Your majeſty's moſt gracious letter afforded infinite pleaſure to a full " congregation of the Jews, who conſidered it as an eminent inſtance of ve- " neration towards the Almighty, and benevolence to an unhappy people. " From Andræus and Ariſtæus, whoſe learning and virtues render them de- " ſerving the king's favour, we have alſo received twenty cups of gold, " thirty of ſilver, five goblets and a table to be conſecrated for the uſe of the " holy altar, excluſive of an hundred talents of ſilver to defray the expence " of ſacrifices, and for other ſervices of the temple. Your majeſty's gene- " rous donations have been ſhewn to our brethren: and we are deeply im- " preſſed with a ſenſe of gratitude, in manifeſtation of which, we are unani- " mouſly determined to exert our utmoſt power in an implicit obedience to " your commands. According to your deſire, I have choſen ſix elders from " each tribe, who are entruſted to deliver you our body of laws, for the re- " turn of which, by the ſame meſſengers, we rely on the known juſtice and " piety of your majeſty. We beſeech that the Lord will grant that the in- " tended verſion of the hiſtory of our laws and antiquities may be ſo executed " as to afford you perfect ſatisfaction: and we earneſtly recommend your " royal perſon, thoſe of the royal family, and all you hold dear, to the pe- " culiar care and protection of the Almighty Providence."

To the above anſwer of the high-prieſt was ſubjoined the names of the ſeventy elders. To particularize the preſents with which the king enriched the temple, is a tribute due to his royal munificence, and that attention which he employed to have the work executed with ſpeed and ingenuity.

The king cauſed the dimenſions of the former table to be taken, intending, if the place where it had ſtood would admit, to ſupply a larger: being informed that the ſpace would permit him to act at diſcretion, he formed a deſign of providing a table five times larger than the original one: but, upon reflection, he ſuggeſted that ſo extraordinary a magnitude would render it inconvenient for daily uſe; and therefore concluded to obſerve the former ſcale, and to employ, in the ſuperiority of workmanſhip, what he ſhould ſave in weight of metal by contracting his firſt deſign. The king was ſo great a proficient in the arts, and poſſeſſed ſo quick an imagination, that he was able to make new inventions, and give preciſe and juſt directions to his ſeveral workmen. He ordered the table to be made two cubits and a half long, one cubit in breadth, and one and an half high. It was entirely compoſed of pure gold, and encompaſſed by a triangular border of the breadth of a hand, which was embelliſhed with flower-work, twiſted ſtrings, and other ingenious devices; and the ſeveral parts were ſo juſtly diſpoſed, that in every point of view the beauty of the whole was equally conſpicuous. The part of the table moſt expoſed to view was decorated by a great variety of precious ſtones, ſet at equal diſtances, and looped to the border by golden buckles. Valuable ſtones of an oval form were ſet on the outſide of the table, round which twined an emboſſed repreſentation of twigs and branches. Ears of corn, bunches of grapes, pomegranates, and divers other fruits were repreſented

preſented by various kinds of ſtones anſwering the colours of what they were meant to imitate, and wrought into the form of a crown. Beneath this crown was a row of ovals diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as preciſely to match with thoſe above. The feet of the table were received in a golden plate of four fingers breadth, to which they were faſtened by means of ſtrings and hooks. Upon the table was traced the courſe of a Mæander by rubies, emeralds, and other ſtones, of the moſt exquiſite luſtre. Boughs and knots, rather in the lozenge form, were diſpoſed along this Mæander, which being farther embelliſhed by a judicious introduction of amber and cryſtal, formed a ſpectacle inimitably ſuperb and curious. The cornices of the feet were ornamented with lily-work, the tendrils and leaves being led in ſerpentine directions beneath the table. The baſis was the breadth of a hand, ornamented with rubies, and encompaſſed with a border, the diſtance of two hands being left between the feet, which were engraven with incomparable ſkill; they were enriched by repreſentations of the vine and ivy, interſperſed with grapes and berries, and the leaſt motion of the air cauſed the leaves to play, ſo that the work rather appeared to be the effect of nature than of art. The thickneſs of the table was half a cubit, and it was compoſed of three parts, joined with ſuch remarkable ingenuity that the niceſt eye could not diſcover the leaſt appearance of the joints.

Two large golden cups were provided, being ornamented half way up the bowls with ſcallop-work, beſides the form of a Mæander of a cubit broad, formed by the different kinds of precious ſtones, and curious repreſentations of creepers and twigs branching to the top in an admirable net-work. Several compartments were decorated with lozenge figures, ſome of which were four fingers in breadth, beſides a variety of precious ſtones. An intermixture of grapes, vines, lilies and other flowers was wrought round the borders of theſe goblets, each of which would contain about four gallons. There were many pieces of ſilver ſo exquiſitely poliſhed as to ſurpaſs the brilliancy of the cleareſt cryſtal.

Beſides the above preſents, the king furniſhed thirty veſſels of gold, and thoſe parts of them which were not ſet with precious ſtones were covered with leaves of the vine and ivy curiouſly executed. The preſents being delivered to Eleazar, the high-prieſt, he conſecrated them to the ſervice of the holy temple; he treated the commiſſioners with the moſt honourable diſtinction; and charged them with gifts of value for the king. Being informed of the return of his ambaſſadors, and that they were accompanied by the ſeventy elders, he immediately ſent for Andræus and Ariſtæus, who delivered the high-prieſt's letter, and gave ſatisfactory replies to ſeveral queſtions which he propoſed. The king being impatient for an interview with the elders, and deſirous to avoid caſual interruptions, gave orders that his ſubjects ſhould not have the uſual acceſs to his preſence; for it was his cuſtom to give public audience once a month, and a private one in every five days. In a ſhort time the elders attended him with the manuſcripts of the Jewiſh laws, written in letters of gold upon parchment; and the preſents from the high-prieſt. The king was ſurprized at the ingenious formation of the books;

for the ſkins were affixed to each other with ſuch nicety, as to leave not the leaſt appearance of the joining-places. He told them he had a great reſpect for them, a greater for the perſon by whom they were ſent, but that his veneration towards the author of the laws then before him, was of a ſuperior quality. The deputies, by their prayers and acclamations, expreſſed ſuch affecting proofs of a zealous attachment to the king, that he wept in joyful tenderneſs. The proper officers having taken charge of the writings, the king embraced the elders, telling them the day of their arrival ſhould be annually obſerved as a feſtival during his life: this day happened alſo to be diſtinguiſhed by his naval victory over Antigonus. He appointed them apartments within his palace, ſaying they ſhould be his own immediate gueſts. It was the office of Nicanor to provide for the entertainment and convenience of ſtrangers; and he appointed Dorotheus as his deputy. As an inſtance of reſpect to the elders, the king commanded that they might be entertained according to the cuſtoms of their own country.

Dorotheus being converſant in the Jewiſh cuſtoms, he was ordered to regulate the manner of entertaining the elders. A ſeat being placed on each ſide that whereon the king ſat, the gueſts took their places, and Dorotheus was commanded to ſerve them in the manner he had, on a previous occaſion, ſerved their countrymen. The Ægyptian prieſts and officers whoſe buſineſs it was to attend during the king's meals, were excuſed from their uſual duty: and the king called one of the Jewiſh prieſts named Eliſa, to bleſs the table: he roſe and returned thanks to the Lord for the nouriſhment they were about to receive, concluding the ſolemnity with a fervent appeal to heaven in behalf of the king and people. The company now with great chearfulneſs partook of the entertainment. While they were at dinner the king propoſed ſeveral ingenious queſtions in philoſophy; and the anſwers of the elders were pertinent and ſatisfactory. Twelve days were employed in feaſting and merriment. The matters which were diſcuſſed, are amply treated of in a book written expreſsly on the ſubject by Ariſtæus. The arguments enforced in the converſation were ſo convincing, as to prevail on Menedemus, the philoſopher, to acknowledge an over-ruling providence, and terminate the controverſies on that head.

In acknowledgement of the edification he had derived in the art of government from the elders, the king ordered them each a preſent of three talents; after which they were ſhewn to their apartments. On the expiration of three days, Demetrius conducted them along a cauſeway of ſeven furlongs in length, and over a bridge communicating with the iſland and continent, and thence proceeding towards the north, he eſtabliſhed them in a commodious retreat adapted to contemplation: he requeſted they would expedite the tranſlation of the laws, and commended them to the protection of heaven. Excluſive of the uſual allowance, Dorotheus ſupplied them with delicacies from the king's table. It was their practice to attend each morning at the levee, and having waſhed their hands in ſea-water, cloſely to apply themſelves to ſtudy till dinner-time, which was three in the afternoon.

The tranſlation was compleated within ſeventy-two days. Demetrius now aſſembled the Jews in the place where the elders had made the verſion, and

in the preſence of the interpreters read the books, which received the unanimous approbation of the people, who highly extolled Demetrius as the author of the bleſſings they enjoyed. He requeſted that the verſion might be peruſed by the eminent men of the nation: and the high-prieſt, elders, and magiſtrates, propoſed that as the tranſlation had been ſo unexceptionably executed, it might be ratified, and the authority of the text pronounced unalterable. This propoſition was admitted, on the condition that the book ſhould undergo a farther examination, that it might with greater certainty be determined, whether it contained any defect. After this reviſion it was to receive the authority of a final ratification.

The king received great pleaſure from the ſucceſs of the undertaking, and the approbation it had obtained with the public. The book being read to him, he was tranſported in admiration of the wiſdom of the law-giver. He obſerved to Demetrius, that conſidering the incomparable excellency of the laws, it was a matter of wonder they had not been mentioned either by the poets, or hiſtorians. Demetrius replied, that being manifeſtly of divine inſtitution, the people dared not profane them; adding that Theopompus having publiſhed ſome texts of the ſacred writings, as works of his own invention, had been puniſhed for his temerity by a judicial madneſs, for the ſpace of thirty days; that during his ſleep he had revelations importing that the ſin of confounding ſacred with profane matters, was the cauſe of his phrenzy; that during the intervals of the diſeaſe, he ſupplicated pardon, which was granted in conſideration of his repentance and amendment. He ſaid that the poet Theodectes had been ſtruck with blindneſs for having introduced the ſacred writings in a tragedy; but that he was reſtored to ſight upon acknowledging his crime.

Demetrius having delivered the books to the king, he commanded them to be preſerved with all imaginable care. He requeſted the interpreters to avail themſelves of every opportunity of viſiting him, ſaying they would derive both honor and profit from a compliance; for his acknowledgments would be worthy a great prince towards wiſe men. He diſmiſſed them with a preſent to each of three rich ſuits of apparel, two talents in gold, the value of one talent in cups, and couches for ſitting and eating upon. His preſents to the high-prieſt conſiſted of ten beds with feet of ſilver, and rich furniture, a chalice of thirty talents, ten purple robes, a ſuperb crown, and one hundred pieces of fine linen; and, for the ſervice of the temple, cups and goblets of various kinds, and two veſſels of gold. Theſe gifts were accompanied by a letter to the high prieſt, expreſſing that if the commiſſioners ſhould again viſit him, the circumſtance would afford him particular ſatisfaction; for he entertained a particular regard for learned men, on whom his bounty would be worthily beſtowed. This is a brief account of the liberality which the Jews experienced from Philadelphus, who reigned thirty-nine years.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The liberality of the king of Asia towards the Jews. Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, married to the king of Ægypt.

SO celebrated were the Jews for their faith and their military skill, that Seleucus, firnamed Nicanor, admitted them to the immunities of Antioch, and his several cities throughout Asia and lower Syria; and to this day they enjoy the privileges granted to them, in common with the Greeks and Macedonians. The Jews being prohibited the use of foreign oil, the Olympic officers had it in commission from the government, to allow them, in lieu thereof, a portion of money. In the following war, the people of Antioch insisted upon the Jews being abridged of this privilege: but Mutianus, governor of the province of Syria, would not comply with their requisitions. The people of Alexandria urged the disfranchisement of the Jews during the reign of Vespasian and his son Titus: the Romans honourably opposed the measure, which the above-mentioned princes could not be induced to countenance. Notwithstanding the provocation of an obstinate war and rebellion, they nobly declined a gratification of their passions, and rejected the intercession of two powerful nations on the consideration that the privileges of the Jews could not be abridged without a violation of justice. Their former deserts prevailed over their present offences; and the princes said that private interest should not seduce them to take mean advantages. They urged that such of our people as had taken up arms against the Romans, had been sufficiently punished in the course of the war; and to abridge the sacred rights of those who had not committed offence would be equally contrary to the principles of reason and justice.

The generosity of Marcus Agrippa towards the Jews, stands on record. The Ionians violently remonstrated against that people, setting forth that their city being a gift from Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, whom the Greeks had firnamed the god, they insisted on being put in possession of the place, and themselves to have privileges in exclusion of all other people; and that the Jews should be permitted to share the immunities only on condition of adopting the idolatrous worship. Nicolaus of Damascus was council for the Jews; and he brought the matter to issue, when judgment was pronounced that they should continue in the uninterrupted exercise of the several institutions and customs of their nation; and as a confirmation of this decree, Agrippa declared that he would permit no innovation on the rights of the Jews. The particulars of these transactions are inserted in Nicolaus's history, *lib.* 123 & 124. As we had not commenced hostilities against the Romans, the conduct of Agrippa is not to be considered as so extraordinary an instance of generosity and candour, as that of Vespasian and Titus, who never transgressed the limits of moderation even in the utmost rage of war.

Asia, Judæa, and Cœle-Syria, were continually disturbed during the wars maintained by Antiochus the Great, against Philopator Ptolemy, and Ptolemy,

Ptolemy, his ſon, ſirnamed Epiphanes. Which ever party prevailed, the Jews, like a veſſel between two billows in a ſtorm, were continually on the verge of deſtruction. Antiochus at length obtained poſſeſſion of Judæa.

Some time after the death of Philopater, his ſon ordered a numerous army, under the command of Scopas, to march into Cœle-Syria; and this force obtained victory over Judæa, and ſeveral capital cities. After this, Antiochus gave battle to the invader, whom he vanquiſhed, recovering the cities which had been reduced by him. The Jews voluntary received the army of Antiochus into their city, afforded plenty of provender for the elephants, and with ſingular bravery joined in the attack of a caſtle, where Scopas had eſtabliſhed a garriſon. Polybius, the Megalopolitan, in the ſixteenth book of his hiſtory, ſays, "In the winter ſeaſon Scopas, Ptolemy's "general, invaded, and entirely conquered the country of the Jews." A little farther in the ſame book, he ſays, "After Scopas had been defeated by "Antiochus, he reduced Bathamea, Samaria, Gadara, and Abila, and was "afterwards joined by the Jews at Jeruſalem, where the holy temple was "ſituated. What I have farther to ſay on this head, I muſt defer to a fu-"ture opportunity." In gratitude for the ſervices he had received from the Jews, Antiochus wrote the following letter to his officers.

Antiochus *the king, to* Ptolemy, *greeting.*

"Having received repeated proofs of the friendſhip of the Jews, from "our firſt arrival, which they teſtified by the ſplendor with which the el-"ders and magiſtrates attended us, the reception afforded to our perſon and "army, the proviſion made for our elephants and horſes, and the aſſiſtance "given againſt the Ægyptian garriſon: in conſideration hereof we hold our-"ſelves bound to contribute to the reſtoration of their city, and the recall "of their countrymen from their former reſidence. For theſe purpoſes we "have given twenty thouſand pieces of ſilver, to pay for wine, oil, and "frankincenſe, for ſacrifices; fourteen hundred and ſixty meaſures of wheat "for fine flour, and of ſalt three hundred and ſeventy-five meaſures. Now "our pleaſure is, that theſe orders be obeyed: and that what timber may be "wanted from Judæa, Libanus, or other places, for repairing the temple, "ſhall be furniſhed free of duty; and we grant the ſame exemption on all "other materials for the holy temple: farther permitting that the Jews "govern themſelves according to their own laws. We likewiſe diſcharge "from all taxes, the elders, prieſts, ſcribes, and ſinging-men. To pro-"mote the re-peopling of the city, we order that all who now reſide "therein, or ſhall do ſo before the month of Hyperberetæus, be exempted "from taxes for three years, and that, in conſideration of former loſſes, "a third part of their taxes ſhall be abated hereafter. Laſtly we com-"mand, that ſuch of theſe people as have been made priſoners of war, and "remain in captivity, ſhall be immediately diſcharged, and ſatisfaction "made for their loſſes."

Antiochus publiſhed another edict, importing that no ſtranger ſhould enter the temple without permiſſion of the Jews, and being firſt purified,

according to law: that the flesh of horses, asses, mules, panthers, hares, foxes, or other animals which the Jews durst not touch, should not be brought into the city: that no animals should be fed or brought up in the city, but such as, in old times, had been used for sacrifice: and all offenders against this order to pay, for the use of the priest, three thousand Drachmas.

Another opportunity offered of the king's giving proof of his regard for us. An insurrection happening in Phrygia and Lydia, the king sent the following letter of instructions to his general Zeuxes, who commanded an army in the higher provinces of those countries.

Antiochus *the king*, *to* Zeuxes, *his friend and father*, *greeting*.

" Having learnt that seditions have arisen in Phrygia and Lydia, I am " to inform you, that, by the advice of my council and friends, it is " thought proper to transplant from Babylon and Mesopotamia, two thou- " sand Jewish families, with all their effects, into Phrygia, to do duty in " the garrisons; as I am convinced of their fidelity, both from the prin- " ciples of their religion, and the service they have rendered my predeces- " sors. Wherefore I order that you immediately remove them, promising " them the full enjoyment of their own laws and customs. When they " arrive you shall give them lands and inheritances, that they may build, " plant, and cultivate the ground, remitting them all taxes for the space " of ten years. And you shall allow them corn for the support of them- " selves and families, till their own industry shall supply them; by which " their zeal in our service will be secured. Lastly, you are to be careful " that these people remain unmolested."

After this, Antiochus perfected a bond of friendship with Ptolemy, by marrying his daughter Cleopatra. For a marriage-portion he received half of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria, which being let to hire to the principal people of the provinces, the rents were paid into the royal treasury.

The pride of the Samaritans now induced them to insult the Jews, of several of whom they made captives. This happened in the time of Onias the high-priest, who was so weak and covetous that he refused the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had constantly paid to the king. Ptolemy Euergetes, the father of Philopater, was so affronted at this conduct, that he sent an ambassador to Jerusalem to demand the payment, and threatened to fix a plantation there, and quarter an army on the country, in case of a refusal. The Jews were extremely terrified at this message; but Onias, whose ruling passion was the love of money, was determined to abide the consequence.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Onias's nephew Joſeph ſolicits his uncle's pardon of Ptolemy, and advances his own fortune. Hyrcanus, ſon of Joſeph, diſtinguiſhed. Joſeph's death.

JOSEPH, a young man, nephew of Onias the high-prieſt, was remarkable for his prudence and integrity. Being at Phichola, his mother ſent him notice of the above meſſage; on which he went to Onias, and reproached him with his diſregard to the welfare of the public, to whom he owed his promotion; ſaying that, at leaſt he ſhould go to the king, and endeavour to obtain a remittal of part of the tribute. This Onias abſolutely declined; on which Joſeph deſired to go in his place, which was granted. Joſeph therefore aſſembled the people in the temple, told them he would wait on the king, and hoped his uncle's remiſſneſs would have no ill conſequence. They thankfully left the buſineſs to him; on which he invited the king's commiſſioner to a ſplendid treat, which laſted ſeveral days; made him rich preſents, and told him he would follow him to his maſter. The commiſſioner returning into Ægypt, ſpoke of the ingratitude of Onias; but mentioned Joſeph (who would ſoon be there) in terms of ſuch high reſpect, that the king, and the queen Cleopatra, wiſhed to ſee him.

Joſeph now ſent to his friends in Samaria, to raiſe money to furniſh his equipage, which coſt near twenty thouſand drachmas, in cloaths, horſes, carriages, plate, &c. On his road to Alexandria, he fell in company with ſome of the princes and nobles of Syria and Phænicia, who were going to the king, to purchaſe his revenue, which was annually ſold to the beſt bidder. Theſe people ridiculed the appearance of Joſeph and his retinue; but he proceeded to Alexandria, where learning that the king was at Memphis, he went forward, and met him in his chariot, with the queen, and Athenion, the very commiſſioner whom Joſeph had treated at Jeruſalem. Athenion no ſooner ſaw him, than he told the king that was the young man of whom he had ſpoken ſo highly. On this Ptolemy took him into his carriage, and mentioned how ill he had been treated by Onias. Joſeph replied, "An old man is a ſecond time a child: impute nothing to Onias, "beyond what his age will excuſe: for us who have youth, and the power "of our faculties, we will give proof of our dutiful attachment." This ſpeech ſo pleaſed the king, that he gave orders that Joſeph ſhould be lodged in the palace, and treated him at his own table; a circumſtance that gave great diſguſt to the Syrians.

The day arriving when the branches of the revenue were to be ſold, the nobles abovementioned offered eight thouſand talents for the duties of Cœle-Syria, Phænicia, and Samaria; on which Joſeph bad double the ſum; which pleaſed the king, who aſked him what ſecurity he could give. Joſeph ſaid his ſecurities were undoubted; and the king bidding him name them, he replied he had no doubt but the king and queen would be mutually bound for his integrity. Hereupon the king truſted him with the receipt of the revenue,

revenue, without other ſecurity; a circumſtance that extremely mortified the intended purchaſers.

Thus commiſſioned, Joſeph ſolicited a guard of two thouſand ſoldiers, to aid him in levying the duties; which being granted, he borrowed five hundred talents in Alexandria, and proceeded towards Syria. On his arrival at Aſkalon, the people not only refuſed to pay the tribute, but inſulted him; whereupon he puniſhed twenty of the ringleaders, and raiſed a thouſand talents from their forfeited eſtates, which he ſent to the king, with an account of his proceedings. This ſo pleaſed the king that he left him wholly to his own conduct; and the reſt of the Syrians, ſtruck by the above example, paid their taxes without heſitation. The people of Scythopolis following thoſe of Aſkalon in refuſing to pay the tribute, Joſeph dealt with them as with the others, applying the forfeitures to the uſe of the king. In the courſe of buſineſs Joſeph procured many valuable preſents both to the king and his miniſters.

Twenty-two years Joſeph lived in proſperity, during which he had ſeven ſons by one wife, and one, named Hyrcanus, by the daughter of his brother Solymius, whom he married in conſequence of the following incident. Journeying to Alexandria with his brother, to find a Jew of rank proper to marry his daughter, Joſeph being at ſupper with the king, fell in love with a maid who was dancing to entertain his majeſty. He told the ſecret to his brother, wiſhing, that as he could not lawfully marry her, he would privately introduce them to each other. The brother promiſed, but put his daughter to bed; and Joſeph, having drank too freely, diſcovered not the deception. This deceit was repeatedly practiſed, till Joſeph, wholly enamoured, lamented to his brother the improbability of the king's permitting the match. Solymius bad him be at reſt; ſaid he might lawfully enjoy the woman as his wife, and revealed the whole ſecret: ſaying he permitted this affront to his daughter, rather than that his brother ſhould commit a heinous offence. Joſeph was all gratitude for this inſtance of friendſhip, and married the daughter, who was the mother of Hyrcanus. At thirteen years old Hyrcanus was ſuch a miracle of good ſenſe and benevolence, that he became the object of envy to all his elder brothers.

Joſeph, willing to make proof of the abilities of his children, placed all of them, except Hyrcanus, under experienced maſters; but they made no proficiency. He then ſent Hyrcanus a journey of ſeven days into the deſert, with three hundred pair of oxen, to plow and ſow; firſt privately taking away the lines that were to faſten the yoke to the plow. The youth, on his arrival, miſſing the lines, ſome huſbandmen adviſed him to ſend to his father for them; but, unwilling to loſe ſo much time, he gave orders for ten yoke of oxen to be killed, the fleſh of whichhe diſtributed among his workmen, and had the ſkins cut into thongs, with which he faſtened the oxen to the plows, did his buſineſs, and returned to his father. Joſeph was enraptured at this prudence of his ſon, and embraced him in token of his approbation of ſuch conduct: but the brothers hated Hyrcanus for his ſuperior abilities.

Soon

Soon after this, Joſeph heard that the queen was brought to bed of a ſon, and that the princes and great men of Syria were haſtening to court, to congratulate the king on the occaſion. Joſeph's age prevented his attendance; but he ſeverally aſked his ſons to go; one of whom ſaid he ſhould not chuſe to appear before the king; a ſecond was unacquainted with the ways of the court, &c. but they united in wiſhing Hyrcanus might be ſent. Hereupon Joſeph called him, and aſked how he would conduct himſelf if ſent on this buſineſs. Hyrcanus ſaid he ſhould think it an honour to be ſo employed, and would not put his father to much expence; hinting that ten thouſand drachmas would defray the charge. Joſeph pauſed, admiring this moderation, when the ſon ſaid, "I would not recommend the ſending from this "place any preſents to the king; but write to your agent at Alexandria to "furniſh me with the proper gifts." On conſideration, Joſeph thought that ten talents might make the neceſſary purchaſes; on which he gave his ſon letters of credit to Arion, who had then three thouſand talents in hand; Joſeph uſing to remit the collectings in Syria to him, to be tranſmitted to the royal treaſury. Hyrcanus immediately went to Arion with his letters, while his brothers ſecretly laboured to deſtroy him. Arion aſking what ſum would be ſufficient, Hyrcanus ſaid a thouſand talents. "What! (ſaid the former) "to be waſted in luxury; no, Sir, your father's fortune was made by in-"duſtry, and you would do well to follow his example: I will give you "only ten talents, and thoſe I will ſee expended in the preſents." He proceeded in this manner, till Hyrcanus had him committed to priſon. At this time Arion's wife, who was on good terms with the queen, carried the news to her miſtreſs, and the queen told it to the king, with reflections on the young man's conduct. Hereupon the king ſent a meſſage to Hyrcanus, wondering that he did not fulfill his father's commiſſion, and ſtill more that he had impriſoned the agent: ordering him to attend immediately, and clear himſelf of the charge alledged againſt him. Hyrcanus bad the meſſenger tell the king that, by the laws of the Jews, no man was to eat the fleſh of any ſacrifice, who had not himſelf firſt offered ſacrifice in the temple: that his caſe was ſimilar, and he could not wait on the king till he had provided the preſents which his father had provided as a teſtimony of his duty and gratitude: and that with regard to puniſhing a refractory ſervant, he thought himſelf juſtified; for the ill example of an inferior might at length reach the king himſelf: as where authority is deſpiſed, the precedent is dangerous. The king was charmed when he heard of this dignity of ſentiment in ſo young a man.

By this time Arion found he had no intereſt with the king; on which he compounded for his liberty by paying the thouſand talents to Hyrcanus, who immediately went to court, and was admitted to the royal table. Hyrcanus now privately bought of the merchants one hundred fine young men, and the ſame number of accompliſhed girls, at a talent each. Himſelf and other perſons of diſtinction, being invited to dine with the king, the maſter of the ceremonies, placed Hyrcanus at the bottom of the table, on the ſcore of his youth. The company agreed to lay their bones on Hyrcanus's plate,

and then induced Tryphon, the king's jeſter, to ridicule him; which he attempted, by bidding the king notice the circumſtance, and ſaying that ſo had Hyrcanus's father picked the bones of all Syria. The king ſmiling, aſked Hyrcanus how he came by ſo many bones. "Sir (ſaid he, looking on "the company,) dogs eat bones as well as meat; but men put the bones "aſide." This pleaſed the king, who praiſed him, and recommended him to general reſpect. On the following day Hyrcanus privately enquired of the ſervants, what their maſters intended to preſent the king on the birth of the prince: ſome ſaid twelve talents, and others more or leſs; while Hyrcanus pretended to be uneaſy that he could give only five talents. The ſervants told this to their maſters, thinking the youth would be diſgraced in the king's opinion, by the ſmallneſs of his preſent. On the following day, the higheſt gift was twenty talents, except that of Hyrcanus, who gave the hundred boys and girls, and with each a talent beſides. This gift aſtoniſhed the king and his friends; but excluſive thereof, Hyrcanus gave gratuities to the king's officers, to counteract the plots of his brothers, who had ſought his deſtruction. The conduct of Hyrcanus ſo ſtruck the king, that he promiſed to grant any favour he ſhould aſk; on which he requeſted only letters to his father and brothers. Hereupon the king diſmiſſed him honourably, made him princely preſents, and gave him the requeſted letters to his family.

When the brothers of Hyrcanus learnt how the king and queen had received him, and how much his reputation was advanced by this expedition, they combined to meet him without the town, and put him to death: nor was their father, (who was diſguſted at the expence of the preſents) wholly unapprized of this affair, though his fear of the king occaſioned his concealing it. In fact, the brothers met, and attacked Hyrcanus, whoſe attendants killed two of them, and wounded ſeveral of their followers, the reſt eſcaping to Jeruſalem. Hyrcanus proceeded thither; but finding no reſpect paid him, he went over the river Jordan, where he collected the royal duties from the Barbarians, for the reſt of his life. This happened when Seleucus, ſon of Antiochus the great, reigned over Aſia. About this period Joſeph, the father of Hyrcanus died, after having collected the public duties of Syria, Phœnicia and Samaria, for twenty-two years; and bearing the character of a courageous and pious man. Near the ſame period died Onias, the uncle, who was ſucceeded in the prieſthood by his ſon Simon, who likewiſe dying, was ſucceeded by his ſon Onias, who received, from Arius king of Lacedæmon, an ambaſſy, the contents of which will be ſeen in the following chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

A relationſhip to the Jews claimed by Arius, who writes to the high-prieſt Onias. A caſtle built by Hyrcanus, and called Tyre. Hyrcanus deſtroyed by his own hands.

ARIUS, *king of* Lacedæmon, *wiſhes health to* ONIAS.

"AN ancient manuſcript having fallen into our hands, proving the re-
" lationſhip between our families, and that we are deſcended from the
" line of Abraham, it appears equitable that all poſſible good offices ſhould
" be mutually done by perſons ſo nearly related. We therefore offer you
" every ſervice in our power; and ſhall henceforward deem your concerns
" as our own, and conſider our intereſts as the ſame. Our faithful ſervant
" Demoletes will deliver you this letter, which is written on one page in
" quarto, and ſealed with the figure of an Eagle, graſping in her talons a
" Dragon."

Joſeph being dead, there were violent diſputes between his ſons, the elder making war on the younger, and Simon the high-prieſt, with the majority of the people, taking part with the former. Hyrcanus remained beyond Jordan, engaged in perpetual war with the Arabians, of whom he killed, and carried into captivity, great numbers. In this country he built a wonderful caſtle, the walls of white ſtone, with figures of various animals curiouſly carved on them. A deep ditch or fiſh-pond was dug round the caſtle, and in a mountain oppoſite to it, paſſages were cut, in length ſeveral furlongs, but, for ſecurity ſake, only wide enough at the mouth for one man to enter. Within the caſtle were lodging, dining-rooms, and other places of entertainment, with ſtately buildings, courts, gardens and fountains. This place is on the borders of Arabia, and Judæa beyond Jordan, near the land of the Eſſebonites, and received the name of Tyre. During ſeven years, which Seleucus reigned in Syria, Hyrcanus held this government. Antiochus ſucceeded Seleucus; and about this time died Ptolemy king of Ægypt, who left two young ſons, named Philometor and Phyſcon. Antiochus being at this time very powerful, Hyrcanus dreading being called to anſwer for his ſeverities to the Arabians, deſtroyed himſelf; and his poſſeſſions were ſeized by Antiochus.

CHAP. VI.

Onias becomes high-prieſt; repairs to Antioch, and renounces his religion. Antiochus breaks into Ægypt, but is repulſed by the Romans.

THE high-prieſt Onias being dead; Antiochus Epiphanes promoted his brother Jeſus to the prieſthood, during the minority of his ſon: but the king being diſpleaſed with Jeſus, deprived him of the dignity, which he beſtowed on the younger brother Onias. Now Jeſus took the name of Jaſon, and Onias that of Menelaus. Hereupon the people were divided into

factions: Menelaus being ſupported by the ſons of Tobias, and Jaſon by the people in general, who proving too powerful, Menelaus and his party retired to Antioch, declaring they would renounce the Jewiſh worſhip, and follow that of the Greeks; requeſting permiſſion to open an academy at Jeruſalem for public exerciſes. This licence being obtained, they abandoned the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews, adhered to thoſe of other nations, and became perfect Greeks in appearance, even when naked.

Eaſe, and the comfortable ſettlement of his people at home, induced Antiochus to penetrate into Ægypt, encouraged hereto, partly by the weakneſs of the ſons of Ptolemy, and partly by ambition. Thus determined, he marched a large army to Peluſium, where he conquered Philometer. He then reduced Memphis and other places; and proceeded to Alexandria, in hope of conquering the king, and taking the place. But the Romans commanding him inſtantly to withdraw, he abandoned his conqueſts. Heretofore we have ſpoken only ſlightly of this king; but we now proceed to the particulars of his taking Jeruſalem.

CHAP. VII.

Antiochus takes Jeruſalem by treachery. The deſtruction of the City. The apoſtacy of numbers of Jews. The temple of Gerizim dedicated to Jupiter.

ON Antiochus's retreating from Ægypt, he proceeded immediately with his army to Jeruſalem; and having gained over a party in the town, the gates were thrown open to him. He hereupon plundered the city, put great numbers to the ſword, and repaired to Antioch with his treaſure. The barbarities of this outrage were ſuch, that even thoſe who opened the gates to the troops of Antiochus were not ſpared. The ſpoil of the temple was incredible: the holy veſſels, golden candleſticks, golden altar, table of ſhew-bread, curtains, ſilk and linen embroidery, and even the immenſe quantity of concealed treaſure were all carried away. The people were forbid to offer daily ſacrifices, the city was levelled with the ground, and moſt of the inhabitants, men, women and children, were either killed or made priſoners. The enemy built a tower in the city, commanding a view of the temple, which they fortified, and filled with Macedonians and apoſtate Jews. They built an altar in the temple, on which they ſacrificed hogs, in deriſion of the Jews; whom they utterly diſtreſſed, becauſe they would not renounce the true God. They likewiſe built temples and altars, on which they offered up ſwines-fleſh, in the other cities and towns. They laid penalties on the Jews for circumciſing their children, and kept people in pay to extort penalties, or to proſecute them: ſo that, in the end, moſt of the Jews ſubmitted to the king's commands: though ſome were found ſo courageous as to brave all dangers, rather than violate their laws and religion. Theſe were firſt ſeverely whipped, and then themſelves and wives crucified, thoſe of their children who had been circumciſed being hung about their necks. Orders were likewiſe given to deſtroy the holy ſcriptures: and that no perſon ſhould poſſeſs them on pain of death.

The

The Samaritans finding the wretched ſtate to which the Jews were reduced, now no longer claimed affinity to them, nor ſpoke of the temple of Gerizim as that of God. They now ſaid they were deſcended from the Medes and Perſians; and reſolved to renounce all connection with the wretched race of the Hebrews; which they did by the following petition to Antiochus.

The humble petition of the Sidonians, *inhabitants of* Sichem, *to the king* Antiochus Epiphanes, *the illuſtrious God; ſheweth,*

" That the predeceſſors of your petitioners having been grievouſly af-
" flicted in their own country, were induced, partly through their misfor-
" tunes, and partly through regard to an old ſuperſtition, to combine with
" the Jews in celebrating a feſtival they call the ſabbath; and in erecting a
" temple on mount Gerizim, on which to ſacrifice to an unknown God.
" Now whereas your majeſty hath ordered thoſe abandoned people to be pu-
" niſhed agreeable to their demerits; and the officers appointed, thinking
" us of the ſame race, have intended to involve us in the ſame puniſhment;
" we beg to ſay that our records prove our deſcent from the Sidonians.
" Wherefore be pleaſed to order our governor, Apollonius, and his de-
" puty Nicanor, that we are no farther moleſted on a preſumption of our
" adherence to the Jews, to whom, by deſcent and cuſtoms, we are
" eſtranged. And we petition that our temple, hitherto not named, be de-
" nominated the temple of Jupiter of Greece: that when we are ourſelves
" ſecure, we may attend our duty therein, and advance the revenue, and
" intereſt of your majeſty."

In anſwer to this the king diſpatched the following letter to Nicanor.

" The annexed letter, from the Sidonians of Sichem, having come to our
" hands, you are hereby acquainted, that on the intelligence of the bearers
" thereof, we and our council are of opinion, that the Sidonians are inno-
" cent of the crimes alledged againſt the Jews; but, on the contrary, fol-
" low the cuſtoms of the Greeks: wherefore our pleaſure is that they ſhall
" be no farther interrupted. With regard to the temple, we command
" that, henceforward, it be called the temple of Jupiter of Greece; and to
" this purpoſe we have written to Apollonius, our governor."

CHAP. VIII.

The meſſengers, who would compel a falſe worſhip, killed by Matthias and his ſons. The dying ſpeech and advice of Matthias.

AT this period, Matthias, a prieſt, lived at Modim, a village of Judæa. He had five ſons, named Joannan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Matthias would frequently lament to his ſons, the wretched ſtate of the Jews, whoſe city was laid waſte, and temple profaned; and he uſed to ſay how much more noble it would be to ſacrifice their lives in de-

fence of their country, religion, and laws, than to live in ſo baſe and ſervile a ſtate.

When the king's officers came to execute the royal orders, they applied to Matthias, as a man whoſe conduct might influence others, and commanded him to worſhip as directed. This he refuſed, ſaying, that if every other perſon ſubmitted, he would not, and would adviſe his ſons never to abandon their ancient religion. While Matthias was thus ſpeaking, a Jew came forward, to ſacrifice according to the new edict: which ſo enraged Matthias and his ſons, that they killed not only the Jew, but Apelles, the king's officer, with his guard, who were endeavouring to enforce the new worſhip. The altar was overturned in the conteſt: while Matthias exclaimed, "Follow me, you that regard your honor or religion!" Hereupon Matthias and his ſons retired to the wilderneſs, leaving their property behind them; and were ſoon followed by numbers of people, who reſided in caves a conſiderable time. News hereof being brought to the king's officers, they drew the troops from the caſtle of Jeruſalem, and advancing to the wilderneſs, adviſed the Jews to ſubmiſſion, to prevent the neceſſity of deſtroying them. To this the Jews turned a deaf ear; on which their opponents fixed on the ſabbath for deſtroying them, which they did by burning them in their caves, no reſiſtance being made; for ſuch was the reverence that the Jews had for the day, that, rather than profane it, they would periſh. About a thouſand men, women, and children were thus ſuffocated under ground: but numbers eſcaped, and united themſelves under Matthias. This venerable man now inſtructed them that, in caſe of neceſſity, they ought to defend themſelves on the ſabbath, as well as other times; or their enemies would always take the advantage, and attack them when no reſiſtance was to be dreaded. They were hereby convinced of the propriety of uſing arms on the ſabbath on urgent occaſions; and the practice has continued to this day. Matthias now drew together all the people who had diſperſed themſelves, and lurked about in dread of the enemy; and finding himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, deſtroyed the idol altars, put to the ſword ſuch apoſtates as could be found, ordered the circumciſion of children, and drove off ſuch of the king's officers as were appointed to reſtrain that practice.

At the end of a year from this period, Matthias finding that his death approached, ſummoned his ſons, and addreſſed them as follows: "My life "is drawing to the cloſe; but ere I leave you, I charge you to be firm in "the cauſe I have aſſerted. Remember my advice, and follow it. Main- "tain the laws and rights of your country, and, if poſſible, reſtore order to "a nation almoſt buried in confuſion: nor aſſociate with thoſe who have be- "trayed it. Diſgrace not your father; but, deſpiſing all dangers, riſk your "lives when your country demands them, aſſured that a reſtoration to your "former liberty will be the recompence that God will beſtow. It is true "that our bodies are mortal; but great actions immortalize our memories; "and to ſuch actions I would have you aſpire. I moſt earneſtly adviſe you "to concord with each other, and to conſider how the abilities of each may "beſt promote the intereſt of you all. For inſtance; Simon has a depth of judg-

" judgment; let him be your counſellor. Maccabæus is diſtinguiſhed by " his valour and military ſkill: appoint him your general. On the whole, " attend to what you have in view, and rely on the ſupport of all men of " honour and virtue."

CHAP. IX.

The death of Matthias. His ſon Judas ſucceeds to his command.

THIS dying ſpeech of Matthias to his ſons being concluded, with his prayers that God would ſucceed their attempts to relieve their countrymen from their oppreſſions; he departed this life, and was interred at Modim. He was buried in a decent and honourable manner; and ſoon after his interment, the adminiſtration of affairs was placed in the hands of his ſon Judas, otherwiſe called Maccabæus, in the one hundred and forty-ſixth year from Seleucus the firſt. The brothers of Judas gave him ſuch aid, that they ſoon drove the enemy from the country, deſtroyed the principal delinquents, and cleared the land from all defilements.

CHAP. X.

Judas encounters, and kills Apollonius, governor of Samaria. Seron killed by Judas in battle, and the army of the Aſſyrians defeated.

THE ſucceſſion of Judas to the command of the army being notified to Apollonius, governor of Samaria, he advanced againſt him: but Judas met and routed him, deſtroying great numbers of his people on the ſpot, killing Apollonius with his own hand, and carrying off his ſword. The ſpoil taken in the camp was very great.

Seron, governor of Cœle-Syria, being informed of this victory, and that re-inforcements were conſtantly coming to Judas, reſolved to give him battle; conſidering himſelf as bound to reduce thoſe whom he deemed rebels. Having joined a number of fugitive Jews with his own people, he marched and encamped at Bethoron, a village of Judæa. Judas prepared to defend himſelf; but finding his ſoldiers diſcouraged, addreſſed them as follows: " Brother ſoldiers; depend not on yourſelves, but on God for vic- " tory: confidence in him is ſuperior to that in multitudes of men. The " hiſtory of our anceſtors confirms this truth; who, with ſmall numbers, " have routed thouſands, in defence of their religion, freedom, laws, and " families. Truth muſt prevail, and innocence ſhall remain unconquered." Thus ſaying, he led his people to the battle, in which they fought moſt couragcouſly, killing Seron on the ſpot, and defeating the army of the Aſſyrians, who ſeeing their general fall, betook themſelves to flight; each man ſeeking his own ſafety. Judas purſued them to the plain, many eſcaping toward the ſea-ſide; but about eight hundred were ſlain in the field.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Lyſias commands the army of Antiochus. Judas Maccabæus defeats Lyſias. Judas proceeds to Jeruſalem, and purifies the temple. The Galileans demand his aſſiſtance.

THESE repeated misfortunes induced Antiochus to raiſe an extraordinary army of his own people, joined with Greek forces, with which he propoſed to invade Judæa in the ſpring; but his natural benevolence, ſuperadded to the late troubles, had cauſed ſuch a deficiency in the ſupplies, that he found the expence of war would be more than proportioned to the revenue. Hereupon he reſolved to go firſt to Perſia, to collect caſh; and, during his abſence, left the command of the country between Ægypt and Euphrates, with the care of ſome of his troops and elephants, to Lyſias, a man of tried integrity; to whom he alſo committed the care of his ſon Antiochus, till he ſhould return: and he determined that when he had reduced Judæa, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves, the whole country ſhould be deſtroyed. On iſſuing theſe orders, he paſſed the Euphrates, in the year one hundred and forty-ſeven.

In order to execute this commiſſion, Lyſias placed Ptolemy, ſon of Dorymenes, with Gorgias and Nicanor, at the head of forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, commanding them to march into Judæa. Having encamped on the plain of Emmaus, they were joined by numbers of Syrians, and thoſe of other countries, with vagabond Jews; likewiſe merchants, and traders, who brought fetters to ſecure their priſoners. Judas was provided with an army of force; but he bad them not truſt in their own ſtrength, but implore the protection of heaven, by wearing ſackcloth, by faſting and prayer. This being done, he divided his people into regiments, troops, and companies; having firſt diſmiſſed the men lately married, and ſuch as had made new purchaſes: and then he animated his people by the following ſpeech:

"Fellow ſoldiers; it is impoſſible that a ſuperior opportunity to the preſent can arrive, for defence of our country, or contempt of danger. Our liberty depends on the iſſue of tomorrow: our religion, too, is equally concerned, and they muſt ſtand or fall together. Conſider what you contend for: no leſs than the peaceable poſſeſſion of all your privileges. The queſtion now is, whether you will baſely periſh, and involve your countrymen in your own ruin; or make one noble effort for your preſervation. Death is equally certain to the coward as to the man of courage; but great is the difference in fame between him who falls a ſacrifice to his country's rights, and him who abandons them through fear of death. Reflect ſeriouſly on theſe things; and remember that you truſt in the providence of God to ſecond your valour; and that you are certain of obtaining glory while you contend for victory."

Judas had no ſooner finiſhed this ſpeech, than Gorgias, with five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, conducted by ſome apoſtate Jews, intended to

ſurprize him at night. Hereupon he thought of counteracting the enemy, by attempting the camp, when part of the troops had left it. To effect this he ordered ſeveral fires to be made in his own camp, and then marched in the night towards Emmaus, where the enemy was encamped. In the interim Gorgias finding the Jews camp deſerted, ſuppoſed he had little elſe to do than to diſcover and deſtroy them. At day-break Judas, with three thouſand men, arrived at the enemy's camp, and found them well provided: whereupon he told them that they might ſafely engage, even if unarmed; for the Providence of God was their ſpecial protection. Thus ſaying, he ordered the charge to be ſounded, broke in on them, and put numbers of them to the ſword, purſuing them to Gadara, while the reſt flew to the plains of Jamnia, Idumæa, and Azotus. About three thouſand were ſlain; but Judas would not permit his troops to touch the ſpoil, becauſe Gorgias was yet unconquered; but he ſaid, when his troops were conquered, they might ſeize the booty. He had ſcarce ſpoke theſe words when the ſoldiers of Gorgias, who were ſtationed on an adjacent hill, ſaw their camp ſmoking, and their friends dead, while the enemy were ſtill able to renew the attack; on which they diſperſed in confuſion. The victory being thus eaſily obtained, Judas permitted his people to pillage the field, in which they found gold, ſilver, ſcarlet and purple veſtments, and other valuable booty, which they carried off in triumph, ſinging and praiſing God for the victory.

This defeat ſo mortified Lyſias, that in the following year he entered Judæa with an army of ſixty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, and encamped at Bethſura. Judas, undiſmayed by ſuch numbers, advanced with only ten thouſand men, and having offered up a ſhort prayer for ſucceſs, attacked the enemy, forced their lines, and killed five hundred on the ſpot. The army of Lyſias was ſo ſtruck with this ſhock, that they determined to conquer or die: but the commander, marking this effort of deſpair, withdrew them to Antioch, where he obtained re-inforcements, in hope of greater ſucceſs on a future occaſion.

Animated by theſe ſucceſſes, Judas encouraged the Jews to rely on the continued protection of God, and to march to Jeruſalem, there to offer ſacrifices, and cleanſe the temple. Arriving there they found the gates burnt, the temple abandoned, and weeds overſpreading the courts; ſo that they wept at the deplorable ſituation of the place. Judas ordered his people to attack the citadel, while he took care of the cleanſing of the temple: which he furniſhed with utenſils, veſſels, a candleſtick, a table, and an altar of incenſe, all of pure gold. He likewiſe ſupplied new doors, and put up veils and hangings on the walls. The altar, which had been profaned by ſacrifices and burnt offerings to idols, was alſo removed; and a new one, of unhewn ſtone, (agreeable to the directions of Moſes) placed in its ſtead. Lighted tapers were placed in the candleſtick, incenſe offered on the altar, ſhew-bread placed on the table, and burnt offerings made, on the 25th of the month Caſleu, juſt three years after the temple had been profaned by Antiochus: and this ceremony of the purification was repeated on the ſame day in the one hundred and forty-eighth year of the Olympiad, agreeable to a prediction of the prophet Daniel.

Judas continued this feſtival eight days, with ſacrifices, rejoicing, and feaſting, while the air reſounded with notes of thankſgiving and praiſe, and the people were indulged in all reaſonable gratifications. The public joy was ſo great on this reſtoration of religion and law, that an anniverſary, of eight days celebration, was appointed to be held for ever; and which is ſtill called the "Feaſt of Lights;" which, I preſume, alludes to that light which Heaven on this occaſion peculiarly granted. In the interim, Judas cauſed the walls of the city to be repaired, and fortified with towers; he alſo ſtationed a garriſon at Bethſura, and effectually fortified the place.

The encreaſing power of the Jews inſpired the neighbouring nations to do them every poſſible injury; and many of them they deſtroyed by artifice, while Judas did his utmoſt to defeat their machinations. At this period he attacked Acrabatan, where he got great booty, after deſtroying the Edomites; blocking up the ſons of Baan (their commander), in fortified places, where they lay to attack the Jews: but theſe places were taken, and laid in aſhes, thoſe who protected them being deſtroyed. When Judas had routed theſe people, he attacked the Ammonites, commanded by Timotheus: conquered them, took the city of Jazar, ſet it on fire, made captives of the wives and children; and returned in triumph. As ſoon as he was gone the people aſſembled at Galaad, and attempted to ſurprize the Jews in that diſtrict; who taking refuge in the fortreſs of Dametha, informed Judas that Timotheus meant to attack them, and begged his aſſiſtance. At this inſtant meſſengers from Galilee brought complaint to Judas that a conſpiracy was formed againſt them by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon.

CHAP. XII.

Galilee relieved by Simon, brother of Judas. A victory obtained over the Ammonites by Judas and Jonathan. Judas tranſports the Jews near Galaad into Judæa. Judas takes Ephron by aſſault, and puts all the men to the ſword. Gorgias defeats Joſeph and Azarias.

SIMON, the brother of Judas, was now ſent, with three hundred ſelect men, to aſſiſt the Jews at Galilee, while himſelf and Jonathan, his other brother, marched with eight thouſand, to Galaad; the reſt of the army being left to the care of Joſeph and Azarias, with orders not to fight till he came back again. When Simon arrived at Galilee he attacked the enemy, and deſtroyed three thouſand, purſuing them to the gates of Ptolemais. Having ſtripped the vanquiſhed, they redeemed the priſoners with the ſpoils, and returned to Jeruſalem with them.

Judas and his brother Jonathan having marched three days into the wilderneſs beyond Jordan, the Nabathites received them amicably, and informed them of the diſtreſs of their countrymen confined in Galaad, adviſing them to haſten to relieve them, by the way of the deſert. During this expedition they reduced the town of Baraſa, burnt it, and put to the ſword all who were capable of bearing arms. Night now advanced; but Judas proceeded

to

to a caſtle, in which he had learnt ſome Jews were beſieged. Arriving there early in the morning, he found the enemy prepared to ſcale the place: on which he ſeperated his troops into three diviſions, and exhorted them to be valiant, in aid of their countrymen; whereupon, on the ſecond trumpet ſounding, the enemy was attacked in the rear. Timotheus finding that Judas was the commander, his men precipitately fled, being purſued by the Jews, who killed eight thouſand of them. During the purſuit Judas took the city of Mallam, which was deſtroyed by fire, all the male inhabitants being put to death. This fate likewiſe attended Caſphan, Boſor, and other places, of which conqueſt was made.

Timotheus aſſembling a large army, aided by a band of Arabians and other forces, paſſed the river, and encamped near Raphan, where he animated his troops to behave courageouſly, and prevent the Jews paſſing that river, on which, he ſaid, the iſſue of the war depended. Judas finding that Timotheus was prepared for battle, paſſed the river, attacked and routed him, his people ſeeking their ſafety in flight. Some of them repaired to the temple of Carnaim, in hope of protection: but Judas deſtroyed the town, put the inhabitants to the ſword, and cauſed the temple to be burnt.

He now collected the Iſraelites in Galaad, and carried them into Judæa, with their families and effects. As the city of Ephron was in his direct road, he aſked for permiſſion to paſs through it, but this being denied, he prepared his troops to attack it; and conquered it in one day and night, putting all the men to the ſword, reducing the place to aſhes, and marching his army over the bodies of the dead. Having paſſed the river Jordan, he proceeded through the plain of Bethſan to Judæa, the people offering ſacrifices, and ſinging ſongs and hymns of joy, in gratitude for their ſafety; for not a ſingle Jew was loſt in all this expedition.

Simon having marched into Galilee againſt the people of Ptolemais: Judas and his brother Jonathan being gone againſt thoſe of Galaad; Joſeph and Azarias, who had been left as a guard in Judæa, in the abſence of Simon, thought it diſgraceful not to diſtinguiſh themſelves: they therefore proceeded to Jamnia, where Gorgias the governor encountered them, killed two thouſand of them, and purſued their ſhattered forces to the confines of Judæa. This misfortune befell them, in conſequence of diſobeying their commander, whoſe orders were "not to fight till he came "back again."

In the interim Judas carried on a vigorous war againſt the Idomites; for beſides the deſtruction of Hebron, they demoliſhed Mariſſa, and plundered Azotus, returning to Jeruſalem in all the pride of conqueſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Antiochus lays ſiege to Elymais, but is driven to Babylon. He acknowledges the judgment of God, and departs this life.

ANTIOCHUS being at this period proceeding through his higher provinces, was informed of a rich city in Perſia, named Elymais, in which was a grand temple dedicated to Diana, containing ſumptuous preſents of all kinds, and, among the reſt, the ſhields and breaſt-plates of Alexander, ſon of Philip king of Macedon. This information ſo ſtruck Antiochus, that he proceeded with his army to aſſault the place: but the inhabitants reſiſted bravely, drove him off, and purſued his forces even to Babylon, deſtroying numbers of them in the purſuit. While he was lamenting this defeat, news arrived that his other troops, who had been deſtined to attack the Jews, were diſcomfited, and that the ſtrength of thoſe people encreaſed daily. Oppreſſed with theſe repeated misfortunes, he fell ſick; and finding himſelf near death, ſummoned his friends to attend him, and told them the cauſe of his diſorder. "My puniſhment (ſaid he) is but juſt, "for profaning the temple of the Jews, and deſpiſing the God of Heaven:" and having ſaid theſe words, he departed this life. I am aſtoniſhed at Polybius (otherwiſe a writer of credit) who aſcribes this judgment on Antiochus to his deſign of rifling the temple of Diana: whereas his ſacrilege on the temple of Jeruſalem was actually committed: and the imputation of his death to that act would have been therefore more reaſonable.

CHAP. XIV.

Antiochus Eupator ſucceeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the government. He is proclaimed king by Lyſias. Jeruſalem beſieged by Judas. Antiochus lays ſiege to Bethſura. The death of Eleazar. Judas returns to the ſiege of Jeruſalem. The temple is bravely defended.

ANTIOCHUS, on finding his death approaching, ſent for a confidential friend named Philip, to whom he committed the crown, royal robes, and ſignet, in truſt for his ſon Antiochus, then under age, adjuring him to ſuperintend the education of his ſon, and ſecure the crown till he ſhould be fit to govern. The death of Antiochus, which happened in the year one hundred and forty-nine, was no ſooner announced, than Lyſias proclaimed his ſon king, by the name of Eupator.

In the interim, the Macedonians, who, with ſome revolted Jews, were ſtationed in Jeruſalem, ſallied out to prevent the Jews worſhipping in the temple, which was eaſily done, as it was commanded by the caſtle. Hereupon Judas ordered machines and battering-engines to be prepared, to aſſault the place; but while this was doing, ſundry perſons deſerted to Antiochus, and repreſented their unhappy ſituation, in obeying his commands, by which they

they were likely to become captives to Judas, On this the young prince ordered his troops to be collected, and new levies to be raiſed, which ſoon produced an army of twenty thouſand horſe, one hundred foot, and thirty-two elephants. Thus provided, he marched from Antioch to Idumæa, and thence to Bethſura, a place fortified by art and nature. This place he aſſaulted in vain; for all his efforts were fruſtrated. In the interim Judas, hearing of his approach, raiſed the ſiege, marched to meet him, and pitched his tents about thirty furlongs from him, in the ſtreights of Bethzachariah. Antiochus leaving the Bethzarites, encamped near Judas, directing his army to march and arrange themſelves in order by day-light; but the narrowneſs of the place obliged them to go in defiles, one elephant preceeding a thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; the elephants having on their backs caſtles filled with archers; while the other troops aſcended the hills, under the command of officers of experienced valour. They made the attack from this heighth, with the loudeſt acclamations, ſo that the vallies re-echoed with the noiſe: but Judas received them undauntedly, and killed ſix hundred on the firſt attack. During the engagement Eleazar, brother of Judas, obſerving an elephant more gaily compariſoned than the reſt, and preſuming that the king rode this beaſt, forced himſelf through the guards, killed ſeveral of his opponents, got under the elephant's belly, and wounded him mortally; but was himſelf cruſhed to death by the weight of the beaſt in falling.

At length Judas, finding the number of the enemy too great for him, returned to the ſiege of Jeruſalem, while part of the army of Antiochus went to the ſame place, and the reſt to Bethſura. The number of troops, ſuperadded to the want of proviſions, ſo diſcouraged the people of Bethſura, that they agreed to deliver the place, on condition that no violence ſhould be offered to them. As far as preſerving their lives Antiochus kept his engagement, but drove the inhabitants naked from the town, and placed his own people in their ſtead. The temple, however, was obſtinately defended, every attack of the enemy being counter-worked: but the people were diſtreſſed for want of bread; for this happening when the ſtores of the laſt year were eaten, and in the ſeventh year, when the Jews, by their laws, could neither plow nor ſow, many of them abandoned the place in want of proviſions; ſo that very few were left to defend it.

At this time the king, and Lyſias his general, received information that the government was uſurped by Philip, who was marching out of Perſia towards them, at the head of his army: on which they reſolved to abandon the ſiege, and attack him; but to keep their intention ſo ſecret, that neither officers nor ſoldiers ſhould judge of their deſign. To effect which, the king bad Lyſias repreſent to them the ſtrength of the place, and how tedious a buſineſs it would be to take it: that corn grew ſcarce; that the king was wanted in another place, and the beſt way would be to yield the people the uſe of their religion and laws, which being all they contended for, the king might depart at his pleaſure. This propoſal was highly acceptable to the army.

CHAP. XV.

The Jews deliver up the temple on conditions. Onias deſtroyed by the king's order. Philip conquered in battle by Antiochus. The ſon of Onias retires to Ægypt, where he builds a temple ſimilar to that at Jeruſalem.

THIS plan being laid, Antiochus ſent a meſſenger to offer peace to the beſieged, with full liberty of conſcience and the enjoyment of their rights, which he bound himſelf by oath to protect; on which they delivered up the temple: but he immediately, contrary to his engagements, levelled the walls with the ground, and carried the high-prieſt Onias (otherwiſe Menelaus) with him to Antioch. This was done in conſequence of the advice of Lyſias, who ſaid that Onias muſt be deſtroyed if ever he wiſhed to live at eaſe, or ſee the Jews in peaceable ſubjection, for he had inſtigated his father to compel them to a religion contrary to their opinion. Hereupon Onias was ſent to Berrhœa in Syria, where he was ſlain, by the king's order, after being high-prieſt ten years. Onias was a bad man, who to ſecure himſelf in power, had cauſed the Jews to depart from their laws and worſhip. Alcimus, otherwiſe called Jacimus, was his ſucceſſor.

Philip having now aſſumed the government, Antiochus marched againſt, conquered, made him priſoner, and ordered his being put to death. The king having given the prieſt-hood to Alcimus, who was not of the ſacerdotal line, the young ſon of Onias departed to Ptolemy, king of Ægypt, and was received favourably by him and his queen Cleopatra, who gave him a port in Heliopolis, where he built a temple, modelled after that at Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XVI.

Tripolis ſeized by Demetrius. Antiochus and Lyſias put to death. Judas complained of to Demetrius, by Alcimus. An army ſent againſt Judas, and the prieſthood ſettled on Alcimus. He puts the friends of Judas to death, and then flies for ſupport to Demetrius.

ABOUT this time Demetrius, the ſon of Seleucus, having fled from Rome, ſeized Tripolis in Syria, aſſumed the crown, and invaded the country, the people of which readily ſubmitted, and delivered to him Antiochus and Lyſias as priſoners, whom he ordered to inſtant death. In the train of Demetrius were great numbers of profligate Jews, who had been baniſhed for various offences. Theſe were headed by Alcimus the high-prieſt, and bitterly enveighed againſt the Jews in general, but particularly againſt Judas and his brethren, whom they accuſed of deſtroying numbers of the king's friends, and driving the complainants out of the country: they therefore deſired Demetrius to ſend ſome perſon to Judæa, to witneſs what devaſtation Judas had been guilty of.

Hereupon

Hereupon Demetrius joined Bacchides, governor of Meſopotamia, in a commiſſion with Alcimus, and diſpatched them with an army, to attack Judas and his adherents. Bacchides marched from Antioch to Judæa, where he invited Judas to treat on terms of friendſhip; but his deſign was only to enſnare him. Judas reflecting that with ſuch an army he could not come as a friend, ſtood on his guard, and gave no credit to his profeſſions: but ſome of his people went over to the oppoſite party, preſuming that their countryman, Alcimus would not injure them; eſpecially as a ſolemn oath was ſworn that they ſhould be ſafe: but, in violation of this oath, Bacchides cauſed ſixty of them to be immediately ſlain; which perfidious act prevented any more from approaching him. This being done, Bacchides went to Bethſeth, where he cauſed ſeveral deſerters and other diſaffected people to be ſlain; and leaving part of his army to protect the province, he returned to Demetrius at Antioch, having firſt iſſued orders that Alcimus ſhould be obeyed in his abſence.

During this period the views of Alcimus were directed to ſecure himſelf in the office of high-prieſt; to effect which he endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with the people by fair words and obliging behaviour; by which he ſoon doubled the number of forces that had been left with him; but they conſiſted chiefly of renegades, deſtroying ſuch Jews as were friends to Judas, wherever they met them. Judas reflecting on this conduct of a ſet of abandoned wretches, had recourſe to the laws of retaliation againſt Alcimus, who finding himſelf unequal to the conteſt, retired haſtily to Demetrius, at Antioch, whom he irritated againſt Judas, ſetting forth the great miſchief he had already done, and the farther danger to be apprehended from him, unleſs an army was ſent to check his proceedings.

CHAP. XVII.

Nicanor ſent with an army againſt Judas, and endeavours by treachery to enveigle him. Nicanor's army conquered by Judas, and himſelf ſlain. Alcimus dies ſuddenly. The people chooſe Judas for his ſucceſſor. Judas forms an alliance with the Romans.

DEMETRIUS, uneaſy at the growing power of Judas, and fearful of its conſequences, gave the command of a large army to Nicanor, whom he commiſſioned to attack Judas, and afford no quarter to his troops. Nicanor proceeded on this commiſſion; but conſidering that his opponent might poſſibly be ruined by the arts of treachery, he ſent for Judas, to whom he ſaid, "Wherefore ſhould we riſk all on the uncertain chance of "war, when we may better adjuſt matters by negociation? I pledge my "moſt ſolemn oath for your ſecurity. Peace alone is my object; which "you may imagine by the number of friends I have brought with me, to "teſtify our maſters good-will and affection to all the Jewiſh race." This ſpeech had ſuch an effect, that Nicanor and his friends were received with frankneſs; on which Nicanor gave a hint to ſieze Judas: but the latter had the

the happineſs to diſcover the plot, and retreated in time to his own people. This detection of treachery put an end to all thought of treaty, and a battle was fought near Capharſalama, in which Judas was routed, and retired to the caſtle of Jeruſalem for refuge.

Nicanor happening to paſs near the temple, a number of prieſts and elders met him, and ſhewed him the ſacrifices they were going to offer for the happineſs of Demetrius. On this Nicanor profanely ſwore, that if Judas was not delivered up to him, he would ſoon return, deſtroy the temple, and leave it in utter ruin. The prieſts, in great dejection, prayed that God would protect his temple and its miniſters from the fury of the foe. Nicanor now left Jeruſalem and encamped at Bethoron, where a great force from Syria joined him. In the interim Judas pitched his tents at Adaſi, about thirty furlongs from the enemy, having only a thouſand men under his command. He encouraged his troops by ſaying, that though the number of the enemy was great, they fought in the cauſe of God, whoſe power could cruſh multitudes; and adviſed them rather to think on their own valour, than the numbers they were to encounter. "Attack them courage-"ouſly (ſaid he) and leave the reſt to heaven." A battle enſued, at firſt vigourous on both ſides; but Nicanor (after performing wonders of valour) being killed, and many of his forces, his people threw away their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. In the interim Judas purſued the fugitives, to whom he gave no quarter; proclaiming his victory by ſound of trumpet in all the cities and towns he paſſed through. This brought together the country people, who attacked the fugitives with ſuch fury, that not a man eſcaped of the whole army, which had conſiſted of nine thouſand. This happened on the thirteenth of the month Adar, in memory of which we to this day celebrate an annual thankſgiving. After this victory the Jews had ſome reſpite from war, and hope of future peace; but this was of ſhort continuance.

The high-prieſt, Alcimus, now gave orders for pulling down the old wall of the ſanctuary, and demoliſhing the whole works of the ancient prophets: but had no ſooner ſpoken than he dropped ſpeechleſs to the ground, languiſhed awhile, and then died, after having been high-prieſt four years. On his death, the people unanimouſly choſe Judas to ſucceed him. The new high-prieſt was diſpoſed to enter into a league with the Romans, from their fame in conquering the Gauls, Spaniards, Carthagenians, Grecians, &c. Hereupon he diſpatched his friends Eupolemus, the ſon of John, and Jaſon the ſon of Eleazar, as ambaſſadors to Rome, requeſting that they might be received as allies, and that Demetrius might be applied to, not to trouble the Jews any farther. This propoſal proved agreeable to the ſenate, who conſented to the league, cauſed this conſent to be engraved on tables of braſs, depoſited the original in the capital, and ſent a copy of it to Jeruſalem. The purport of the articles was, "That no people ſubject "to the Romans ſhould hereafter make war on the Jews, or ſupply their "enemies with money, ſhipping, corn, &c; and that the Jews ſhould be "held to the ſame terms, in caſe the Romans ſhould be attacked. That if "the Jews demanded any future alteration of their agreement, the conſent

of

" of the whole people ſhould be neceſſary to ratify it." Eupolemus the ſon of John; Jaſon, ſon of Eleazar; Judas, the high-prieſt, and Simon his brother, commander of the army, regiſtered this reſolution of the ſenate. This is the firſt alliance which the Jews and Romans made.

CHAP. XVIII.

Demetrius ſends Bacchides into Judæa with an army. Judas reſolves to encounter him with only eight hundred men. The magnanimity of Judas.

DEMETRIUS hearing of the death of Nicanor, and the defeat of the army, diſpatched Bacchides again into Judæa, with freſh troops. This general encamped at Arbela, a town of Galilee, where he forced many Jews from the caves to which they had retreated. Hence he repaired to Jeruſalem, where he learnt that Judas and his aſſociates were at Bethſeth, to which place he marched with 22,000 foot, and 2000 horſe; while Judas had only a thouſand men, two hundred of whom deſerted him. Thus diſtreſſed for men, and having no opportunity of recruiting his forces, yet Judas reſolved to hazard a battle, and encouraged his people to ſtand by him in all extremities. They repreſented to him how vain and impotent an attempt it would be, to engage againſt ſuch ſuperior numbers; and adviſed him rather to retreat with caution, and recruit his forces. To this Judas replied, " It ſhall never be ſaid of me that I turn my back to an enemy. If it " be the will of God that we now fall, let his will be done; but let us not, " by an ignominious death, deſtroy all the credit of a life of glory." His ſoldiers were ſo animated by this ſpeech that they reſolved to abide the conteſt.

CHAP. XIX.

The battle between Judas and Bacchides. The former is ſlain after behaving with the utmoſt magnanimity.

THE army of Bacchides was diſpoſed in the following manner. The front was compoſed of light armed men and archers, ſupported by a body of Macedonians, while there were two wings of horſe, the right wing being commanded by Bacchides. In this diſpoſition they advanced towards the enemy; ſounded a charge, gave a loud ſhout, and began the attack. The forces of Judas ſuſtained the ſhock bravely. The battle continued from morning till near ſun-ſet, when Judas ſeeing Bacchides with his right wing preſſing hard on his men, relieved them with a band of courageous youths, who broke their line, and purſued them as far as Aza. The left wing of the enemy now purſued Judas ſo cloſely, that, ſeeing no chance of eſcape, he and his adherents determined to ſell their lives dearly, and fought their enemies till they were overcome through mere fatigue. Judas being killed

in the battle, his troops fled; but his brothers, Simon, and Jonathan, having prevailed on the enemy to give them his body, carried it to Modim, where it was interred with great pomp, in the family sepulchre, and a public mourning of several days appointed in honour of his memory. Thus died Judas Maccabæus, a brave and benevolent man; who forgot not the injunction of his father Matthias, who commanded him to decline no danger in defence of his countrymen; in compliance with which injunction he obtained great honour while he was three years high-priest; and by relieving his friends from the hands of the Macedonians.

End of the Twelfth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XIII.

Containing the hiſtory of the tranſactions from the year of the World 3804 to 3898.

CHAP. I.

The malice of the apoſtate Jews. Judas ſucceeded by Jonathan, who, with Simon, retires to the wilderneſs, and they are purſued by Bacchides. John and his companions deſtroyed by the ſons of Amaræus. Jonathan aſſaulted by Bacchides on the ſabbath. Jonathan deſtroys two thouſand of the enemy, and retreats. Bacchides fortifies the citadel of Jeruſalem, and other places. Revenge taken for the death of John. Bacchides puts to death fifty Jewiſh deſerters. Jonathan and Simon fortify themſelves in Bethalaga.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Judas, the apoſtate Jews reſumed their antient enmity, and perſecuted their honeſt countrymen with more malice than before. A general famine now ſpread over the land: ſo that through diſtreſs for bread on one hand, and the difficulty of defending themſelves

themſelves againſt their enemies on the other, many of the Jews were in a manner compelled to adhere to the faction of the Macedonians. Bacchides now entruſted a principal ſhare of the government to the apoſtate Jews, who ſeized the former friends of Judas, and delivered them to Bacchides, who tortured them to death. The Jews were never ſo deplorably miſerable ſince the Babyloniſh captivity as at this period; ſo that the late adherents of Judas entreated Jonathan to follow his brother's example in riſking his life for the liberties of his country; and beſought him to aſſume the command; for without a leader they muſt be all loſt. Jonathan replied that he was ready to do or ſuffer any thing for the public welfare; on which he was elected general by common conſent.

Bacchides hearing of this election, and conſidering that Jonathan was not leſs likely to give trouble to the Macedonians than his brother Judas, concerted how he might deſtroy him: but himſelf and his brother Simon having intelligence of ſuch a deſign, collected what force he could, withdrew to a neighbouring deſert, and pitched their tents near the pool of Aſphar. Bacchides conſidering this retreat as a flight, marched his army after them, and encamped beyond Jordan. Jonathan being informed hereof, ſent his brother John to the Arabian Nabathites, requeſting permiſſion to leave his baggage with them, till he had fought Bacchides: but the ſons of Amaræus having notice of this embaſſy, ſallied from Medaba, took the baggage and carriages, and killed John and all his people: but this outrage was afterwards properly revenged.

Intelligence being given to Bacchides where Jonathan was encamped, he fixed on the ſabbath to attack him, preſuming that his people would not fight on that day, but Jonathan repreſenting, that as the enemy was before, and the river behind them, they had no chance of eſcape without fighting, they appealed to Heaven for the ſucceſs of their cauſe, and inſtantly attacked the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. In the interim Bacchides aſſailed Jonathan, and made a furious ſtroke at him, which he parried, and retreated with his people to the other ſide of the river, whither the enemy durſt not follow them. Bacchides, having loſt near two thouſand men retired to Jeruſalem, which he fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner, and kept in it as hoſtages the ſons of the principal men of the country. He likewiſe fortified Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharathon, Techoa, and Gazara; which places were ſupplied with garriſons, ready to make excurſions on the Jews.

About this time Jonathan and Simon received intelligence of a pompous wedding to be celebrated between one of the ſons of Amaræus, and the daughter of an Arabian of diſtinction. The wedding was to be attended by the ſons of Amaræus, and the bride to be eſcorted from the city of Gabatha in great ſplendor. This opportunity was ſeized to revenge the death of John; and the brothers, having placed an ambuſh in the mountains, hurried towards Medaba, to attack the people who were to attend the wedding. The bride and bridegroom, with four hundred friends, including wives and children, making their appearance, the party ruſhed out, deſtroyed them

all, and carried off the whole booty; after which they retreated to their former ſtation.

Bacchides, having left garriſons in Judæa, returned home, and the Jews remained in ſome ſort of peace for two years; a circumſtance that gave great diſturbance to the Apoſtates, who ſolicited Demetrius to deſtroy Jonathan and his people, which they ſaid might be effected by ſurprize in a ſingle night. This propoſition being acceeded to by the king, he ſent Bacchides on this buſineſs into Judæa, who, on his arrival, diſpatched letters to the king's officers and friends in the country, to aſſiſt in making Jonathan captive. Hereupon they contrived how they might get him into their hands; but Jonathan having been forewarned, acted cautiouſly, ſo that ſeveral repeated trials failed; which ſo exaſperated Bacchides, that he attributed the ill ſucceſs of the undertaking to the treachery of the apoſtate Jews who, he ſaid, triſled with the royal orders; and he put fifty of their principal men to death, in the firſt tranſports of his rage. At length Jonathan and his brother, finding Bacchides too powerful for them, retired into the wilderneſs, and raiſed walls round the village of Bethalaga, to ſerve them for a retreat on an emergency. Bacchides being informed hereof, marched towards them with all his forces, and being joined by a body of Jews, began the attack of Bethalaga, which he continued for ſeveral days; during which it was obſtinately defended. Matters being thus ſituated, Jonathan, having committed the defence of the place to his brother Simon, collected a number of forces in the neighbourhood, and marching privately in the night, attacked Bacchides in his encampment, killing great numbers of his people. Simon ſoon diſcovered that this havock was made by his brother; on which he ſallied forth, burnt the enemy's works, deſtroyed many of their forces, and returned to his entrenchments. This double attack, and the failure of an attempt in which he thought himſelf ſure of ſucceeding, almoſt diſtracted Bacchides; but he laid all the blame on the apoſtate Jews, who adviſed the king in this buſineſs. His only concern now was how to draw off his army without diſgrace either to himſelf or his ſovereign.

CHAP. II.

A league betwixt Jonathan and Bacchides, the latter of whom quits Judæa. Jonathan fixes on Machmas as the place of his reſidence.

BACCHIDES was now deliberating how to act; when Jonathan having received an intimation of what was paſſing in his mind, diſpatched a meſſenger to him, with propoſals for a league of mutual friendſhip, on the condition of an exchange of priſoners. Bacchides ſaw in this propoſal ſo fair an opportunity of his abandoning the ſiege without diſgrace, that he immediately acceeded thereto: on which the priſoners were exchanged on both ſides, and the reſpective commanders bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath that no farther hoſtilities ſhould be committed. This agreement being ratified, Bacchides returned to Antioch to the king, and never

again entered Judæa with his army. This ſtate of peace and ſafety was very acceptable to Jonathan, who retreated to Machmas, where he employed his time in the diſtribution of law and juſtice, and the other cares of government. He was zealous in aſſerting the laws, and clearing the country of falſe brethren, and falſe worſhip.

CHAP. III.

Alexander ſeizes Ptolemais in Syria. Demetrius, on news hereof, marches his army againſt him.

ALEXANDER, the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, aided by a confederacy of the ſoldiers in garriſon at Ptolemais in Syria, took poſſeſſion of that place in the year one hundred and ſixty. This confederacy aroſe from an averſion the ſoldiers had to Demetrius, whoſe pride and indolence were ſuch, that he immured himſelf in one of his fortified caſtles near Antioch, where he was excluded from all viſitors; and ſpent his time in the moſt indolent manner, wholly neglecting the cares of the government, a circumſtance that produced him many enemies: but on this news of Alexander having taken poſſeſſion of Ptolemais, he aſſembled his army and marched to give him battle.

CHAP. IV.

An alliance propoſed and ratified between Demetrius and Jonathan. The latter fortifies and repairs Jeruſalem. The Macedonians retire to Antioch. The Jewiſh deſerters remain at Jeruſalem.

ON the occaſion abovementioned, Demetrius diſpatched meſſengers with letters to Jonathan, propoſing a firm alliance between them. This was done to prevent Alexander being firſt in a propoſal of the kind, in reſentment of the inſults and injuries he formerly ſuſtained. Theſe letters intimated that Jonathan ſhould raiſe men, provide arms, and ſet at liberty thoſe hoſtages who had been committed priſoners to the caſtle by Bacchides. On receipt of the diſpatches Jonathan repaired to Jeruſalem, where he read them publicly to the ſoldiers and the people. The fugitives and profligates in the citadel were ſurprized at this ſudden return of Jonathan to favour: but he proceeded to make his levies, and gave liberty to the hoſtages, with orders for them to return in ſafety to their friends. Jonathan now took up his reſidence at Jeruſalem, which he altered, repaired and fortified, erecting for its defence ſtrong walls compoſed of ſtones of a prodigious ſize. On this alteration of Jeruſalem, thoſe Macedonians who had been ſtationed in different garriſons through the country, retired to Antioch: while the Jewiſh deſerters, and others, who were at Bethſura, and in the tower of Jeruſalem, remained in their preſent ſituation, not thinking it ſafe for them to retreat.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Jonathan advanced to the office of high-prieſt by Alexander. A battle betwixt Alexander and Demetrius. The unfortunate death of the latter.

THE character of Jonathan, his valour and courageous actions againſt the Macedonians, and the inſults that had been offered him both by Demetrius and Bacchides, were not unknown to Alexander; who having been informed of the late offers and pretenſions of Demetrius, aſſembled his friends, and repreſented to them that nothing could be more prudent than an alliance with Jonathan. The council being of the ſame opinion, Alexander immediately diſpatched an ambaſſy with a letter to the following purport:

"Alexander *the king, to* Jonathan *his brother, greeting.*

"Having long ſince been informed of thy character for honour, faith "and courage, and deeming thee every way worthy our beſt regards, we "have diſpatched ambaſſadors to offer thee our friendſhip and alliance, and "have commiſſioned them to treat of the ſame: and by theſe preſents, and "our royal authority, we conſtitute and ordain thee high-prieſt of the Jews, "and rank thee in the number of the king's friends; and we likewiſe pre-"ſent thee with a crown of gold and a purple robe: entertaining no doubt "of a proper return being made by thee for this inſtance of our regard and "eſteem."

On the arrival of this ambaſſy, which happened on the day of the feaſt of tabernacles, Jonathan put on the robe of the high-prieſt; preciſely at the end of four years from the death of his brother Judas, during which time the office had been vacant: and from henceforward Jonathan was diligent to encreaſe his troops, and provide more arms. By this time Demetrius found he had been deficient in not ſeeking an earlier alliance with Jonathan: but on hearing of the above letter ſent by Alexander, he attempted what might be done by the following:

"Demetrius *the king, to* Jonathan, *and the Jewiſh people, greeting.*

"Having evermore found you true and loyal, and faithful in our ſervice, "notwithſtanding every attempt of our enemies to ſeduce you from your "fidelity; we think it becomes us to give you ſome proof of our eſteem for "your paſt ſervices, and of our royal encouragement for your perſeverance in "the ſame line of conduct for the future. Wherefore it is our pleaſure that "your tributes be remitted; and we hereby remit all the taxes formerly "paid to our predeceſſors or ourſelves; excluſive of the ſalt and crown "taxes, the thirds of your corn and fruits; and theſe duties we give up for

" all future time, as well as the poll-tax on the inhabitants of Judæa, and " the three governments of Galilee, Samaria, and Peræa. It is our plea- " ſure that Jeruſalem and it's dependencies be exempted from all tenths and " tributes, be deemed holy, and have the privileges of a ſanctuary. Let " the citadel be delivered to Jonathan the high-prieſt, with permiſſion to " place in it a garriſon of ſuch of his friends as he may think proper. We " farther command that, immediately on receipt hereof, liberty be given " to all Jewiſh priſoners in every part of our dominions, without any fees " impoſed, even on their cattle: that their ſabbaths and ſolemn feſtivals, " and three days preceeding each, ſhall be deemed days of freedom to the " Jews throughout our dominions, that they may live at peace and unmo- " leſted. That thirty thouſand Jews, if ſo many ſhall be willing, may bear " arms in our ſervice, and receive the ſame pay as our own troops: that they " be entruſted in garriſons, and near our perſon: and that our royal family " receive the better ſort of them as domeſtics. In Jeruſalem, and the three " dependent provinces, the Jews ſhall freely exerciſe their own laws; but " the high-prieſt muſt take care that the temple of Jeruſalem be the only one " in which the Jews worſhip. Fifteen thouſand ſhekels of ſilver we alſo " grant annually, towards the expence of their ſacrifices; and we remit the " ten thouſand drachmas formerly paid to our predeceſſors, by the prieſts and " officers attending the ſervice of the temple. We farther order that all " debtors repairing to the temple of Jeruſalem, or the liberties thereof, on " account of debt, ſhall remain unmoleſted, both in perſon and property. " We alſo permit and require that the temple be repaired; that ſtrong forti- " fications be made round it; and that ſuch ſtrong places as the Jews chooſe " to fortify ſhall have garriſons ſtationed in them: and all this ſhall be done " at our own expence."

At this period Alexander aſſembled a large army, partly compoſed of ſuch as had gone over to him from Demetrius, in Syria, and partly of his own troops, with which he advanced to attack the enemy. Soon after the battle commenced, the right wing of Alexander's forces was preſſed hard by the left of Demetrius, who puſhed their advantage even to the plundering of the camp: but Alexander's troops forced the oppoſite column, where Demetrius fought in perſon, till it was totally routed. Demetrius acted wonders, killing, and purſuing his enemies, and defending himſelf; till at length his horſe plunged into a bog, and being oppreſſed by multitudes, he was obliged to yield, which, however, he diſdained for ſome time to do, fighting on foot till his body was covered with darts and arrows. Thus died Demetrius, at the end of a reign of eleven years.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

A propoſal of Onias to build a temple in Ægypt, ſimilar to that of Jeruſalem. A diſpute between the Jews and Samaritans, whether the temple at Gerizim or Jeruſalem be the true one. The matter referred to the king, on agreement that the miſtaken party ſuffer death. The king declares in favour of Jeruſalem.

AT this time Onias, the ſon of Onias the high-prieſt, dwelt in a kind of exile with Ptolemy Philometer at Alexandria. This Onias, conſidering how Judæa had been ravaged by the Macedonians, and with a view to acquire fame to himſelf, determined to try to obtain permiſſion of Ptolemy, and his queen Cleopatra, to build a temple in Ægypt ſimilar to that at Jeruſalem, in which he propoſed that prieſts and levites of his own family ſhould officiate. He was inſpired with this idea by a prediction of the prophet Iſaiah, of ſix hundred years ſtanding, intimating that in future ages a Jew ſhould erect a temple in Ægypt to the glory of God. This propheey took ſuch poſſeſſion of the mind of Onias, that he wrote the following letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

" When I had the happineſs of ſerving your majeſties in the field, I ob-
" ſerved in my paſſage through Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Leontopolis, in the
" land of Heliopolis, and other places, that the Jews could not agree about
" their temples, in which there is no uniformity. This happens likewiſe
" among the Ægyptians, through diverſity of religions, and number and
" variety of temples. Now whereas, near the caſtle of Bubaſtes on the
" plain, I have found a place where materials for building are plenty, and
" there are numbers of beaſts proper for ſacrifice, my humble petition is,
" that I may be permitted to deſtroy a ruinous temple on that ſpot, which
" was never conſecrated to any god; and build in its place one after the
" model of that at Jeruſalem; covenanting that prayers be therein offered
" for your majeſties and your royal houſe. Thus will the Jews through-
" out your dominions be more united, and more capable of rendering you
" ſervice. The prophet Iſaiah foretold that this ſhould happen, and that
" God would have a place in Ægypt dedicated to his ſervice."

The following anſwer to this letter, by which the king and queen diſclaim all violation of the law, is ſomewhat remarkable.

Ptolemy *the king, and* Cleopatra *the queen, to* Onias, *health and joy.*

" Having taken into conſideration your letter, in which you deſire per-
" miſſion to deſtroy an old temple and erect another, at Leontopolis, near
" Bubaſtes on the plain, in the land of Heliopolis: we can ſcarcely imagine
" how a temple ſhould be acceptable to God, built in ſo unclean a place,
" frequented by ſuch a number of noxious animals. Nevertheleſs, as you
" appeal to a propheey of Iſaiah, as an encouragement to your proceeding,

" we grant you ſuch permiſſion as is in our power, provided the laws of God " be not violated by your proceeding."

This grant being made, Onias began immediately to build the temple, and raiſe the altar, on the plan of that at Jeruſalem, though the dimenſions were much leſs. When the building was finiſhed, Onias found a number of prieſts and levites of his own ſentiments, to perform the ſeveral parts of divine worſhip.

About this period a moſt violent diſpute happened at Alexandria, between the Jews and Samaritans, the latter of whom had built a temple at Gerizim, in the time of Alexander the Great. This diſpute, which regarded the temple, and the mode of worſhipping, ſtood as follows: the Jews inſiſted that there was no temple authorized by the laws of Moſes, but that at Jeruſalem; while the Samaritans were equally ſanguine for the temple of Gerizim. Both parties agreed to refer the diſpute to the deciſion of the king and his miniſters, with allowance that counſel might be heard on each ſide, and that the party in the wrong ſhould ſuffer death. Andronicus, the ſon of Meſſalan, was appointed to plead for the Jews, and Sabbæus and Theodoſius, for the Samaritans. Both parties were bound on oath before God and the king, to offer nothing contrary to law. The Jews of Alexandria were uneaſy for their advocate, and grieved to think that any doubt ſhould be made of the ſacred authority of the temple of Jeruſalem, the nobleſt ſtructure in the univerſe. The king having ſummoned his counſellors to try the iſſue, a debate aroſe who ſhould ſpeak firſt; when Sabbæus and Theodoſius yielding that point to Andronicus, he began by ſtating the antiquity and ſanctity of the temple at Jeruſalem; proved the legality of its original foundation; diſplayed the regular order of the prieſthood through a ſucceſſion of ages; adverted to the ſplendor and dignity of the place, as it had been at all times celebrated; and ſpoke of the magnificent bounty of the kings of Aſia towards it; whereas the temple of Gerizim had been little more noticed than if no ſuch place had ever been built. Theſe pleadings determined the king in favour of the temple of Jeruſalem, and he accordingly gave ſentence of death againſt Sabbæus and Theodoſius.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander marries Cleopatra, daughter to the king of Ægypt. Great honour done to Jonathan the high-prieſt.

DEMETRIUS being dead (as hath been heretofore mentioned) Alexander aſſumed the government of Syria; ſoon after which he wrote a letter to Ptolemy Philometer, propoſing a match between himſelf and his daughter, and intimating that there would be no diſgrace in an alliance, after the conqueſt of Demetrius, and the recovery of a kingdom which was his own in right of his father. This propoſal was highly ſatisfactory to Ptolemy, who ſent a letter to Demetrius, congratulating him on his late ſucceſs, and promiſing to beſtow his daughter on him in marriage. He farther promiſed to meet him at Ptolemais, with his daughter, where the wedding

wedding ſhould be celebrated. Soon after writing this letter, Ptolemy took his daughter to the appointed place, where Alexander attending, the parties were married, and he received as a wedding portion, a ſum becoming the dignity of the father. Alexander invited the high-prieſt Jonathan to the wedding, where both the monarchs received him in a diſtinguiſhed manner, and made him large preſents; Alexander particularly directing him to wear a purple robe on the occaſion, and take a ſeat next himſelf on the throne; and giving orders to his principal officers to attend him into the city, and proclaim that no man ſhould inſult, abuſe, or otherwiſe ill treat him, on pain of abiding the conſequences. Some enemies of Jonathan had come to the place, with a view to defame him; but on this gracious declaration they abſconded, in apprehenſion of the ill conſequences that might ariſe to themſelves.

CHAP. VIII.

An army conducted into Cilicia by Demetrius Nicanor. Apollonius made general by Alexander. Jonathan the high-prieſt routs Apollonius, whom he purſues to Azotus, and fires the temple of Dagon. Alexander compliments Jonathan on his victory. Ptolemy marches to join Alexander. He and Ammonius contrive the death of Ptolemy, who thereon takes his daughter from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius. Alexander defeated by Ptolemy and Demetrius. Alexander's head cut off, and preſented to Ptolemy. The citadel of Jeruſalem beſieged by Jonathan, who makes preſents to Demetrius. The army of the latter diſcharged, and their affections loſt.

DEMETRIUS the younger, being ſupplied with a body of troops that Laſthenes had hired, embarked and ſailed with them from Crete into Cilicia, in the year 165. This alarmed Alexander, who inſtantly marched from Phœnicia to Antioch, to ſecure his affairs before the arrival of Demetrius; but Alexander leaving the care of Cœle-Syria to Apollonius, he marched an army into Jamnia, where he ſent a challenge to the high-prieſt, Jonathan, accuſing him for living at eaſe, and withdrawing himſelf from the public ſervice: defying him to meet him with his ſword in the open field, and putting the iſſue on their ſingle conteſt: boaſting, likewiſe, that he was at the head of a number of the braveſt men in the empire, whoſe valour had frequently made the anceſtors of Jonathan yield.

On this defiance, Jonathan, with his brother Simon, and ten thouſand ſelect men, marched from Jeruſalem, and encamped at Joppa, the gates of which were ſhut by a garriſon of Apollonius, which ſoon ſurrendered, on Jonathan's preparing to attack the place. Apollonius hearing that Jonathan was in poſſeſſion of Joppa, marched, and encamped in the fields near that place. Hereupon Jonathan advanced, and purſued him towards Azotus; but when Apollonius found him on a particular ſpot, he faced about to engage, having firſt planted a thouſand horſe to attack Jonathan in the rear: but he being aware of this diſpoſition, formed his men in a ſquare figure, to fight every way. Jonathan ordered his brother Simon to charge the body of the

the enemy, while his own men ſhould only receive the darts and arrows which fell on their bucklers. In this ſituation they ſtood ſo cloſe that nothing could penetrate them; and when the enemy was fatigued by this fruitleſs mode of attack, the troops of Simon broke in, and put the main body to flight. Jonathan purſued them to Azotus, killed numbers of the fugitives, and drove the reſt into the temple of Dagon, which he burnt to the ground: nor did he ſtop here; for he ſet fire to the city, and to ſeveral adjacent villages. It was reckoned that about eight thouſand men were either ſlain or burnt. Jonathan having defeated this army, advanced to Aſkalon, and encamped near that city, the inhabitants of which brought him preſents, as a teſtimony of their eſteem, which he gratefully received, and then went back in triumph to Jeruſalem, laden with ſpoils. Alexander pretended to be greatly pleaſed with this defeat of Apollonius, who, he ſaid, had undertaken the expedition againſt a friend and ally without his conſent; and in token of his approbation of Jonathan's conduct, he made him governor of Accaron, and preſented him with a golden buckle, a gift heretofore peculiar to the royal family.

About this period Ptolemy Philometer arrived in Syria, with land and ſea-forces, to aſſiſt Alexander, his ſon-in-law. Agreeable to the king's order, he was received with univerſal reſpect, except at Azotus, where the people complained of the burning of the temple of Dagon, and reviled Jonathan, who had ravaged the country with fire and ſword. Jonathan met Ptolemy at Joppa, conducted him to the river Eleutherus, and then returned to Jeruſalem, having been received with great marks of diſtinction.

Ptolemy arriving at the city of Ptolemais, had nearly fallen a ſacrifice to the treachery of Alexander, on a plan concerted by Ammonius. The plot being diſcovered, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and demanded juſtice on the delinquent: but Alexander refuſed to deliver him, confeſſing that himſelf had a ſhare in the plot: on which Ptolemy conceived a mortal hatred to him. Ammonius afterwards loſt his life while he was ſeeking his ſafety in the diſguiſe of a woman's dreſs.

The abovementioned conduct of Alexander ſo diſguſted Ptolemy, that he took his daughter from him, and engaged in a league with Demetrius, on condition of being reſtored to his father's kingdom, and receiving the hand of Cleopatra in marriage. Demetrius was equally pleaſed with the wife, and the propoſed terms; but Ptolemy had no eaſy matter to procure the conſent of the people, to receive, as a king, the man whom they deemed an enemy: but their hatred to Alexander was ſo great that they complied. Hereupon Ptolemy entered into Antioch, where the citizens and ſoldiers proclaimed him king of Aſia and Ægypt. He was a man of honour, diſcretion and temperance, and ſo conducted his affairs as to afford ſatisfaction to his own people without giving diſguſt to the Romans. Having ſummoned a council of the people of Antioch, he adviſed them to receive Demetrius as king; hoped that all paſt enmity would be forgotten, on a ſenſe of the preſent obligation; ſaid that he would himſelf be bound for his faithful execution of the truſt repoſed, and that he would content himſelf with

the government of Ægypt only. Theſe arguments procured the regal government to Demetrius, by conſent of the people.

A vaſt army brought out of Cilicia, under the command of Alexander, was now ravaging Syria, and the country round Antioch, with fire and ſword. Hereupon Ptolemy and Demetrius attacked, routed him, and compelled him to fly to Arabia. During this battle, Ptolemy's horſe, being frightened by the braying of an elephant, threw him, and his enemies wounded him in many parts of the head, ſo that he muſt have died on the ſpot, but was reſcued by ſome of his guards. He lay ſpeechleſs four days; but on the fifth he began to recover, when the head of Alexander, which had been cut off by Zebelus, an Arabian prince, was preſented to him; but he died ſoon after he had pleaſed himſelf with the ſight. The abovementioned Alexander reigned five years, and was ſucceeded by Demetrius, who appears to have been of a cruel diſpoſition, from his treatment of Ptolemy's ſoldiers, to whom he owed obligations on his marriage with Cleopatra. This conduct ſo diſguſted the ſoldiers, that they left their elephants behind them, and went to Alexandria.

At this period, the high-prieſt Jonathan, having collected what forces he could in Judæa, laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, to expel the garriſon of Macedonians, and drive out the Jews who had taken ſanctuary. The people in the place at firſt defied Jonathan; but ſoon ſent out ſcouts to demand ſuccour of Demetrius, who inſtantly marched from Antioch, and arriving at Ptolemais, ſent to Jonathan to attend him: On this the latter took preſents of gold and ſilver, fine robes, and other valuable effects, which he gave to Demetrius, being attended by the prieſts and elders: but during this time the ſiege went forward as before. The king, equally gratified by the preſents, and the behaviour of thoſe who offered them, confirmed Jonathan in his office of high-prieſt; and was ſo far from paying regard to the calumnious inſinuations of the apoſtate Jews, that upon Jonathan's requeſting an abatement of three hundred talents for the tribute of Judæa, with the dependent provinces of Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee, he ſent away the following diſpatches:

Demetrius *the king, greets his brother* Jonathan, *and the reſt of the* Jewiſh *nation.*

" You are hereby to underſtand that we have lately written a letter to our " truſty, and well-beloved couſin Laſthenes, a copy of which is herewith " tranſmitted."

Demetrius *the king, to his father* Laſthenes, *greeting.*

" Such is the ſenſe we entertain of the return that our friends, the Jews, " have from time to time made to our good-will, that we are reſolved to " give them ſome diſtinguiſhing teſtimony of our eſteem. Wherefore we " hereby command that the governments of Aphereima, Lydda, and Ra- " matha, with all the lands dependant on them, which were taken from the " Samaritans, be aſſigned to the uſe of Judæa: and we exempt the prieſts

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" at Jeruſalem from all taxes heretofore paid to our anceſtors, as well thoſe " called crown taxes, and on ſalt-pits, as thoſe on corn and fruit: and we " command that, for the future, nothing of the kind be demanded. Take " care that a copy of this letter be ſent to Jonathan, and let it be hung up in " a diſtinguiſhed part of the holy temple."

All things being now in a peaceable train, Demetrius diſmiſſed his army without giving them their full pay; and retained only a number of mercenary troops, which had been collected in Crete, and other adjacent iſlands. This diſcharge of the troops, without gratuity, alienated the affections of his people; for his anceſtors had been accuſtomed to keep them in pay, in peace as well as in war.

CHAP. IX.

Tryphon treats with Malchus, for the advancement of Antiochus to the throne. The citadel beſieged by Jonathan, who re inforces the army of Demetrius. The ingratitude of the latter. Antiochus crowned by Tryphon. Demetrius defeated. The people of Gaza ſurrender on conditions. Demetrius encamps before Cedaſa. Jonathan's troops deſert him; but are rallied, and obtain the victory. Jonathan's ambaſſy to Rome and Lacedæmon. Account of the Phariſees, Sadducees, and Eſſenes. Aſkalon and Joppa guarded by Simon. The city and temple fortified. Arſaces deſtroys the army of Demetrius, and makes him captive.

THE uneaſineſs which prevailed among the troops of Demetrius, being remarked by Tryphon, a native of Apamia, and heretofore one of Alexander's officers, he applied to Malchus, tutor to Antiochus, ſon of Alexander, repreſenting the diſpoſition of Demetrius's troops, and offering to reſtore Antiochus to the throne of his father. Malchus heſitated: but was at length induced to comply, and committed Antiochus to the care of Tryphon.

During this period, Jonathan was beſieging the city of Jeruſalem; he reſolved to expel the fugitive Jews from the garriſon, as well as from other fortreſſes in the country. On this occaſion he ſent meſſengers with farther preſents to Demetrius, requeſting him to withdraw his men from the fortreſſes. Demetrius anſwered, that he was willing to oblige him in that, and more important concerns, as ſoon as the war ſhould be ended; and entreated him, by the rights of friendſhip, to ſend him a ſupply of forces, as his own people had fled to the enemy. Jonathan ſent him three thouſand men, in conſequence of this requeſt.

Demetrius, both on his father's account, and his own, was now become extremely obnoxious to the people of Antioch: inſomuch, that, on hearing of the aid from Jonathan, they aſſembled in arms, and ſurrounded the palace, as if with a view to attack it: but their intention was to ſeize him on his coming out. Hereupon Demetrius drew up his hired troops, and thoſe ſent by Jonathan, and attacked the aſſailants; but ſuperior numbers obliged them to retreat into the palace, from the battlements of which they threw darts

darts and arrows at the enemy, which obliged them to take ſhelter in different houſes. The Jews now fired the city, the houſes of which ſtanding cloſe, and the buildings being chiefly of wood, burnt with great fury. The inhabitants fled from houſe to houſe, the Jews purſuing and deſtroying them. Their whole care now was to ſave their wives and children: but ſtill the Jews, taking advantage of the confuſion, in obedience to the king's order, killed great numbers, and obliged the reſt to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion. Thus ended the battle; Demetrius pardoned the rebels, and gave the ſpoils to the Jews, whom he ſent back to Jonathan, with acknowledgements that the victory was owing to their valour: but he did not long continue in this diſpoſition; but threatened to attack Jonathan, if the ſame tribute which the Jews had formerly paid to his anceſtors, were not paid to himſelf. This threat would have been made good, but that Tryphon arriving with young Antiochus, placed the crown on his head, and being aſſiſted by the ſoldiers whom Demetrius had defrauded of their pay, attacked the latter, conquered him in a ſea-engagement, ſeized on his elephants, made capture of the city of Antioch, and compelled him to retreat to Cilicia for ſafety.

Antiochus now ſent an expreſs to Jonathan, confirming to him the office of high-prieſt, putting him in poſſeſſion of the four governments annexed to Judæa, and giving the command of his forces, from Tyre to Sidon, to his brother Simon. He likewiſe enrolled him in the liſt of his friends, and ſent him ſeveral drinking-cups of gold, with a gold buckle, purple robes, &c. commiſſioning him to wear theſe badges of dignity. Theſe marks of diſtinction ſo ſtruck Jonathan, that he ſent a joint meſſage to Antiochus and Tryphon, offering to unite with them againſt Demetrius as a common enemy.

Jonathan being commiſſioned to raiſe forces, attempted it in Syria, Phœnicia, and the towns and cities adjacent; but though he was received with reſpect, he got no troops. Hence he went to Aſkalon, where he was received in form, and had preſents made him: here he repreſented to the people that it was their intereſt to aſſiſt Antiochus againſt Demetrius: and they promiſed to take arms. Proceeding to Gaza, on the ſame deſign, the gates were ſhut againſt him, and the people reſolved to adhere to Demetrius. Hereupon Jonathan divided his army, aſſaulting the town with one part, while the country was burnt and laid waſte by the other. The inhabitants neither finding relief, nor having hope of any from Demetrius, and ſeeing no proſpect but of deſtruction before them, ſent deputies to make ſubmiſſion to Jonathan, who received them in the moſt friendly manner; accepted their propoſals, and ſent their hoſtages to Jeruſalem, while he proceeded towards Damaſcus.

In the interim Demetrius had a large army encamped near Cedaſa, bordering on Tyre and Galilee, with a view to entice Jonathan out of his way: but he continued his rout, leaving the care of Judæa to his brother Simon; who, aſſembling what force he could, marched and attacked the ſtrong fortreſs of Bethſura, then in poſſeſſion of the partizans of Demetrius. The people in the garriſon, apprehenſive that they ſhould all be put to the ſword, requeſted

queſted Simon's permiſſion to march unmoleſted to Demetrius: which he granted; and placed another garriſon in their ſtead.

By this time Jonathan was advanced into the plain of Aſor, where he had no idea of any oppoſition: but one of Demetrius's parties, having notice of his march, lay in ambuſh behind a mountain, while the main body advanced to attack him on the plain. Jonathan gave the beſt orders the ſhortneſs of the time would permit: but the Jews, ſeeing the ambuſh, were afraid of being ſurrounded by two parties, and precipitately fled. So general was the terror, that only fifty gallant fellows remained with Jonathan, and the two captains, Mattathias, the ſon of Abſalom, and Judas, the ſon of Chapſæus. Theſe charged the enemy in front, in ſo deſperate a manner, that the forces of Demetrius heſitated; on which thoſe who had deſerted from Jonathan returned, attacked them, killed near two thouſand, and followed the reſt even to their tents at Cedaſa.

This victory being obtained, Jonathan returned to Jeruſalem, whence he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, to renew former alliances, with directions to come back by way of Lacedæmon, on buſineſs of a ſimilar nature. The Romans received the ambaſſadors with high reſpect, and diſmiſſed them with letters, recommending that ſafe paſſage might be granted them by the kings of Europe and Aſia. On their return, they delivered the following letter to the Lacedæmonians.

The high-prieſt, Jonathan, *the elders of the nation, the prieſts, and the reſt of the Jews, ſend greeting to the Ephori, ſenate, and people of* Lacedæmon.

" In the hope that you are well in health, and in your public and pri-
" vate affairs; we are likewiſe ſo; for we rejoice in your welfare.

" By a letter of antient date, from your king Arius, to our high-prieſt,
" Onias, which was delivered to him by Demoteles, (a copy of which we
" encloſe) we find that we are nearly allied to you in blood. By the teſti-
" mony we then gave to Arius, by the hands of the ſaid Demoteles, it ap-
" pears how happy we were in the notification of ſuch an alliance: not that
" the matter was new to us, for it is mentioned in holy writ. Now we
" would inform you, that we ſhould, ere this time, have claimed your
" friendſhip, but we left the honor of giving the example to you. From
" the firſt notification of your friendſhip to the preſent time, we have con-
" ſtantly prayed to God that you might live in health and proſperity, and
" vanquiſh your foes. In all our diſtreſſes and misfortunes from the malice
" of ambitious neighbours, we have been cautious not to trouble you, or
" other allies: but Divine Providence having put an end to our wars, and
" our affairs being more at eaſe, Numenius, the ſon of Antimachus, and
" Antipater the ſon of Jaſon, men of honour, and ſenators, have been diſ-
" patched with letters to the Romans, and to yourſelves, for renewing and
" ſtrengthening the league of friendſhip between us. Return what anſwer
" you think proper; but let us know how we may ſerve you, aſſured that
" we will teſtify our affectionate regard by every means in our power."

At this period the Jews were divided into three ſects, called Phariſees, Sadducees, and Eſſenes. The opinion of the Phariſees was that, in ſome inſtances, men were left to their own will, and in others over-ruled by a particular fate. The Sadducees held that a man's condition was in all caſes determined by his own conduct, without any interference of deſtiny; while the Eſſenes contended that an irrevocable fate over-ruled every action.

Jonathan being informed that the forces of Demetrius, which were now augmented, were advancing towards him, haſtened to meet them at Amathis, reſolved to oppoſe their entrance into Judæa. He encamped about fifty furlongs from them, whence he ſent ſpies to diſcover their deſign; who taking ſome priſoners, learnt from them that it was intended to ſurprize him in his encampment. Hereupon he arranged every thing for his defence, fixed centinels at the out-poſts, and kept his men under arms all night, previouſly acquainting them with what was intended. Demetrius's commanders learning that their plan had been divulged, were puzzled how to act, for they were not able to make an open attack: wherefore they decamped in the night, covering their retreat by a number of fires. At day-break Jonathan marched to attack them; when finding the camp abandoned, he purſued them with all expedition; but in vain, for they had retreated to a ſecure place beyond the river Eleutherus. He now therefore purſued his courſe to Arabia, plundered the country of the Nabathæans, took multitudes of their cattle, and made many priſoners, which he took to Damaſcus and ſold.

In the interim Simon proceeded through Judæa and Palæſtine, and fortified all defenſible places, even to Aſkalon: which being done, he went forward to Joppa, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of, and placed a garriſon in it, to prevent the place being delivered to Demetrius by the inhabitants.

When things were in this ſituation, Jonathan and Simon retired to Jeruſalem, and the people being ſummoned to the temple by the high-prieſt, were directed to repair the walls of the city, fortify them with towers, and to cut off the communication betwixt the city and caſtle by another wall: likewiſe to put the whole country in a ſtate of defence by proper garriſons. This advice being approved, Jonathan committed to his brother's care the country department, taking that of the city on himſelf.

By this time Demetrius had got into Meſopotamia, propoſing to ravage that country, and reduce Babylon. His plan was to fix the ſeat of war in the upper provinces, the Greek and Macedonian inhabitants of which had invited him thither, with promiſes of obedience, and offers of aſſiſtance againſt Arſaces, king of Parthia. Encouraged hereby, and thinking that after he had beaten the Parthians, it would be eaſy to drive Tryphon out of Syria, Demetrius advanced towards them, and was chearfully received by a large army, at the head of which he attacked Arſaces, who totally routed him, took him priſoner, and deſtroyed almoſt all his forces.

CHAP. X.

Tryphon's plot againſt Jonathan, whom he infamouſly betrays, kills a thouſand of his people, and makes him a priſoner.

THE failure of Demetrius in the laſt attempt, induced Tryphon to abandon all allegiance to Antiochus, and reflect how he might poſſeſs himſelf of the crown: but as Jonathan was the firm and powerful friend of Antiochus, the ſcheme was to deſtroy him firſt. For this purpoſe Tryphon went to Bethſan, where he found Jonathan with forty thouſand men at his command. Finding his ſtrength unequal to the encounter of ſuch an army, he ſought to ſeduce him by preſents and compliments. He directed his officers to obey Jonathan as himſelf; and proceeded, with great artifice, from one ſubtlety to another. At length he inſinuated that, as the war was over, Jonathan might diſband his army, keeping only a proper body guard, and attend him to Ptolemais, which place, and all the adjacent fortreſſes, he was reſolved to put into his poſſeſſion. Lulled by theſe arguments and promiſes, Jonathan diſmiſſed all his army except three thouſand men, two of which he left in Galilee, and went with Tryphon to Ptolemais, with the other thouſand. The inhabitants having been previouſly inſtructed, ſhut the gates on his firſt entering the town, killed all his thouſand men, and took him priſoner. Tryphon diſpatched a part of his army to Galilee, with a view to deſtroy Jonathan's two thouſand men left there: but theſe having information of the manner in which Jonathan had been treated, ſeized their arms, and effected their eſcape. Tryphon's troops were ſo convinced that theſe men would bid equal defiance to death and danger, that they returned without attempting to moleſt them.

CHAP. XI.

The grief at Jeruſalem on Jonathan's impriſonment. His command ſupplied by Simon. The inhabitants of Joppa turned out of the town. Tryphon marches to Judæa, with Jonathan, to whom he offers liberty. Tryphon's baſeneſs. He puts Jonathan to death; and Simon ſucceeds him. Simon demoliſhes Gaza, Joppa, Jamnia, and the citadel of Jeruſalem.

THE Inhabitants of Jeruſalem were extremely afflicted on being informed of the maſſacre abovementioned, and the impriſonment of Jonathan, for whom they had the ſincereſt regard; and in caſe of whoſe death they apprehended the utmoſt danger from thoſe enemies of whom before they had no fear. Nor were they much miſtaken in their conjecture; for upon the news that Jonathan was put to death (as will hereafter be mentioned) their neighbours combined againſt them, as men who had no commander; even Tryphon aſſembled an army to invade Judæa; but Simon, obſerving

obſerving their fears, ſummoned them together, and addreſſed them to the following purport:

"It is unneceſſary, friends and countrymen, for me to ſay that my father, brothers and myſelf, have been always ready to expoſe ourſelves for the common liberty: the defence of law and religion, has been the buſineſs of our family; nor am I ſo loſt to the authority of example, as to think of preſerving my life by the forfeit of my honour. Seek not, therefore, for another commander, ſince I am willing to lead you wherever great and glorious actions ſhall call us. I count not myſelf greater than my brethren, nor value my life more than they did theirs. Never ſhall it be ſaid that I have departed from the dignity of my family. I have no doubt but God will, by my hands, avenge you of your enemies, deliver you, your wives and children, from thoſe who oppreſs you, and ſecure the holy temple from defilement. In a word, is it not becauſe you are conſidered as a ſheep without a ſhepherd, that the preſent confederacy is in league againſt you?"

This ſpeech ſo animated the people, and diſpelled their fears, that they exclaimed, "Simon alone ought to ſucceed his brothers Judas and Jonathan: let Simon be our general, and we will obey his commands." Simon now ordered the walls of the city to be repaired and fortified, which being done, he diſpatched his friend Jonathan, the ſon of Abſalon, to Joppa, to clear that town of its inhabitants, leſt they ſhould deliver it into the hands of Tryphon.

At this period Tryphon, at the head of an army, was marching from Ptolemais to Judæa, bringing Jonathan with him as a priſoner. Simon and his troops met him on a mountain that overlooks the plain, near the city of Addida. Tryphon finding, that the Jews had elected Simon general, ſent him an expreſs, importing that, if he wiſhed his brother's releaſe, he ſhould ſend a hundred talents of ſilver, and two of Jonathan's ſons, as a ſecurity that, after he ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſhould not ſeduce the people of Judæa from their allegiance. Simon had no doubt but a deception was intended; but he thought that if he refuſed the money as a ranſom, or the ſons as hoſtages, the death of his brother might be imputed to him: whereupon he ſummoned a council, to whom he intimated his ſuſpicion of treachery; but ſaid he thought it would be proper to diſpatch both the young men and the money, rather than be thought indifferent with reſpect to his brother's ſafety. Hereupon the hoſtages and money were ſent, yet Tryphon refuſed to give Jonathan his liberty, and continued to ravage the country with his army, till he arrived at Dora, a city of Idumæa, whence he propoſed to proceed to Jeruſalem: Simon ſtill cloſely watching his motions.

Intelligence was brought to Tryphon, while on his march, that the garriſon of Jeruſalem was diſtreſſed for proviſions, to the relief of which he was deſired to haſten; on which he ordered his horſe to be ready to march; but ſo deep a ſnow fell in the night, that there was no poſſibility of proceeding. He now, therefore, returned to Cœle-Syria, and paſſed through Galaad, near the city of Baſca, in which country, he cauſed Jonathan to be put to death, and having buried him, went forward to Antioch. Simon,

however, had the remains of Jonathan removed to the ſepulchre of his father at Modin, public mourning being made on the occaſion, and a ſuperb monument of poliſhed white marble erected to the family. This was on an eminence, and encompaſſed with arched walks, and reſting on pillars each of an entire ſtone. Simon cauſed ſeven pyramids to be erected, viz. for his father, mother, four brothers, and himſelf; and theſe were ſo extraordinary, that they are ſtill celebrated for their beauty and magnificence.

Jonathan had now governed, as prince and high-prieſt, four *years, and was ſucceeded by his brother Simon, as above-mentioned. Simon, in his firſt year, relieved the people from the tribute heretofore paid to the Macedonians; and he ſtood ſo high in their opinion, that they dated their writings, both public and private, from the years of his government, with the addition of "moſt worthy patron of the nation." Every public buſineſs flouriſhed in his hands. He obtained a victory over the common enemy; deſtroyed the cities of Gazara, Joppa and Jamnia; levelled the citadel of Jeruſalem with the ground, and ſo ordered that it could not afford a refuge for rebels and fugitives, nor be in a condition to annoy the city. To effect this, he adviſed the digging the mountain on which the caſtle ſtood, ſo that the temple ſhould be left on the higher ground. He aſſembled the people on this buſineſs, to whom he repreſented the miſchiefs already ſuſtained by this caſtle, and the probable conſequences, if an enemy ſhould get poſſeſſion of it. This argument had ſuch an effect, that they univerſally agreed to deſtroy the mountain; and the people worked on it for three years, day and night, (relieving each other) till at length the temple had the advantage in point of ſituation.

CHAP. XII.

Antiochus murdered by Tryphon, who ſucceeds to the Crown. His ſoldiers deſert to Cleopatra, who marrying Antiochus Soter, he attacks and conquers Tryphon. The death of the latter.

DEMETRIUS Nicanor had not been long made priſoner, when Tryphon privately murdered Antiochus the ſon of Alexander, and propagated a report that he loſt his life by an accident which happened in his exerciſes. While the public were intent on this report, Tryphon exerted his utmoſt influence, and employed both money and friends, to induce them to chuſe him king. The friends of Tryphon urged that Demetrius was a captive with the Parthians; and that Antiochus would never forgive thoſe who had deſerted his brother. By theſe inſinuations Tryphon paved his way to the throne: but there did not need much artifice in the caſe; for the people readily combined towards his elevation, from an idea that thoſe who voted for making him king, would be in a fair way to make their own fortunes; ſo that there was no difficulty in his advancement. Tryphon no ſooner

* Scaliger ſays that Jonathan died after governing the nation eighteen years, and in the fourteenth year of his prieſthood.—See his notes on Euſebius.

ſooner became king, than he began to diſplay that turpitude of heart by which he had been diſtinguiſhed while a private man. His point was no ſooner gained than he threw off the maſk, and proved that the name of Tryphon (which ſignifies a diſſolute wretch) very well became him. His diſpoſition proved ſo diſagreeable to the ſoldiers, that they deſerted, and fled to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was at that time in retirement with her children at Seleucia, while Antiochus Soter (the brother of Demetrius) was ranging from place, to place, the fear of Tryphon preventing almoſt every one from affording him aſſiſtance. Cleopatra, encouraged by the advice of her friends, and the appearance of the ſoldiers who had deſerted from Tryphon, and urged by the fears ſhe had leaſt the people of Seleucia ſhould deliver the place to the uſurper, diſpatched a meſſage to Antiochus, offering her kingdom to his diſpoſal, and herſelf in marriage. This propoſal being embraced by Antiochus, the people flocked to him in ſuch crouds, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a large army, with which he marched againſt Tryphon, conquered him in battle, drove him from Syria to Phœnicia, and at length pent him up in the ſtrong fortreſs of Dora. Antiochus now diſpatched ambaſſadors to the high-prieſt Simon, on a treaty of friendſhip and alliance; and the propoſal being accepted, Simon ſent him money and proviſions towards the maintaining of the ſiege; articles at that time highly acceptable to Antiochus, who was very grateful for this inſtance of his friendſhip. After a while Tryphon eſcaped from Dora, and fled to a town called Apamia; but the place was taken, and himſelf put to the ſword, before the fourth year of his reign was ended.

CHAP. XIII.

The ungrateful behaviour of Antiochus to Simon, who baffles him, and renews a league with the Romans.

BY nature covetous and ungrateful, Antiochus ſo far from making a proper acknowledgement of the favours Simon had conferred on him, ſent Cendebæus with an army, to ravage Judæa, and take him priſoner. The idea of this diſhonourable perfidy ſo enraged the venerable man, that in deſpite of age and infirmity, and with all the ardour of youth, he aſſembled his army, and marched at the head of it to engage the enemy. Having diſpatched his ſon with a number of ſelect troops, he followed in a different direction with the reſt, ſtationing part of his forces in ambuſh at every proper place. Thus he had the advantage in every encounter, ſucceeded to his utmoſt wiſhes, and having renewed his league with the Romans, ſpent the remainder of his days in peace.

CHAP. XIV.

Simon treacherouſly murdered by his ſon-in-law Ptolemy. The wife and two of the children of Simon made priſoners: but the third ſon being appriſed of his danger, eſcapes to Jeruſalem

SIMON having held the government of Judæa eight years, was invited to an entertainment by Ptolemy his ſon-in-law, and there cruelly murdered by him. Ptolemy made priſoners of the wife and two of the ſons of Simon, and employed ruffians to ſurprize and take away the life of John, the third ſon, who was called Hyrcanus: but receiving timely information of the treachery, he fled to Jeruſalem, where he experienced the moſt friendly behaviour from the people, who entertained a great veneration for the memory of Simon, and a deadly abhorrence of Ptolemy, whom they courageouſly repulſed upon his attempting to enter at one gate of the city, after Hyrcanus had gained admittance at another.

CHAP. XV.

The pontificate is aſſumed by Hyrcanus, who beſieges Ptolemy in the caſtle of Dagon. Ptolemy expoſes the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus upon the battlements. The fortitude of the mother, who is at length put to death by Ptolemy, after which act of cruelty he flies for ſhelter to Zeno, who was ſirnamed Cotyla.

PTOLEMY retired to the caſtle of Dagon, which was ſituated in the neighbourhood of Jericho. As the ſucceſſor of his father, Hyrcanus aſſumed the pontifical dignity. He marched to attack the caſtle to which Ptolemy had retreated. In the proſecution of this enterprize the greateſt difficulty he had to ſurmount was a natural tenderneſs towards his mother and brethren, whom Ptolemy cauſed to be whipped and otherwiſe publickly tormented upon the battlements, threatening to caſt them down unleſs Hyrcanus immediately raiſed the ſiege. This terrible menace abated the reſolution of Hyrcanus, who judged that if he proceeded in his firſt deſign, the conſequence would be an aggravation of cruelty to his relations. His mother obſerving his embarraſſment, called to him aloud, urging him, without conſidering the ſufferings of herſelf and her ſons, to avenge the injuries his family had received, and expreſſing a willingneſs to expire under the moſt excruciating torments, on condition that the barbarous and unnatural tyrant Ptolemy ſhould meet a puniſhment proportioned to the enormity of his guilt. This inſtance of generoſity and fortitude animated Hyrcanus to make a vigourous aſſault: but he obſerved that in proportion to the force he exerted for reducing the fort, additional cruelty was exerciſed upon his mother; and his deſire of revenge yielding to filial tenderneſs, the ſiege was protracted, till the arrival of the ſabbatical year, which put a period to the war. Every ſeventh year as well as every ſeventh day, is

obſerved by the Jews as a time of reſt. Upon the concluſion of the war, Ptolemy put the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus to death, and then retired for ſafety to Philadelphia, the government of which place had been uſurped by the tyrant Zeno, who was ſirnamed Cotyla.

Conclusion of the History of the Bible.

CHAP. XVI.

Jeruſalem beſieged by Antiochus, who grants a truce of ſeven days. Hyrcanus intercedes for a compromiſe; the ſiege is raiſed, and the parties form an alliance. The death of Antiochus, and the ſucceſſion of his brother Demetrius.

STIMULATED by the diſgraces he had been ſubjected to by Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, Antiochus, in the fourth year of his reign, in the firſt of that of Hyrcanus, and in the *hundred and ſecond Olympiad, made an incurſion into Judæa; and having committed great devaſtation in the country, obliged Hyrcanus to take refuge within the city, which he encompaſſed with his troops divided into ſeven bodies. The great ſtrength of the walls, and the intrepidity with which the place was defended, prevented any conſiderable advantage being gained by the aſſailants for ſome time. During a ſhort interval the camp was diſtreſſed for water; but this inconvenience was removed by a plentiful fall of rain. The northern quarter of the city being judged the leaſt difficult of acceſs, againſt that part Antiochus directed his greateſt force. He erected an hundred turrets, each conſiſting of three ſtories, in which he ſtationed a great number of men for proſecuting the aſſault. To prevent a re-inforcement or communication, he formed a double circumvallation of conſiderable extent. But notwithſtanding theſe operations, the troops made frequent ſallies from the fort to annoy the enemy, at ſuch times as they appeared to be the leaſt prepared for defence; and when theſe attempts were not likely to ſucceed, they had the advantage of a ſafe retreat into the city. Such of the inhabitants as conſumed the proviſions without bearing arms in ſupport of the common cauſe, Hyrcanus compelled to evacuate the city; and Antiochus preventing their retreat to the open country, many of them periſhed under the walls for want of food.

On the arrival of the feaſt of the Tabernacles, the above-mentioned miſerable people were again received into the town: and on occaſion of this feſtival the people applied to Antiochus for a truce of ſeven days. This requeſt he granted with the utmoſt readineſs; and ſent them bulls with gilded

* The 2d. of 161. Olympiad, *vide* Petitus, Eclog Chronolog l. 1. c. 6; & Scaliger's notes upon Euſeb. p. 135 Ed. Commelin.

gilded horns, and other beaſts for ſacrifice, gold and ſilver cups repleniſhed with a variety of the moſt eſteemed perfumes and ſpices, beſides a large ſupply of proviſions. His conduct in every inſtance was contrary to that of Antiochus Epiphanes, who upon conquering the city, proved his contempt of the inſtitutions and ceremonies of the Jews by ſacrificing hogs upon the altar, and polluting the holy place with liquor in which the fleſh of thoſe animals had been boiled. This affront produced an irreconcilable animoſity. The piety of the preſent Antiochus obtained him the ſirname of the pious, and he was held in the higheſt eſtimation by all ranks of people.

The generoſity of Antiochus encouraged Hyrcanus to diſpatch an ambaſſy, requeſting that he would permit the Jews to live agreeable to the eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms of their nation. Antiochus, in oppoſition to the court-faction, complied, on the condition that the Jews ſhould lay down their arms, ſecure to him the tribute of Joppa and other cities, and admit a garriſon into Jeruſalem. The garriſon was objected to on the plea of the neceſſary inconvenience of mixing with ſtrangers; and to compound this matter an offer was made of five hundred talents, and hoſtages for a due performance of the treaty. Three hundred talents being paid in part, and the hoſtages, one of whom was the brother of Hyrcanus, being delivered, the ſiege was raiſed.

The ſepulchre of David, the richeſt ſovereign who had been known, Hyrcanus cauſed to be opened; and thence he took three thouſand talents, whereby he was enabled to hire re-inforcements to his army: he was the firſt among the Jews who entertained foreign troops. He now formed an alliance with Antiochus, and invited that king and his army into the city, where he received and entertained them with the utmoſt magnificence. As it is recorded by Nicolaus Damaſcenus, he afterwards accompanied Antiochus to the Parthian war. This hiſtorian ſays, "After Antiochus had ſubdued the Parthian army under the command of Indates, he conſtructed a triumphal arch upon the banks of the river Lycus; and that at the interceſſion of Hyrcanus, a Jew, he remained at this place two days: the Jews being forbid by their laws to travel on the feſtival, which happened to occur at that time." This feſtival was the feaſt of the pentecoſt, which immediately followed the ſabbath; and on neither of thoſe days were the people of our nation allowed to travel.

Antiochus gave battle to Arſaces, king of the Parthians, and in this encounter he loſt both his life and his army. Upon his kingdom being invaded Arſaces gave liberty to his captive Demetrius, who ſucceeded his brother Antiochus in the government of Syria.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Idumæa conquered by Hyrcanus, who reconciles the inhabitants to the Jewiſh inſtitutions. He negociates a freſh treaty with the Romans. His army being entirely routed, Demetrius flies to Ptolemais for ſhelter: he is afterwards ſeized by the enemy at Tyre, and put to death. Alexander ſlain in battle. The wars between Antiochus Gryphus and his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus.

UPON receiving information of the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus led his army into Syria, expecting to find that country greatly depopulated; and this conjecture proved to be juſtly founded. After a ſiege of ſix months he ſubdued Medaba; and he ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Samega and other places in that neighbourhood; he then proceeded to the conqueſt of Sichem, Garizim and the land of the Chuthites, where one of the governors, named Sanballat, in compliment to his ſon-in-law Manaſſeh, the brother of Jaddus, the high-prieſt, having obtained the permiſſion of Alexander, conſtructed a temple on the model of that at Jeruſalem, as we have before related: this temple was deſtroyed about two hundred years after it had been built. He reduced Adora, Mariſſa and other places of ſtrength in Idumæa, and proſecuted his ſucceſſes till he had ſubdued the whole province. He then iſſued a proclamation, enjoining the departure of thoſe who would not ſubmit to circumciſion. Rather than abandon the land, the people acquieſced in this, and every other Jewiſh inſtitution: and ſince that period they have been numbered among the people denominated Jews.

Hyrcanus the high-prieſt now diſpatched an ambaſſy to the ſenate of Rome with letters on the ſubject of a renewal of the league of amity. In conſequence of theſe letters, Fanius, ſon of Marcus Prœter, aſſembled a ſenate in the field of Mars, on the eighth of the Ides of March, Lucius Manlius, ſon of Lucius Mentina, and Caius Sempronius ſon of Caius Falerna, being preſent to deliberate on the propoſed treaty and other public buſineſs which Simon, the ſon of Doſitheus, Apollonius, ſon of Alexander, and Diodorus, ſon of Jaſon, were commiſſioned to negociate with the ſenate. It was ſtipulated that reſtoration ſhould be made of the city and ports of Joppa, Gazara, the fountains, and other places which, in violation of a decree of the ſenate, had been uſurped by Antiochus; that the king's troops ſhould not paſs through that or any other part of the Roman territories without permiſſion; and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed for eſtimating the loſſes conſequent on his devaſtations, for which full reparation ſhould be made. On theſe conditions the propoſed treaty was accepted by the ſenate, who aſſured the honourable deputies on the part of the Jews, that on the firſt opportunity an anſwer in form ſhould be returned, and that no injury ſhould in future be offered to them. Fanius was commiſſioned to ſupply the ambaſſadors with money from the public treaſury for defraying the charge of their return; and they were likewiſe furniſhed with

letters of recommendation to the governors and officers of the several places through which they were to pass.

During these transactions, Demetrius was heartily disposed to commence hostilities against Hyrcanus: but he was not in a condition to effect this design, being generally detested by the Syrians and his own soldiers, who uniting in a confederacy against him, requested Ptolemy, otherwise Physcon, king of Ægypt, to send to them a descendant of the house of Seleucus, whom they would invest with the sovereignty. Ptolemy sent Alexander surnamed Zebina, attended by a numerous army. An engagement ensued, and Demetrius being defeated, fled to Ptolemais, where Cleopatra, his wife then resided: but being denied entrance into the city, he repaired to Tyre, where he was seized by his enemies, who, after keeping him some time in a miserable existence, deprived him of life.

The kingdom of Syria being now under the sovereignty of Alexander Zebina, a league was formed between this new king and Hyrcanus, the high-priest, who soon after was engaged in hostilities with Antiochus Gryphus, son of Demetrius. Alexander supported his ally in this war; and when the armies joined battle it was his fortune to be slain. Upon the death of Alexander, Antiochus succeeded to the throne of Syria: but he checked his desire of proceeding against the Jews, in consequence of intelligence being communicated to him that his brother and name-sake Antiochus, who was surnamed Cyzicenus, was raising an army at the town of Cyzycus, for the purpose of opposing his operations. Antiochus Cyzicenus derived his last appellation from the place where he was educated; he was the son of Antiochus Soter, who was slain by the Parthians. We have before observed that Cleopatra was married to two brothers. Upon the arrival of Cyzicenus in Syria, an engagement ensued between him and his brother; and, indeed, they lived in a perpetual state of animosity and warfare. In the mean time Hyrcanus enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity; for, upon the decease of Antiochus Soter, he no longer acknowledged himself to be either a subject or ally of the Macedonians. The affairs of Hyrcanus were in a flourishing state during the time of Alexander Zebina, but still more so in the sovereignty of the brothers; for while they were harrassing each other to destruction, Cyzicenes committing devastation in the country, and the other having no assistance from Ægypt, he enjoyed perfect ease and safety in Judæa, where he amassed immense wealth.

CHAP. XVIII.

Samaria besieged by Hyrcanus. Antiochus Cyzicenus marches to the relief of the city, but is repulsed by Aristobulus. Samaria is utterly destroyed. Hyrcanus abandons the principles of the Pharisees, and adopts those of the Sadducees. The death of Hyrcanus.

THE people of Mariſſa, though subjects to the king of Syria, were inhabitants of Judæa, and in alliance with the Jews. The indignities they had received from the Samaritans so greatly incensed Hyrcanus that he

determined to direct the whole force of his arms againſt the ſtrongly fortified city of Samaria: which was rebuilt and called Sebaſte by Herod, of which we ſhall ſpeak more particularly hereafter. He begirt the town with a ditch of conſiderable width, and a double wall of great ſtrength, appointing his ſons Antigonus and Ariſtobulus to proſecute the ſiege, which was conducted with ſuch vigour, that in a ſhort time a terrible famine raged in the city, the inhabitants being reduced to the neceſſity of ſupporting themſelves on carrion. In this extremity they ſolicited relief from Antiochus Cyzicenus, who directly marched to their aſſiſtance; but was repulſed by Ariſtobulus, who being joined by Antigonus, they purſued him to Sythopolis.

The brothers returned to Samaria, and renewed the ſiege; in conſequence of which, the people again requeſted aſſiſtance from Cyzicenus; and he prevailed upon Ptolemy, ſirnamed Lathurus, to ſupply him with ſix thouſand men. The grant of theſe troops ſo greatly offended the mother of Ptolemy, that he was in the moſt imminent danger of loſing his kingdom. With theſe Ægyptian forces Antiochus ravaged part of the country of Hyrcanus; his motive being to entice the troops from the ſiege by a diverſion, as he was not in a condition to oppoſe the whole force of his antagoniſt. But from deſertions, many of his troops falling into ambuſhes, and other accidents, he deſpaired of ſucceſs; and appointing Callimander and Epicrates to the conduct of the war, he retired to Tripoli. Callimander engaged in a raſh expedition wherein his army was deſtroyed and himſelf ſlain. The Jews bribed Epicrates to ſurrender Sythopolis and other places. After a ſiege which continued a year, Hyrcanus became maſter of Samaria, which he utterly deſtroyed, and by forming water-courſes, and other meaſures, the appearance of the ſpot was entirely changed, and no veſtige remained of the buildings. There is a ſurprizing, and perhaps an incredible, tradition reſpecting Hyrcanus. It is related that being alone offering incenſe in the temple, a voice from heaven informed him that his ſons had obtained a victory over Antiochus Cyzicenus; and that he immediately went forth to the people and communicated to them the revelation, which was ſoon after confirmed. This extraordinary incident is ſaid to have happened at the preciſe time in which Cyzicenus was defeated.

Not only the Jews of Jeruſalem and Alexandria, but thoſe alſo of Ægypt, Cyprus, and other places were now in a flouriſhing ſituation: for in conſequence of a diſagreement between Cleopatra and her ſon Ptolemy Lathurus, the queen had committed the command of her army to Chelcias, and Ananias, the ſon of Onias, by whom a temple, after the model of that at Jeruſalem, had been built in the territory of Heliopolis, The queen was wholly influenced by the advice of theſe men. Strabo, the Cappadocian, ſays, "Great numbers of thoſe who came with us to Cyprus, as well as of thoſe "who were afterwards ſent thither by Cleopatra, abandoned the queen, and "attached themſelves to the intereſt of Ptolemy: but the Jews of Onias's "party continued in allegiance to her, in gratitude for the diſtinction ſhe had "beſtowed upon their friends and countrymen Chelcias and Ananias"

The ſucceſs of Hyrcanus attracted the envy of the Jews, and particularly of that ſect called Phariſees. The influence of this faction was ſo great as conſtantly

conſtantly to prevail over the multitude, even in oppoſition to the ſentiments of the king and the high-prieſt. Hyrcanus, who had been educated among the Phariſees, invited them to an entertainment; and when his hoſpitality had cauſed a circulation of good humour, he addreſſed them to the following effect: "Since I profeſs your own principles, it is ſcarcely neceſſary "to obſerve, my friends, that my moſt ſanguine wiſh is to render myſelf "acceptable to the Almighty, and to obſerve a ſtrict juſtice to my neigh-"bour. If I have violated my duty, it is your buſineſs to admoniſh me, "and it ſhall be mine to effect a reformation of my conduct." This ſpeech was received with great applauſe, which afforded Hyrcanus conſiderable pleaſure.

One of the gueſts, named Eleazar, a man of a malignant diſpoſition, anſwered him thus: "Having declared yourſelf an advocate for truth and "plain dealing, you cannot be offended if I recommend a reſignation of "the pontificate, and that you apply yourſelf only to the diſcharge of your "civil authority." Being aſked by Hyrcanus the reaſon for making the propoſal, he ſaid, "Becauſe our elders have related that your mother was a "ſlave in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes." The Phariſees and Hyrcanus were the more offended at this charge as it had no foundation in truth. A particular friend to Hyrcanus, named Jonathan, inſiſted that the ſlander of Eleazar had been previouſly concerted by the Phariſees, againſt whom he bore a violent enmity, being himſelf a Sadducee. He ſaid to Hyrcanus that the truth of his obſervation would be confirmed upon demanding what puniſhment was due to the man who had uttered ſo vile a calumny. The queſtion being propoſed, their anſwer was, that being a people diſpoſed to mercy, they did not adjudge defamation to be an offence deſerving death, and that they were of opinion impriſonment and whipping would be ſufficient puniſhment. This reply induced Hyrcanus to believe that the Phariſees in general were concerned in the calumniation of his family: and he was ſo violently inflamed againſt them by Jonathan, that he abrogated their laws, ſubjected thoſe who ſhould obſerve them to ſevere penalties, and attached himſelf to the Sadducees. It will appear, in the proper place, that this conduct rendered himſelf and his ſons extremely unpopular. The Phariſees had many traditions which were not included in the laws of Moſes. The authority of theſe traditions was denied by the Sadducees, who conſidered themſelves bound in obedience only to the written laws. In the contentions between theſe ſects, the Sadducees were ſupported by the people of quality and wealth, and the Phariſees by the multitude. The particulars reſpecting theſe ſects, and the Eſſenes, will be found in the hiſtory of the wars of the Jews.

Having quelled this diſſention, Hyrcanus enjoyed the remaining part of his life in uninterrupted peace and happineſs. He died in the thirty-firſt year of his government, leaving five ſons. The Almighty was pleaſed to beſtow upon him three eminent diſtinctions, viz. the civil government, the high-prieſthood, and the ſpirit of prophecy. He predicted, by a divine revelation, that his two eldeſt ſons would not long enjoy the government; and the prophecy was verified, as will appear in the following chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Ariſtobulus eſtabliſhes a monarchical government. His cruelty towards his mother and brethren. The death of Antigonus, according to the prediction of the prophet Judas. The death of Ariſtobulus.

ARISTOBULUS, the eldeſt ſon of Hyrcanus, determined to aboliſh the principality, and eſtabliſh an abſolute government: and the period at which he effected this was four hundred and eighty-one years after the emancipation of the Jews from captivity in Babylon. He had a particular regard for his next brother, whoſe name was Antigonus, and he admitted him to ſome ſhare in the government, but his mother, whom he conſidered as his rival to ſovereignty, Hyrcanus having bequeathed to her all that was in his power to leave, he ordered into cloſe confinement, and his three younger brethren he conſigned to the ſame fate. So horribly unnatural was his cruelty as actually to ſtarve his mother in her priſon, and, on ſome equally malignant and groundleſs inſinuations, to ſacrifice the life of his favourite brother Antigonus. It was ſome time before Ariſtobulus would attend to the malevolent ſuggeſtions againſt his brother. On the approach of the feaſt of the tabernacles, Ariſtobulus was confined to his bed by ſickneſs: and at this time Antigonus came from the army in great martial pomp, and, attended by his guards, repaired to the temple in order to ſupplicate heaven for the reſtoration of his brother's health. The enemies of Antigonus inſinuated to the king that the magnificence and ſtate which his brother had aſſumed was an evidence that he aſpired to the ſovereignty. Ariſtobulus did not give credit to all that was reported concerning his brother, but ſuppoſing there to be ſome foundation for a part, he determined to provide for his own ſafety without appearing to be apprehenſive of danger. The king ſtationed a guard in a ſubterraneous place in the tower, which has ſince received the name of Antonia, and commanded them, that if Antigonus came that way unarmed, they ſhould not moleſt him, but that if they obſerved him provided for defence, they ſhould take away his life. Ariſtobulus diſpatched a meſſenger to requeſt the preſence of Antigonus in his apartment, and ſtrictly to enjoin him to come unarmed: but the queen and other of his enemies prevailed upon the meſſenger to ſay, that the king deſired to ſee him equipped in an extraordinary fine ſuit of armour which, it had been told him, he poſſeſſed. Unſuſpecting the treachery, Antigonus immediately went forth completely armed; and he was ſlain by the ſoldiers poſted in the dark paſſage of the tower of Straton. Judas, whoſe prophecies had been conſtantly verified, upon obſerving Antigonus go to the temple, ſaid to his diſciples that he was weary of exiſtence, ſince his reputation as a prophet was entirely loſt; for that he had predicted the death of Antigonus ſhould happen on that day at Straton's tower; but that he was ſtill alive, the place ſix hundred furlongs diſtance, and the day

more than half elapſed. Preſently after this, news was brought that Antigonus had been ſlain under the tower, according to his preſage. This tower was called Straton's tower, as well as that upon the coaſt, which was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of Cæſarea.

The ſevere upbraidings of conſcience for the barbarous murder of his brother greatly increaſed the diſtemper of Ariſtobulus, and a vomiting of blood enſued: as an attendant was conveying ſome of it away in a veſſel, he ſpilt a part, ſeemingly by the direction of providence, on the ſpot where the marks of Antigonus's blood were yet to be ſeen. This event, which was ſuppoſed to have happened from deſign, produced ſome diſorder, the cauſe of which the king anxiouſly enquired; and having extorted it from his attendants by entreaties and threats, he ſaid, "The all-ſeeing power hath "detected my iniquity, and my brother's murder hath called down the "vengeance of heaven upon me. How long ſhall I hold that life which is "forfeited to the blood of a mother and a brother? Rather why do I not "expire on a ſudden than thus yield my life drop by drop, as if the ſeve-"reſt puniſhment was inadequate to my guilt?" Upon uttering theſe words Ariſtobulus, who was ſirnamed Philellen, ſignifying *a lover of the Greeks*, inſtantly died, having reigned only one year. He ſubdued and annexed a conſiderable part of Ituræa to the territory of Judæa, and compelled the people to ſubmit to circumciſion and other Jewiſh inſtitutions, on the penalty of baniſhment: and he performed other important ſervices to his country. Excepting in reſpect to the matters already urged againſt him, he was conſidered as a man of modeſty and juſtice. On the authority of Timagenes, Strabo ſpeaks of him to this effect. "He was of a good diſ-"poſition, and in many inſtances proved himſelf a friend to the Jews: he "extended their juriſdiction over a great part of Ituræa, and united the "people in the common bond of circumciſion."

CHAP. XX.

Salome reſtores the three brothers of her late huſband to liberty, and advances Jannæus Alexander to the ſovereignty: he puts one of his brothers to death, and lays ſiege to Ptolemais, but abandons the enterprize; Ptolemy ſtations one part of his army before the town, and leads the other to Aſochis, which he conquers by aſſault.

SALOME, called Alexandra by the Greeks, reſtored the three brothers of Ariſtobulus, her late huſband, to liberty, and Jannæus, otherwiſe Alexander, who was the eldeſt and of a diſpoſition leſs violent than the others, ſhe raiſed to the throne. It was the fortune of Alexander to incur his father's averſion ſoon after his birth, and this is ſaid to be the reaſon of his diſpleaſure: Hyrcanus had a dream that the Almighty appeared to him, and that upon aſking who ſhould be his ſucceſſor, the reſemblance of Alexander was immediately repreſented to him. This circumſtance prejudiced him ſo much againſt Alexander that he ſent him to be brought up in Galilee.

lee. Alexander cauſed one of his brothers to be put to death for attempting to ſupplant him in the government: but he made a generous proviſion for the other brother, who contented himſelf in a private ſtation.

Alexander led an army to Ptolemais, and gave battle to a body of the enemy's forces, whom he compelled to retreat into the city, where he kept them blocked up. Gaza, another ſea-coaſt town, remained at this time unſubdued, as did Dora and the tower of Straton, which were in poſſeſſion of Zoilus. Antiochus Philometer and his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus were ſo exhauſted in the wars they had maintained againſt each other that the people of Ptolemais expected no relief from them. Zoilus, who had been waiting for the opportunity of making advantage of the prevailing diviſions, afforded ſome relief to Ptolemais, but the force he ſent was not ſufficient to be of any conſiderable ſervice. The people of Ptolemais had no hope of relief but from Ægypt, and their principal dependance was upon Ptolemy Lathurus, who having been compelled to evacuate his kingdom by his mother Cleopatra, had retired to Cyprus. They ſent an ambaſſy to him, commiſſioned to ſolicit his aſſiſtance againſt Alexander, and to aſſure him there was every reaſon to believe the people of Gaza and Ptolemais would declare in his favour immediately upon his entering Syria, and that he would be ſupported by Zoilus, the Sydonians, and other neighbouring people. Ptolemy ordered all poſſible diſpatch in the equipment of a fleet for this enterprize.

In the interim Demænetus, a man of conſiderable influence, harangued his fellow citizens in the following manner: "The point in queſtion, ſaid "he, is, whether it will be moſt eligible to abide the event of the war, than "to accept the relief we have demanded; for if we put ourſelves under the "protection of Ptolemy, inevitable ſlavery muſt be the conſequence. Dan"ger is alſo greatly to be apprehended from Ægypt, for it is not to be "imagined that Cleopatra will remain inactive while Ptolemy is preparing "for war. She will ſend a powerful army to purſue and attack him un"prepared. Beſides, the queen has determined to drive him out of Cy"prus; and when ſhe finds him engaged in ſtrengthening his intereſt with "the neighbouring provinces, ſhe will ſeize the opportunity to effect her "purpoſe. To give the argument another turn, let us ſuppoſe that Ptole"my will be driven back to Cyprus; we ſhall then be left without ſuccour, "and he will have dangers to encounter that he may not at preſent appre"hend." This addreſs deſtroyed the hopes they had entertained of the ſucceſs of their ambaſſy; and of this Ptolemy was informed during his paſſage, notwithſtanding which he determined to proceed.

Ptolemy diſembarked at Sicamin, and thence marched, at the head of about thirty thouſand horſe and foot, to Ptolemais. On his arrival before the city, he diſpatched an ambaſſy to the people, but they refuſed to receive the meſſage and to hold any intercourſe with either the king or his agents. This diſappointment ſo greatly embarraſſed him that he knew not what meaſures to purſue. Zoilus and ſome commiſſioners from Gaza repreſented to Ptolemy that the Jews and Alexander were committing great devaſtation in their territories, and requeſted his aſſiſtance to repulſe them.

Upon the appearance of Ptolemy, Alexander judged it prudent to raiſe the ſiege. He engaged in a ſecret treaty with Cleopatra to ſubdue Ptolemy, whom he, at the ſame time, treated as a friend and ally, offering him four hundred talents of ſilver, on condition of ſurrendering to him the uſurper Zoilus, and reſtoring to the Jews the lands which he poſſeſſed and had formerly belonged to them. Ptolemy readily embraced the propoſal, and ſeized Zoilus; but upon diſcovering that Alexander had privately made propoſals to Cleopatra, he conſidered the treaty to be violated, and therefore laid ſiege to Ptolemais. He appointed one part of his army to proſecute the ſiege, and led the other to ravage the country of Judæa. Alexander aſſembled an army, which ſome aſſert was compoſed of fifty, and others of eighty thouſand troops, to oppoſe the operations of Ptolemy, who, taking advantage of the ſabbath-day, ſubdued Aſochis, a city in Galilee, by aſſault, acquired an immenſe booty, and made about ten thouſand of the people priſoners.

CHAP. XXI.

Alexander routed by Ptolemy Lathurus, againſt whom Cleopatra makes war. The death of Ptolemy. Ptolemais ſubdued by Cleopatra, who enters into treaty with Alexander: he reduces Gadara and Amathon. The ſiege of Gaza. Apollodotus murdered by Lyſimachus, who treacherouſly ſurrenders the city. A horrid maſſacre. The death of Antiochus Gryphus. Antiochus Cyzicenus vanquiſhed and put to death by Seleucus. Demetrius Eucæius aſcends the throne of Damaſcus. Antiochus ſlain by the Parthians. He is ſucceeded by Philip and Demetrius. Alexander deſtroys ſix thouſand of his own people. Fifty thouſand Jews killed in a rebellion.

HAVING ſubdued Aſochis, Ptolemy made an aſſault upon Sepphoris, but in this attempt he was defeated and ſuſtained great loſs. He then led his army againſt Alexander, whom he met with in the neighbourhood of * Aſſophus, adjacent to the river of Jordan, and pitched his camp oppoſite to that of the enemy. The van of Alexander's army was compoſed of eight thouſand of the ſoldiers called Hecatontomachi, who were provided with brazen bucklers. In the front of his forces Ptolemy had ſome warriors equipped in the ſame manner, but his followers were not in general ſo well armed as their adverſaries, and they were therefore the leſs anxious for an engagement. Philoſtephanus, an officer of great ſkill and experience, encouraged them to expect ſucceſs. They croſſed the river; and to this movement Alexander, who was ſtationed on the oppoſite ſhore, made no oppoſition, judging that he ſhould with leſs difficulty obtain a conqueſt if he could attack the enemy while they were in a ſituation from which the river behind them would render a retreat impracticable. The battle was ſuſtained with great bravery on both ſides: upon a body of Ptolemy's troops giving way, victory

* In the Theſaurus Geograph. of Ortelius it is ſaid to be Aſochis, v. Aſſophus.

victory ſeemed to favour Alexander; but upon the arrival of Philoſtephanus with a reinforcement, the Jews were entirely routed, and purſued by Ptolemy till his ſoldiers were fatigued and their weapons blunted by the havock they made. It is recorded that thirty thouſand men were ſlain in the encounter; and Timagenes ſays, in his hiſtory, that the number was fifty thouſand. Great numbers were made priſoners and the reſt eſcaped by flight.

After this terrible carnage, Ptolemy went to ſome villages belonging to the Jews, and commanded his ſoldiers to murder the women and children, and then to put the parts of their bodies into veſſels of water which were to be placed over fires. He had recourſe to this bloody ſtratagem in order to ſtrike terror into thoſe who had eſcaped by flight, by inſpiring the idea that his army was addicted to feed upon the fleſh of an enemy. This ſhocking barbarity is mentioned both by Strabo and Nicolaus.

Judæa being ravaged, and Gaza ſubdued, Cleopatra judged it neceſſary to give a check to the enterprizing ſpirit of her ſon Ptolemy; and ſhe was farther induced to this, as he had already advanced to the gates of Ægypt, and had formed a deſign of uſurping the government. She muſtered both her military and naval forces with all poſſible diſpatch, and appointed for her generals two Jews named Chelcias and Ananias. She tranſported her moſt valuable treaſure, her grand-children, and her laſt will, to the Iſland of Coas. She ſent a ſtrong naval force and her ſon Alexander to preſerve peace in Phœnicia, in which province a revolt was threatened; and ſhe went herſelf to Ptolemais, where being refuſed admittance, ſhe ordered the city to be aſſaulted. Hereupon Ptolemy evacuated Syria, and repaired to Ægypt, in the flattering expectation that he ſhould find that country in a defenceleſs ſtate: but in this attempt he was defeated; and in purſuing Ptolemy, Chelcias, one the generals of Cleopatra, loſt his life in Cœle-Syria.

The queen detached a body of troops in purſuit of Ptolemy, who was again driven out of his own country, and under the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing his winter quarters in Gaza. In the interim ſhe became miſtreſs of Ptolemais, which was taken by aſſault. The queen received preſents from Alexander, whom ſhe treated in a moſt gracious manner, conſidering him as a prince violently perſecuted, and as having no reſource for relief but in herſelf. The impolicy of ſuffering ſuch numbers of Jews to remain dependent on the will of one man was urged to Cleopatra, and ſhe was adviſed to ſeize Alexander and his kingdom: but this was oppoſed by Ananias, who pleaded the iniquity of the meaſure, which would render her an object of the moſt violent deteſtation to the honeſt part of the Jewiſh people. The conduct of Ananias proved highly agreeable to the queen; and ſhe afterwards renewed a league of amity with Alexander at a city of Cœle-Syria called Scythopolis.

Alexander being no longer in dread of the power of Ptolemy, led his army againſt Gadara, in Cœle-Syria, which after a ſiege of ten months, he ſubdued; he then proceeded to Amathon, the ſtrongeſt fort on the river Jordan, where Theodotus, the ſon of Zeno, had depoſited his treaſure, and

this place he reduced. Theodotus, in revenge for the injury he had received, attacked the Jews by ſurprize, deſtroyed ten thouſand of them, and made booty of Alexander's baggage. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, the king attacked and ſubdued the ſea-coaſt towns called Raphia, and Anthedon, to which Herod afterwards gave the name of Agrippiades. Cleopatra had now returned to Ægypt, as had Ptolemy from Gaza to Cyprus. Alexander availed himſelf of this opportunity to lay ſiege to the city of Gaza and ravage the country, in order to revenge himſelf upon the people for having formerly ſolicited Ptolemy to join in repulſing him. Appollodotus, attended by ten thouſand citizens and two thouſand mercenaries, made an intrepid ſally one night upon the camp of the enemy, who ſuppoſing Ptolemy had come to the relief of the beſieged were greatly diſconcerted: but when day-light diſcovered their miſtake, they rallied and charged Appollodotus with ſo much fury as to kill ten thouſand of his party. Notwithſtanding their defeat and being threatened by famine, the people of Gaza determined to encounter all difficulties rather than ſubmit to the enemy: and they were encouraged to perſiſt in this reſolution by Aretas, an Arabian king; but he did not afford the timely aſſiſtance he had promiſed them.

Lyſimachus being envious of his own brother for the great reputation he had acquired, barbarouſly murdered him; and then with the concurrence of his adherents, treacherouſly ſurrendered the city to Alexander. Upon entering the town, he ſeemed inclined to moderation: but he ſoon gave his troops unlimited liberty for deſtruction, and a terrible carnage enſued, in which, however, as many of the Jews as of the people of Gaza were ſlain. Some of the inhabitants fired their own houſes, that they might not be plundered by the enemy; and ſome killed their wives and children, preferring that they ſhould die in freedom rather than live in bondage. The ſenators were in council when Alexander entered the city, and five hundred of them fled to the temple of Apollo for ſanctuary, but they were all ſlain, and the city was pillaged, and entirely deſtroyed. Alexander now returned to Babylon, after having employed a year in the expediton againſt Gaza.

Nearly at this period Antiochus Gryphus fell a ſacrifice to the treachery of Heraclean in the nine-and-twentieth year of his ſovereignty, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was ſucceeded in the government by his ſon Seleucus, who commenced war againſt his uncle Antiochus Cyzicenus, whom he ſubdued in an engagement, and afterwards put to death. Some time after the deceaſe of Cyzicenus, his ſon Antiochus, ſirnamed Euſebes, was crowned at Arad. He declared war againſt Seleucus, whom he defeated and drove out of Syria. Seleucus fled to Cilicia; and notwithſtanding he was received in a moſt friendly manner, he impoſed upon the Mopſeates the moſt oppreſſive taxes, which ſo greatly incenſed them againſt him that they ſet fire to the palace, wherein Seleucus and his attendants were conſumed.

During the government of Antiochus Cyzicenus in Syria, a brother of Seleucus, who was alſo named Antiochus, declared war againſt him, in which Cyzicenus loſt his life. He was ſucceeded in the ſovereignty by his brother Philip, who reigned over a part of Syria. Hereupon Ptolemy

Lathurus advanced Demetrius Eucærus, his fourth brother, to the throne of Damaſcus. Antiochus defended himſelf with ſingular bravery againſt his brothers: but he eſpouſed the cauſe of Laodice, queen of the Galadenes, in the war againſt the Parthians, by whom he was * ſlain in battle, after having manifeſted himſelf a man of great intrepidity. His own brothers, Philip and Demetrius, ſucceeded to the government of Syria, as before obſerved.

About this time Alexander was highly enraged againſt the people under his command. On the celebration of the feaſt of the tabernacles, it was a cuſtom among the Jews to march in proceſſion, carrying boughs of palm and citron. While Alexander was preparing to aſſiſt in the uſual ſolemnities, the people threw citrons at him, called him ſlave, and applied to him other inſulting terms. Highly incenſed at this conduct, he cauſed ſix thouſand of the multitude to be ſlain: and he had a partition of wood fixed up to keep the croud from the altar. He entertained no eſteem for the Syrians, and judged it not prudent to rely on them: but he choſe the Piſidians and Cicilians as mercenaries for proſecuting his ſchemes. He ſubdued the Arabians, rendered the Moabites and Galaadites tributaries, and deſtroyed Amathus, without oppoſition from Theodorus. He declared war againſt Obed, king of Arabia, during which he was ſurprized by an ambuſh in the neighbourhood of Gadara, in Galilee, and forced into a craggy and narrow paſſage, whence, with infinite difficulty, he retreated to Jeruſalem. A rebellion now enſued, which continued for the ſpace of ſix years, in the courſe of which no leſs than fifty thouſand lives were loſt. The king became extremely deſirous to effect a reconciliation: but the more anxiety he expreſſed on the ſubject, the more averſe were the people to a compliance. At length he aſked, by what means he could ſatisfy them: and the reply was that he would do it by cutting his own throat. They ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Demetrius Eucærus againſt Alexander.

CHAP. XXII.

Alexander is defeated by Demetrius Eucærus. Six thouſand Jews join Alexander in the mountains; he ſubdues Bethama, and carries the people priſoners to Jeruſalem. The maſſacre of eight hundred Jews with their wives and children, as a public ſpectacle. On account of his cruelty, Alexander is called Thracidas. Demetrius beſieges his brother Philip in Beræa. Demetrius is taken priſoner by the troops of Mithridates, the Parthian king. The death of Demetrius; and the ſucceſſion of Philip to the throne of Syria.

DEMETRIUS Eucærus led an army conſiſting of three thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, including auxiliaries, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Sichem. Alexander marched againſt him at the head of about twenty thouſand of his adherents, and about ſix thouſand Greek

* Vaillant in his *Nummi Seleucidorum* endeavours to prove this an error of Joſephus. vide, P. 376.

Greek mercenaries. Alexander employed every ſtratagem his imagination could ſuggeſt to ſeduce the troops of his adverſary to join him; and a like conduct was purſued by Demetrius towards the Greek mercenaries: but neither of them was able to ſucceed. The armies joined battle, and Demetrius proved victorious. Great havoc was made on both ſides: and the auxiliaries of Alexander fought with aſtoniſhing bravery, every man of them yielding his life ſword in hand. Alexander fled to the mountains, and compaſſion for his misfortunes ſoon after induced ſix thouſand Jews to join him. This reinforcement proved ſo alarming a circumſtance to Demetrius that he retired. The reſt of the Jews continued the war againſt Alexander, notwithſtanding they were vanquiſhed and great ſlaughter was made among them in every engagement. At length they were compelled to ſeek refuge, and moſt of the Jews, and among them the principal men, fled to Batham, where they were beſieged by Alexander, who, after he had ſubdued the town, carried them priſoners to Jeruſalem, where he exerciſed upon them the moſt ſhocking cruelty. He gave a treat to his concubines in a turret which commanded an extenſive proſpect, and for the entertainment of his company he cauſed eight hundred Jews to be crucified, and the throats of their wives and children to be cut at the ſame time. Thus were the tortures of theſe unhappy victims aggravated by being witneſſes to the barbarity executed upon thoſe to whom they were connected by the tendereſt bonds. They had revolted againſt their lawful ſovereign, invited foreign powers to ſupport them in rebellion, put his crown and life to the moſt imminent danger, and drove him to the neceſſity of relinquiſhing the poſſeſſions he had obtained in the wars againſt the Moabites and Galaadites as a gratuity to the king of Arabia for declining to eſpouſe the cauſe of his refractory ſubjects: theſe, not to mention other circumſtances of a ſimilar kind, were certainly an high provocation to ſeverity of puniſhment: but yet by no means ſufficient to juſtify his unnatural rigour. The above inſtance of cruelty rendered Alexander ſo obnoxious to the Jews, that they diſtinguiſhed him by the appellation of * Thracidas. About eight thouſand of the ſoldiers who had taken up arms againſt the king, eſcaped by night, and lived in retirement during the remaining part of Alexander's reign, which he enjoyed peaceably after the inſurrection abovementioned had been quelled.

From Judæa, Demetrius marched with ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe to beſiege his brother Philip in the town of Berœa. Straton, the friend of Philip, who held the government of the place, applied to Zizus, a prince of Arabia, and Mithridates Sinaces, king of Parthia, for aſſiſtance. They ſupplied a formidable army to repulſe Demetrius, whoſe people being greatly diſtreſſed for water, and perpetually annoyed by the darts and arrows of the confederate powers, at length ſurrendered, Demetrius being taken priſoner and ſent as a preſent to Mithridates, king of Parthia. The Antiochians who were found in the camp were allowed to return to Antioch. Mithridates behaved to his priſoner with a degree of liberality and reſpect that

* The Thracians being remarkable for a cruelty of diſpoſition, according to Thucydides, and other hiſtorical writers.

that acquired him great honour; but being ſeized with illneſs, Demetrius did not long ſurvive. In a ſhort time after Demetrius had been made priſoner, Philip repaired to Antioch, and aſſumed the government of the Syrian dominions.

CHAP. XXIII.

In the abſence of Philip, his brother Antiochus, otherwiſe Dionyſius, obtains poſſeſſion of Damaſcus. Through the agency of Mileſius, he is depoſed by Philip. Mileſius afterwards excludes Philip from the city, and admits Antiochus. All the paſſes from Caparſaba, or Antipatris, to Joppa, fortified by Alexander. A terrible encounter between Alexander and Antiochus, whoſe army is routed and himſelf ſlain. The election of Aretas to the throne of Cœle-Syria He obtains a victory over Alexander with whom he afterwards engages in a treaty. Alexander ſubdues ſeveral conſiderable places by ſurprize, diveſts Demetrius of the royal authority, and then returns to Jeruſalem. The extenſive power of the Jews. The deſtruction of Pella. At the ſiege of Ragaba, Alexander is afflicted with a quartan ague: the lamentations of his queen Alexandra: having recommended to her a reliance on the favour of the Phariſees, he expires.

WHILE Philip was engaged in an expedition againſt the Parthians, his brother Antiochus, otherwiſe called Dionyſius, procured himſelf to be inveſted with the ſovereignty of Damaſcus. Upon receiving intelligence of this event, Philip immediately repaired to the city, where he gained admittance by means of Mileſius, who was governor of the fort, and depoſed Antiochus. He offered no gratuity to Mileſius, leſt it ſhould be imagined that he had been admitted into the town through bribery, rather than the authority of his name and character: and for this neglect that officer ſeized an opportunity of revenge. While Philip was engaged in his uſual exerciſes and diverſions at the circus, Mileſius ſhut the gates of the city againſt him, and determined again to receive Antiochus; who upon gaining information of what had happened, marched out of Arabia and entered Judæa with an army of eight thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe. Hereupon Alexander cauſed a ditch to be cut of conſiderable depth, extending from Caparſaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the ſea of Joppa, which was the only paſſage whereby acceſs could be gained to the town. He alſo erected a wall of conſiderable length, and a number of towers, compoſed of wood. Antiochus ſet fire to theſe wooden fortifications, by which means he gained a paſſage into Arabia. He proceeded to engage the enemy, who gave way on his firſt attack: but they ſoon after advanced with ten thouſand horſe, and Antiochus encountered them with great vigour, and a bloody conteſt enſued. Antiochus had ſo greatly the advantage that he conſidered himſelf ſecure of victory: but obſerving one of the wings in danger of being overpowered, he eagerly preſſed to its relief, but in the attempt it was his fortune to be ſlain. The troops were ſo diſpirited by the death of their leader that they fled in confuſion to Cana, where the majority of them periſhed for want of food.

Merely from a principle of oppoſition to Ptolemy, the ſon of Mennæus, the people of Damaſcus elected Aretus to ſucceed Antiochus Dionyſius in the government of Cœle-Syria. He led an army into Judæa, vanquiſhed Alexander in the neighbourhood of Addida, and after having concluded a treaty with him, returned to Damaſcus.

Alexander ſubdued the city of Dion by aſſault. After this enterprize he proceeded to Eſſa, where Zeno had depoſited all his valuable treaſure: he environed the place with three walls, after which he reduced it by aſſault. He then marched againſt Gaulana, Seleucia, the Vale of Antiochus, and the fortreſs of Gamala, which places he alſo conquered by ſtorm. Many accuſations of mal-adminiſtration, having been exhibited againſt Demetrius, Alexander deprived him of the regal authority. After having employed three years in the above expeditions, Alexander conducted his army back to Jeruſalem; and the Jews received him with the warmeſt congratulations, expreſſing a perfect ſatisfaction in his conduct, which had brought their affairs into ſo proſperous a train.

At this period the Jews were in poſſeſſion of many conſiderable places in Syria, Idumæa, and Phœnicia; as Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rhinocura, and the tower of Straton, on the ſea-coaſt. In the inland part of Idumæa, they had Adora, Mariſſa, Samaria, and the mountains of Carmel and Itabyr, Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, and * Gabala: in the country of the Moabites, Eſſebon, Medaba, Lemba, Oron, Thelithon, and Zara: and in Cilicia, Aulon, and Pella. The laſt mentioned city was deſtroyed, in conſequence of the inhabitants having refuſed to adopt the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews, who poſſeſſed many places in Syria, which we have not particularized.

Towards the concluſion of his reign, Alexander became violently addicted to intemperance, the conſequence of which was a quartan ague. He was afflicted with this diſtemper for three years, during which ſpace he ſtill continued his attention to the affairs of government and the army: but his exceſſes and the cares annexed to his ſtation, at length produced his death, which happened on the frontiers of the Geraſens, during the ſiege of the caſtle of Ragaba, ſituated on the other ſide the Jordan.

The queen Alexandra judging her conſort beyond the poſſibility of recovery, gave way to the violence of grief, and lamented the miſerable ſituation to which herſelf and children would be reduced by his death. "My "beloved huſband, (ſaid ſhe) what will be the fate of your wife and chil- "dren if we are deprived of your protection, and left to the mercy of your "moſt inveterate foes!" To this Alexander replied, "I particularly re- "queſt that you follow the advice I am about to give: as the only effectual "means to ſecure a peaceable ſucceſſion to yourſelf and children, keep my "deceaſe profoundly ſecret from the army till the caſtle ſhall be ſubdued; "then repair in triumph to Jeruſalem with the news of victory; and let "your principal care be to ingratiate yourſelf into the eſteem of the Phari- "ſees; for your character will receive its colour from the intereſt you form "with

* Card. Noris, in his book de Epocha Syromaced. calls this place Gamala.

" with that ſect, to whoſe opinions thoſe of the multitude are entirely ſub-
" ſervient. The popular clamour againſt me has been raiſed by an oppo-
" ſition to them. On your arrival at Jeruſalem, ſend for the principal men
" among the Phariſees, expoſe my corps before them, and ſay, that from
" a veneration of their piety and juſtice, you reſign the body either to be al-
" lowed the ceremony of interment, or to be treated with contempt and in-
" dignity in return for my paſt unworthy conduct, as their direction ſhall
" dictate; and aſſure them that in this, and all other matters of a public
" nature, you will obſerve an implicit obedience to their authority. Fol-
" low this counſel, and my remains will infallibly receive the honours of
" a magnificent funeral; and yourſelf and your offſpring will be eſtabliſhed
" in the dignities of the royal ſtation." Having concluded this ſpeech,
Alexander expired, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his ſovereignty, and in the
forty-ninth of his age.

CHAP. XXIV.

Alexandra follows the advice of her deceaſed huſband in regard to the Phariſees, who direct the adminiſtration in the name of the queen. Hyrcanus, the eldeſt ſon left by Alexander, is advanced to the pontificate; Ariſtobulus, the other ſon, and other eminent men remonſtrate againſt the Phariſees: in conſequence of which the queen gives them poſſeſſion of ſeveral places of ſtrength, reſerving to herſelf Hyrcania, Alexandrias, and Machæras, wherein ſhe had depoſited her treaſure. Ariſtobulus leads an army againſt Ptolemy. The ſiege of Ptolemais by Tigranes, king of Armenia. He is oppoſed by Cleopatra. Mithridates vanquiſhed by Lucullus. The forts belonging to queen Alexandra ſubmit to Ariſtobulus, whoſe wife and children ſhe impriſons. Alexandra dies.

THE caſtle being ſubdued, the queen, in conformity to the direction of her late huſband, delivered the body to the Phariſees, to be diſpoſed of as they ſhould judge expedient, and ſubmitted the adminiſtration entirely to their direction. This conduct acquired Alexandra the warmeſt friendſhip of the Phariſees, who had hitherto been her moſt inveterate enemies: they harangued the multitude, highly extolling the merits of Alexander, and lamenting the loſs of ſo excellent a ſovereign; and their diſcourſe had ſuch an effect upon the people, that they determined to obſerve his funeral with a magnificence ſuperior to what had been known on any former occaſion.

Alexander left two ſons, the elder of whom was named Hyrcanus, and the other Ariſtobulus: but the regal dignity he bequeathed to his queen Alexandra. Hyrcanus was not qualified for affairs of ſtate, being naturally diſpoſed to a life of eaſe. Ariſtobulus was of an active and intrepid diſpoſition. The diſapprobation which the queen expreſſed of the adminiſtration during the life of her huſband obtained her the favour of the people. Through her intereſt Hyrcanus was appointed to the office of high-prieſt: this diſtinction was not given him on account of his ſeniority to Ariſtobulus, but on the conſideration that he might be governed with the leaſt difficulty.

Though

Though the government was conducted under the authority of the queen's name, ſhe was a mere inſtrument to the Phariſees, to whoſe will ſhe exacted a ſtrict obedience in her ſubjects. The traditions and ordinances of the Phariſees, which had been ſuppreſſed by her father-in-law, ſhe cauſed to be revived, at the inſtance of this ſect, who alſo obtained her concurrence to the return of exiles, and ſuch other meaſures as they were inclined to effect. She conſiderably augmented her own troops, and had a mercenary army in conſtant pay.

In this laſt, and ſome other particular inſtances, ſhe acted independent of the Phariſees. Her great power rendered her ſo formidable to the neighbouring ſtates, that they ſent her hoſtages as a ſecurity for not committing acts of hoſtility. The Phariſees were perpetually urging the queen to acts which fomented diſorders in the government. They became exceedingly importunate for vengeance to be executed upon thoſe who had adviſed taking away the lives of the eight hundred Jews, of whom we have already ſpoken. In compliance with their requeſt Diogenes was put to death, and after him many others. At length the leading men among thoſe who were perſecuted by the Phariſees repaired to the queen, Ariſtobulus being at their head; and his countenance manifeſted the abhorrence he entertained of the public meaſures. The adherents of Ariſtobulus repreſented to the queen that in the utmoſt extremity of danger they had preſerved an uniform loyalty to their late ſovereign, who had generouſly rewarded their ſervices: and they ſupplicated, that ſince they had eſcaped the perils of war, they might not be ſacrificed to the malevolence and treachery of their domeſtic enemies. They added, that if their perſecutors would proceed no further in their ſanguinary purpoſe, from a reſpect to their ſuperiors, they would ſuppreſs future complaints on what had been already perpetrated. They requeſted, that if their adverſaries were permitted to continue their cruelties, the queen would allow them to withdraw, ſaying they would rather yield their lives in the palace than retire from her juriſdiction without her conſent. They obſerved that to countenance the declared enemies of her deceaſed conſort, at the expence of his approved friends, would be a ſevere reproach upon her majeſty's honour; and Aretas, the Arabian king, and other hoſtile powers would enjoy a peculiar pleaſure upon learning that ſhe had driven from her court the men who had been ſo formidable that their very names had formerly ſtruck them with terror. They ſaid, that if ſhe was determined to yield every conſideration to the ambition of the Phariſees, they had only to ſolicit her majeſty to grant them permiſſion to retire into caſtles and garriſons, where they would terminate a miſerable exiſtence, honourably ſharing the common calamities which ſeemed to await the friends of the deceaſed king.

Theſe expoſtulations drew tears from the auditors, who invoked the ghoſt of Alexander to compaſſionate thoſe who had been ſlain, and thoſe whom it was apprehended would experience a ſimilar fate. Ariſtobulus ſpoke with the moſt freedom on the public cauſe, and he was the leaſt reſerved in uttering reproaches upon his mother. The people who were ſo heavily oppreſſed were themſelves the cauſe of the calamities they experienced by

veſting the government in the hands of an impetuous and vindictive woman, notwithſtanding the empire might have been legally conſigned to a ſucceſſor of the male line.

Being greatly embarraſſed by the conduct of the mal-contents, the queen judged ſhe could not adopt a more expedient meaſure than that of appointing them to retire to ſeveral garriſons and places of ſtrength: but it was ſtipulated that they ſhould not enter Hyrcania, Alexandrias, and Machæras, in which places ſhe had depoſited her jewels and other valuable treaſure. Soon after this ſhe ſent Ariſtobulus at the head of an army to oppoſe Ptolemy, ſirnamed Mennæus, near Damaſcus, he being a turbulent prince, and exceedingly vexatious to his neighbours: but he returned without effecting any conſiderable enterprize.

While affairs remained in this ſituation, Alexandra received intelligence that Tigranes, king of Armenia, had marched an immenſe army into Syria, and that his deſign was to penetrate into Judæa. In conſequence of this alarming intelligence, the queen diſpatched an ambaſſy, charged to make compliments and preſent gifts to Tigranes, who was then encamped before Ptolemais. The queen Selene, otherwiſe named Cleopatra, who held the government of Syria, animated her ſubjects to oppoſe the operations of Tigranes. The ambaſſadors ſent by Alexandra on the part of the whole Jewiſh people, were favourably received, and Tigranes aſſured them of a friendly diſpoſition, acknowledging that he conſidered himſelf highly honoured by the queen's ſending an ambaſſy to him at ſo great a diſtance. Tigranes ſubdued Ptolemais, and immediately after that enterprize, received information that Mithridates having been routed and purſued by Lucullus, had fled into Siberia; and that Lucullus being unable to overtake him, had marched into Armenia, where he was then committing great devaſtation. Hereupon Tigranes drew off his army, and repaired to provide for the ſafety of his own dominions.

Alexandra being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, Ariſtobulus judged that he ſhould not meet a more favourable opportunity for executing the deſigns he had formed. Accompanied only by one attendant, he went privately by night to the forts and caſtles where the friends of his late father reſided. He was greatly diſſatisfied with the conduct of his mother; and he became uneaſy upon reflecting that if death ſhould be the conſequence of her preſent indiſpoſition, the whole family would be at the mercy of the Phariſees, who had an abſolute authority over their creature Hyrcanus, the next in ſucceſſion to the government, and that he was totally unqualified for executing a public truſt. He communicated his purpoſe only to his wife, whom leaving, with his children, at Jeruſalem, he repaired to Agada, where an inhabitant of diſtinguiſhed rank, named Galates, gave him a liberal reception. On the day after that of his departure, his abſence was obſerved by Alexandra, who, however, entertained no idea of his intention, till ſhe was informed that ſeveral fortreſſes had ſubmitted to him. For when one place had accepted his propoſals, the example was immediately followed by the reſt. The queen and her party were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, judging Ariſtobulus to be a man qualified to ſucceed in the enterprize

terprize he had undertaken; and they were further alarmed by the dreadful apprehenſion that they ſhould be called to a ſevere account for the barbarities they had exerciſed upon his friends. The wife and children of Ariſtobulus were ſeized, and confined under a ſtrong guard in the citadel adjacent to the temple. The people repaired in great bodies to the prince, who in fifteen days was maſter of two and twenty caſtles. He ſpeedily aſſembled an army from Mount Libanus, Trachonitis, and the neighbouring powers, who were readily inclined to ſupport the ſtronger party, from the expectation of the advantage they ſhould derive by aſſiſting in the eſtabliſhment of a new king. Hyrcanus and the elders requeſted that the queen would give directions as to the meaſures they were to purſue. They informed her of the great power of Ariſtobulus, ſaying their ſituation was deſperate, but that though ruin was to enſue, they could not act without her concurrence. She replied, that the ſtate of her mind and body rendered her wholly incapable of the cares of government, which ſhe reſigned entirely to their management: adding, that there was no deficiency either of men or money. Having delivered theſe words, ſhe expired, in the ſeventy-third year of her age, and in the ninth of her reign.

Alexandra was a woman highly ambitious of honour and command, and ſo particularly aſſiduous in the diſpatch of public buſineſs, that ſhe may ſerve as a worthy example to rulers of the other ſex. She attended to preſent circumſtance, without vainly endeavouring to penetrate into futurity. She was moderate in the exerciſe of her authority, and lived in high reputation for juſtice and integrity. After her deceaſe the errors of her government were conſpicuous in the calamities experienced by the royal family. The queen having choſen the enemies of her houſe for her adviſers, is to be juſtly attributed as the cauſe of the misfortunes which followed. During her reign, ſhe preſerved the government in uninterrupted tranquility.

End of the Thirteenth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XIV.

Containing the hiſtory of the tranſactions from the year of the World 3898 to 3929.

CHAP. I.

Hyrcanus defeated by Ariſtobulus, in the neighbourhood of Jericho. An accommodation between them.

HYRCANUS took on himſelf the office of high-prieſt in the third year of the Olympiad one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, when Q. Hortenſius, and Q. Metulhis Creticus were conſuls. Ariſtobulus inſtantly prepared to attack him, and a battle was fought near Jericho, in which Hyrcanus was routed, many of his troops deſerting to the oppoſite party, and himſelf obliged to take refuge in the citadel, where, by the command of the mother of Ariſtobulus, his wife and children were impriſoned: the reſt of Hyrcanus's troops ſought for ſafety within the verge of the temple; but in a little while were induced to ſubmit. The paſſions of the brothers being at length cooled, they mutually agreed that the poſſeſſion of the government ſhould be ſecured to Ariſtobulus, while Hyrcanus ſhould enjoy his private fortune in

the manner moſt agreeable to himſelf. This agreement was ſigned in the temple, and validated by the ceremonies of joining hands, pledging their public faith, and embracing each other in the ſight of all the aſſembly: and this being done, Ariſtobulus departed to his palace, and Hyrcanus to his private apartments in the ſame building.

CHAP. II.

Ariſtobulus combined againſt by Antipater, in favour of Hyrcanus, who applies to Aretas for aſſiſtance. Antipater ſtipulates with Aretas, in behalf of Hyrcanus.

ANTIPATER, an Idumæan, was a mortal foe to Ariſtobulus, and, of courſe, a partizan of Hyrcanus. He was a man of fortune, of an active, but litigious diſpoſition. Antipater, from an enmity which had long ſubſiſted between him and Ariſtobulus, ſought to degrade him in the opinion of the people by every method of calumny and detraction; and at length ſo far prevailed as to excite their jealouſy and fear of him. He uſed to repreſent how unreaſonable it was that the elder brother ſhould be ſuperceded by the younger, to the excluding him from his government and birthright; and hinted that it was a diſgrace to the many noble Jews who permitted ſuch an aſſumption of power. In the ſame manner he talked to Hyrcanus, whom he adviſed to ſecrete himſelf, ſince the oppoſite party could not but have a deſign on his life, knowing that his brother was not ſafe while he lived. Hyrcanus was a man of an unſuſpecting diſpoſition, on whom this diſcourſe appeared to have little effect; but his brother Ariſtobulus was of warm and violent paſſions. Antipater perceived that his inſinuations did not operate on Hyrcanus as he wiſhed: but he ſtill urged him to avoid his brother, till at length he prevailed on him to offer his friendſhip and ſervices to Aretas, king of Arabia, and claim his protection in return; and this advice appeared the more reaſonable, as Arabia was adjacent to Judæa. This reſolution being made, Antipater repaired to Aretas, and having obtained his oath not to deliver Hyrcanus into the hands of his enemies, he returned to him with an account of the ſucceſs of his expedition. Having remained a little while at Jeruſalem, he conducted Hyrcanus out of the city by night, and, making long journies, brought him ſafe to the city of Petra, where the court of Aretas was kept. He now exerted all his influence with the king to eſtabliſh Hyrcanus in his paternal right; and, at length, by preſents and arguments, induced him to conſent. At the ſame time Hyrcanus promiſed that if, through the king's means, he ſhould be ſettled in his government, he would reſtore the twelve cities which his father had taken from the Arabians.

CHAP. III.

Ariſtobulus conquered in battle by Aretas, who drives him to the temple, and aſſaults him there. The Jews retire to Ægypt, to celebrate the feaſt of unleavened bread. The multitude ſtone Onias to death. They are puniſhed by a judgment from Heaven.

ARETAS, encouraged by the promiſes of Hyrcanus, collected an army of fifty thouſand cavalry and infantry, with which he marched againſt Ariſtobulus, whom he ſoon overcame; and many of his troops deſerting to Hyrcanus, he retreated to Jeruſalem, to which place Aretas purſued him; and attacked him in the temple; moſt of the people, except the prieſts, now taking the part of Hyrcanus; while Aretas, with his Jewiſh, as well as Arabian forces, preſſed on with the utmoſt alacrity. As the feaſt of unleavened bread approached, at the time this war was depending, the principal Jews retired into Egypt; and at this period Onias, a holy man, ſecreted himſelf, in the expectation of a civil war. The Jews, impreſſed with an idea of the piety of Onias, intreated him, that, as his prayers had formerly delivered them from famine, he would now denounce a curſe on Ariſtobulus and his people, that they might be freed from the miſeries of war. Onias heſitated; but the people repeatedly urging him, he ſtood up in the midſt of them, and ſaid, "Thou, O God, art the King of kings; and "ſince it ſo happens that we who now ſtand before thee are thy people; and "thy prieſts are thoſe who are beſieged in the temple; I humbly entreat that "thou wouldeſt not liſten to the prayers of either party to deſtroy the other!" Thus ſaying, a ſet of villainous Jews ſtoned him to death; and his barbarous murder was avenged in the following manner. During the attack of the temple, the time of the feaſt of unleavened bread arrived, when it was cuſtomary for the Jews to offer a number of ſacrifices: but the parties beſieged being deficient, deſired the others to ſupply them, and a thouſand drachmas, ready money, for each beaſt, was the agreed price. The prieſts and Ariſtobulus lowered this money in a bag, from the wall of the temple: but when the aſſailants had received it, they refuſed to deliver the beaſts for ſacrifice, thus not only robbing men, but defrauding God of the ſacrifice intended for his ſervice. On this infamous conduct the prieſts united in prayer, that God would not permit the crime to eſcape without puniſhment. An immediate judgment was the conſequence of their prayers: a violent tempeſt deſcended, which cut off the fruits of the earth throughout the province: ſo that fifteen drachmas was the price of a ſingle meaſure of wheat.

CHAP. IV.

Scaurus being ſent to Syria by Pompey, hears that Damaſcus is taken, and proceeds towards Judæa. Scaurus forms a league, offenſive and defenſive with Ariſtobulus, and commands Aretas to retreat from the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Hyrcanus and Aretas conquered by Ariſtobulus.

AT this period Pompey being kept in Armenia, in conſequence of a war with Tigranes, diſpatched Scaurus into Syria, who arriving at Damaſcus, found that Metellus and Lollius had lately made capture of that city, and therefore proceeded towards Judæa. While he was on his way thither, an ambaſſador arrived from Hyrcanus, and another from Ariſtobulus, each to treat of an alliance offenſive and defenſive: and they each offered four hundred talents as the terms. Scaurus, on conſideration of the whole matter, accepted the offer of Ariſtobulus, and directed Aretas to retire from the ſiege of Jeruſalem, upon pain of being deemed an enemy to Rome. Scaurus now returned to Damaſcus, while Ariſtobulus advanced with his army againſt Aretas and Hyrcanus, whom he attacked and conquered in a place called Papyron, killing ſeven thouſand of their men, among whom was Cæphalis, the brother of Antipater.

CHAP. V.

Pompey, on his way to Cœle-Syria, hath magnificent preſents made him. The acceptance of bribes charged on Gabinius and Scaurus. Ptolemy Mennæus redeems his life by the payment of a thouſand talents. The diſpute between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus heard before Pompey, who poſtpones the ſettlement of it: and Ariſtobulus retires to Judæa.

SOME time afterwards, on Pompey's going to Damaſcus and Cœle-Syria, ambaſſadors attended him with preſents from Syria, Judæa, and Egypt. In particular, Ariſtobulus ſent him a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, of which Strabo gives the following account: "A preſent "was made to Pompey, from Egypt, of a crown weighing four hundred "pieces of gold; and from Judæa another preſent, of a golden vine or "garden, which received the name of *Delight*. Ambaſſadors made theſe "preſents; and in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, at Rome, I ſaw the "vine, inſcribed 'Alexander, king of the Jews.' It was allowed to have "been ſent by Ariſtobulus, prince of the Jews, and was eſtimaed at five "hundred talents."

Pompey was now attended by other ambaſſadors, viz. Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Ariſtobulus, who charged Gabinius and Scaurus, the former with embezzling three, and the latter four hundred talents. Pompey undertook to hear his cauſe, and appointed the parties to attend him. The ſpring advancing, Pompey marched towards Damaſcus, in his way to which he deſtroyed Apamia, a fort belonging to Antiochus Cyzicenus.

Cyzicenus. He likewiſe adverted to the conduct of Ptolemy Mennæus, a bad man; who was, however, permitted to redeem his life by paying a thouſand talents, which were diſtributed among the troops of Pompey. This prince next razed the fort of Lycias, (poſſeſſed by Silas the Jew) and proceeded through Heliopolis and Chalcis, to Cœle-Syria, and thence from Bella to Damaſcus, where the diſpute between the Jews and their princes was to be heard. Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus charged each other, and the common people oppoſed both; ſaying, "They ought not to be governed by "kings, but prieſts, agreeable to the laws of their country." They acknowledged that the two brothers were deſcended from the line of prieſthood; but inſiſted that their view was to overturn the government and enſlave the people.

Hyrcanus pleaded, that, though he was the elder brother, Ariſtobulus had uſurped his rank and eſtate, contrary to juſtice, had robbed him of his birth-right, and reduced him to a dependance on his own bounty. He repreſented him as a man diſpoſed to harraſs his neighbours both by land and ſea; and inſiſted that the violence of his diſpoſition was what enraged the people againſt him.

The plea of Ariſtobulus was, that no view to uſurp the authority had deprived Hyrcanus of his title or dignity; but that he was ſet aſide from ruling, on the ſcore of incapacity for government, the people in general holding him in contempt. "For my part (ſaid Ariſtobulus) I had no "choice but to aſſume the government, or venture its being transferred to "another family; and with regard to the title of king, I held it only as I "received it from my father Alexander." Theſe things he offered to prove by the teſtimony of a ſet of gaudy courtiers, whoſe evidence ſeemed fit only to be rejected by men of calm and temperate diſpoſitions.

On hearing both ſides, Pompey ſeemed to be of opinion that Ariſtobulus had been too haſty in his proceedings; but, for the preſent, he diſmiſſed both parties, promiſing that when he had reduced the Nabathæans, he would return and conſider the buſineſs farther; but he enjoined them to behave peaceably in the mean time, and, leſt Ariſtobulus ſhould interrupt him in his journey, diſmiſſed him with reſpectful compliments: but the latter, regardleſs of what Pompey had promiſed, departed to Delion, and from thence to Judæa.

CHAP. VI.

Pompey in a rage, marches againſt Ariſtobulus, who delivers up the caſtles in his poſſeſſion, and retreats to Jeruſalem, towards which place Pompey follows him.

POMPEY was ſo exaſperated at the proceedings of Ariſtobulus, that he combined the army he had deſtined againſt the Nabathæans, with thoſe forces he had raiſed in Damaſcus and other parts of Syria, and his Roman legions, and purſued him through Pella and Scythopolis, till he arrived at Corœ, in the center of Judæa, where he learnt that Ariſtobulus was retired to a ſtrong caſtle named Alexandrion, at the ſummit of a mountain.

From

From this place he ſummoned him to come down, which, in dread of a war with the Romans, his friends adviſed him to comply with. They now held a conference on the ſubject of the diſpute between the brothers, after which Ariſtobulus obtained Pompey's permiſſion to retire to the caſtle; a favour which he frequently aſked, by way of obtaining his end, by keeping on good terms with Pompey: yet this did not prevent his putting himſelf in the beſt poſture of defence, leſt the latter ſhould declare for his brother. Some time afterwards Pompey commanded him to deliver up his caſtles, and to ſignify, to the governor thereof, the royal will, that no heſitation might be made. Ariſtobulus obeyed this order, but was ſo chagrined thereat, that he departed immediately to Jeruſalem, to make preparations for a war which he now thought inevitable. In a little time Pompey followed him at the head of his army; but, while on his march, received an expreſs from Pontus, informing him that Pharnaces had ſlain his father Mithridates.

CHAP. VII.

Pompey moves towards Jeruſalem. He is met by Ariſtobulus, who offers him a ſum of money, and the command of the city. This propoſal being accepted, Gabinius is ſent, but the gates are ſhut againſt him. A ſtrict guard kept on Ariſtobulus.

THE firſt place Pompey encamped at was Jericho, and the next day he proceeded towards Jeruſalem. By this time Ariſtobulus, who had regretted his former conduct, went out to meet Pompey, to whom he offered a ſum of money, with the command of the city, and whatever other gratification he might wiſh, ſo that a war could but be prevented. Theſe terms were accepted by Pompey, who diſpatched Gabinius, with ſome troops, to the city, to receive the offered money: but his endeavours were fruitleſs; for the gates of the city were ſhut on his approach, and it was urged that the ſoldiers would not abide by the ſtipulation. This behaviour ſo enraged Pompey, that he advanced to Jeruſalem, and directed that Ariſtobulus ſhould be guarded in the ſtricteſt manner.

CHAP. VIII.

The citizens of Jeruſalem divided between the intereſts of Pompey and Ariſtobulus. A peace propoſed by the former, but rejected. The temple aſſaulted and taken. The pious behaviour of the conqueror. Jeruſalem made tributary to the Romans. Ariſtobulus carried priſoner to Rome by Pompey.

DURING the time that Pompey lay before the town, the citizens were divided in opinion how to act. The friends of Ariſtobulus broke down the bridge between the temple and the city, having firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the former; while the adherents of Pompey admitted his army, and gave the city and palace into his hands. Piſo, his lieutenant,

being ſent to take poſſeſſion of them, fortified the buildings near the temple. This being done, Pompey made an offer of peace, which being rejected, he prepared for an aſſault; Hyrcanus ſupplying him with all things that were neceſſary. Pompey propoſed to begin on the north ſide of the temple, which was the weakeſt part: but this was encompaſſed by a ditch, and guarded by high towers. Craggs and precipices prevented all paſſage on the city-ſide, as the bridge was down: but the Romans, with amazing labour, filled the ditch with timber and other materials, and raiſed ramparts ſo high that they played large ſtones on the wall of the temple. But the ſabbath of the Jews intervening, gave the Romans an advantage: for on that day, though the law allowed them to repel force by force, yet they durſt not work, even to hinder the operations of their enemies. The Romans obſerving that no oppoſition was made on the ſabbath, employed that day in preparation for the attack on the following. This will ſerve to prove the high veneration the Jews have for their religion and laws, from which even the dread of death cannot induce them to depart.

When the ſiege had continued above two months, the temple was taken on a faſt-day, in the hundred and ſeventy-ninth Olympiad, during the conſulſhip of C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero. On entering the place the enemy made a general maſſacre; but even this cruelty did not deter thoſe at the altar from proceeding in their devotions, as they deemed it preferable to fall into the hands of an inveterate foe, than to abandon the rights of their religion. Theſe facts are atteſted by Strabo, Nicolaus of Damaſcus, the Roman hiſtorian Livy, and others who have written of the life and actions of Pompey. The enemy attacked the great tower with engines and batteries, and having made a breach in a wall adjacent to it, the tower fell to the ground. The breach being made, the enemy crouded in at it; among the firſt of whom were Cornelius Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla, Furius and Fabius, each with diſtinct parties. The place was covered with dead bodies, ſome of which were ſlain by the Romans, while many of the Jews killed each other: ſome threw themſelves from the walls, others fired the houſes, rather than witneſs to the barbarities that were practiſed. About twelve thouſand Jews fell in this action, though but few of the Romans. Among the priſoners was Abſalom, the uncle and father-in-law of Ariſtobulus. A number of perſons now entered the holy places, where none but the prieſts had ever been before; among whom were Pompey and his attendants, who found a table of gold, cups and a candleſtick of the ſame metal, perfumes, incenſe, and, in the treaſury, about two thouſand talents. Theſe things, however, he deemed holy, and from motives of piety, forebore to touch them, but ordered the officers of the temple to cleanſe the place on the following day, and offered ſacrifices in the accuſtomed manner. He re-inſtated Hyrcanus in the office of high-prieſt, cauſed the incendiaries who promoted the war to be executed, and rewarded, according to their merits, Fauſtus and others who had behaved valiantly in the attack. He rendered Jeruſalem tributary to the Romans, and reduced to allegiance thoſe towns in Cœle-Syria which were poſſeſſed by the Jews, whom he confined to their antient

antient boundaries. Gadara he cauſed to be rebuilt, in compliment to his freed-man, Demetrius, who was born there, and gave up to their former inhabitants the towns of Hippon, Scythopolis, Dian, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azotus, Jamnia, Arethuſa, and other places in the interior parts of the country: but Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Straton's-Tower, being all on the coaſt, he made them free ports, and added them to the province. In future time Straton's-Tower took the name of Cæſarea, on its being rebuilt by Herod.

The ruin of Jeruſalem, and the loſs of the liberty of the Jews to the Romans, is to be dated from the quarrel between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus; as the Jews were compelled to reſtore to the Syrians what they had taken in war, to pay above ten thouſand talents to the Romans, and had the mortification to ſee the ſovereign authority transferred to the meaneſt of the people, which had hitherto remained with the prieſts.

The war being ended, Pompey aſſigned the government of Cœle-Syria, even to Euphrates, and the borders of Ægypt, to Scaurus, with whom he left two legions of Roman troops; departing himſelf to Rome, having Ariſtobulus, with his ſons Alexander and Antigonus, and two of his daughters priſoners: but Alexander found means to effect his eſcape.

CHAP. IX.

The march of Scaurus againſt Petra. He accepts a ſum from Aretas, to prevent a war.

SCAURUS marching towards Petra, the chief place in Arabia, found the country ſo ſtony and deſolate, that he was compelled to commit great ravages in order to furniſh his ſoldiers with bread. Agreeable to an order of Hyrcanus, Antipater ſupplied Scaurus with corn and other neceſſaries from Judæa; and Antipater being known to Aretas, Scaurus commiſſioned him to go and treat with him; and he ſucceeded ſo well in his commiſſion, that Aretas agreed to pay three hundred talents to prevent the ruin of his country. Thus an apprehended war terminated to the equal ſatisfaction of both parties.

CHAP. X.

Alexander attacked and routed by Gabinius, who offers an amneſty, and orders the damaged cities to be repaired. Alexander delivers up his caſtles. Hyrcanus reſtored to the prieſthood. Five courts of juſtice conſtituted.

FREQUENT incurſions being made into Judæa, and much miſchief done by Alexander the ſon of Ariſtobulus, a command was given to Gabinius, who went from Rome to Syria, againſt him, and performed many actions of bravery. At this time Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, though unable to reſiſt an enemy, propoſed to repair the walls of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had demoliſhed; but the Romans prevented his proceeding in this buſineſs. Alexander now collected through the country ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, conſiſting of Jews and others, and fortified the caſtle

of Alexandrion, after having ſupplied it with ſtores. Gabinius proceeded to attack him; but ſent forward Marcus Antonius, and other officers, who being joined by Antipater's auxiliary forces, and the honeſt Jews commanded by Pitholaus and Malichus, came up with Alexander, who hereupon retreating towards Jeruſalem, a battle enſued, in which Alexander had three thouſand men ſlain, and the ſame number taken priſoners. Gabinius now beſieged Alexandrion, but offered pardon to the beſieged, on their ſurrender: but they ſtrongly guarded the walls of the caſtle, which the Romans bravely attacked, and killed many of them; Marcus Antonius, on this occaſion, behaving with diſtinguiſhed valour. Gabinius now left his army to proſecute the ſiege, and proceeded to a ſurvey of the country, and to give orders for the rebuilding thoſe cities which had been deſtroyed; in conſequence of which, after having been long deſerted, they ſoon became places of convenient reſidence. This being done, Gabinius repaired to the ſiege of Alexandrion, from whence Alexander ſent ambaſſadors, offering to deliver that place, and the caſtles of Hyrcania and Mæcharas, on the condition of his pardon; which Gabinius granted, but razed the places to the ground. The mother of Alexander (whoſe huſband and children were priſoners at Rome,) now viſited him, and he complied with all her propoſals. Hyrcanus was now conducted to Jeruſalem, and reinſtated in his office of high-prieſt. Five courts of juſtice were now eſtabliſhed, viz. at Jeruſalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Saphora, the whole province being ſeperated into five equal diviſions: the people of each applying for the adminiſtration of juſtice in their own diſtrict.

CHAP. XI.

The flight of Ariſtobulus from Rome. A body of men ſent after him. He is routed, and ſent to Rome a ſecond time. The Nabathæans defeated by Gabinius, who goes to Rome, and is ſucceeded by Craſſus.

ARISTOBULUS eſcaping from Rome to Judæa, with a view to repair and fortify Alexandrion, after the deſtruction cauſed by the late ſiege, Gabinius diſpatched after him Siſenna, Antonius, and Servilius, to ſecure the place, and take him priſoner. His fame had brought many Jews to his intereſt, among whom was Pitholaus, governor of Jeruſalem, with a thouſand men well armed: many unarmed likewiſe attended, but thoſe he diſmiſſed. Marching with eight thouſand men, to attack Machæras, the Romans overtook, fought, and conquered him, killing about five thouſand on the ſpot, while the reſt fled for ſafety. After being thus routed, Ariſtobulus, with about a thouſand men, fortified the caſtle as well as he was able; but in two days it was conquered by aſſault, and himſelf, and his ſon Antigonus made captives, and conducted to Gabinius, who ſent him a ſecond time priſoner to Rome, after he had poſſeſſed the offices of king and high-prieſt for three years and a half. Gabinius having intimated to the ſenate of Rome that he had promiſed their mother that the children

of

of Ariſtobulus ſhould be ſet at liberty, on the giving up certain caſtles, they were ſent back to Jeruſalem in freedom.

An expedition againſt the Parthians was now undertaken by Gabinius, who, altering his intention, proceeded towards Ægypt to reſtore Ptolemy. For this expedition Antipater aſſiſted him with money, arms, and corn, and induced many of the Jews near Peluſium to enter into an alliance with him.

When Gabinius returned, he found that Alexander, ſon of Ariſtobulus, had ravaged Syria with a large army, compelled many Jews into his ſervice, killed numbers of the Romans, and purſued the inhabitants to mount Garizim, whither they had fled for refuge. Hereupon Gabinius ſent Antipater, a man of honour and ſkill, to treat with the Syrians; by which many of the revolters were brought to a ſenſe of their duty: but Alexander was inflexible; for having collected an army of thirty thouſand Jews, he reſolved to hazard a battle with Gabinius. This battle was fought on mount Itabyr; and Gabinius conquered them, killing ten thouſand Jews.

After this victory Gabinius, in conſequence of Antipater's advice, proceeded to attack the Nabathæans, whom he totally routed, and gave liberty to Mithridates and Orſanes, two noble Parthians, who ſued for his protection, and whom he reported to have fled into their own country. Gabinius, having honourably diſcharged all that he had in truſt, retired to Rome, and was ſucceeded in his command by Craſſus.

CHAP XII.

The temple rifled by Craſſus. The Parthians deſtroy Craſſus and his army. Thirty thouſand priſoners made at Taricheæ. Pitholaus made captive, and put to death. Antipater's character.

WHILE Craſſus was preparing to make war with the Parthians, he went to Judæa, and plundered the temple of eight thouſand talents, excluſive of the two thouſand which Pompey refuſed to touch. He took likewiſe a bar of gold of three hundred minas, each mina computed at two pounds and a half. This bar was ſecreted in a beam made hollow to receive it, and delivered to Craſſus by Eleazar, who obſerving his avidity, gave him this as a compoſition for the reſt; for adjoining to this timber were hangings of immenſe value; and Eleazar had likewiſe the care of the other rich ornaments of the temple: nor was this bar of gold delivered till Craſſus had ſolemnly ſworn he would be content with it, and take no more: but he ſtripped all the temple, in violation of this oath.

How great ſoever this treaſure depoſited in the temple may appear, it will not ſeem ſo extraordinary, when it is conſidered how long the Jews were in amaſſing it, and that it was ſent from all parts of the world where the true God was worſhipped. That this account of its immenſe value is not exaggerated, appears by the teſtimony of various hiſtorians, among whom Strabo ſays, "Some money which Cleopatra had depoſited at the Iſle of Coos, with

"eight

" eight hundred talents of the Jews, was ſent for to that iſland by Mithri-
" dates." Now as the Jews have no public treaſure but what is ſacred, it is evident that the Jews of Aſia fearing a war with Mithridates, ſent this treaſure to Coos: for thoſe of Judæa would rather have lodged it in the temple of Jeruſalem.

In another place Strabo ſays, " Sylla going through Greece, to attack
" Mithridates, diſpatched Lucullus to Cyrene, which was then diſtracted
" by the quarrels of the Jews, who had ſpread themſelves all over the
" world." Again, he ſays, " The Cyreneans conſiſted of burghers, huſ-
" bandmen, ſtrangers and Jews, the laſt of whom are ſo diſperſed, that
" they are found in every habitable part of the earth. Ægypt and Cyrene,
" while governed by one prince, and ſeveral other countries, embraced the
" laws, rites and cuſtoms of the Jews; allowed them religious aſſemblies,
" and even educated their own children in the Jewiſh mode. In Ægypt
" were great numbers of them, to whom a part of the city of Alexandria was
" aſſigned, and they were allowed magiſtrates and courts of juſtice. The
" Ægyptians correſponded well with the Jews, who had formerly come from
" that country, and were eaſily united with the people."

Craſſus now proceeded to give battle to the Parthians; but himſelf and moſt of his army were cut to pieces. In the interim Caſſius went to Syria, where he ſtopped the progreſs of the Parthians, whoſe ſucceſs had rendered them inſolent. He then proceeded, by the way of Tyre, to Judæa, where he aſſaulted Tarichęæ, and took it, making thirty thouſand priſoners, among whom was Pitholaus, the friend of Ariſtobulus, who was put to death by the advice of Antipater. This Antipater married Cypron, an Arabian lady of high rank, by whom he had four ſons, Phaſael, Herod (afterwards king) and a daughter named Salome. Antipater was a man of ſuch obliging deportment, that he conciliated the affections of the princes and nobles who knew him; particularly of the king of Arabia, who entruſted the government of his children to his care, while he waged war with Ariſtobulus. By this time Caſſius, having re-inforced his army, proceeded to the River Euphrates, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Parthians.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæſar gives liberty to Ariſtobulus, who is poiſoned by the partizans of Pompey. Alexander beheaded. His ſiſter married to Philippion, who being ſlain, ſhe is then married to Ptolemy.

SOME time after this, Cæſar having conquered Rome, found that Pompey and all the ſenate had fled from the city, and retired beyond the ſeas. Cæſar, therefore, gave Ariſtobulus his freedom, and placing two legions under his command, ſent him into Syria, to keep that country in ſubjection: but the ſatisfaction he had reaſon to hope from this diſtinction was of very ſhort duration; for the adherents of Pompey ſoon found means to deſtroy him by poiſon: but the friends of Cæſar took care of his funeral.

For a conſiderable time his body was embalmed in honey, till at length Anthony ſent it for interment in the royal vault.

Pompey having given orders to Scipio that Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus ſhould be beheaded for former ſeditious practices againſt the Romans, the ſentence was executed at Antioch. Hereupon Ptolemy Menæus, governor of Chalcis near Libanus, ſent his ſon Philippion to Aſkalon, requeſting that the widow of Ariſtobulus would ſend to him her ſon Antigonus, and her daughters. With one of theſe daughters, named Alexandra, Philippion became enamoured, and was married to her; but he being afterwards killed, Ptolemy his father eſpouſed her, and made proviſion for the family.

CHAP. XIV.

Mithridates takes Peluſium. The breach firſt entered by Antipater.

THE influence that Antipater had in Judæa was very conſiderable. After the conqueſt and death of Pompey, by the advice of Hyrcanus, he rendered great ſervice to Cæſar in his war in Ægypt: for Mithridates bringing troops to the aid of Cæſar, being compelled to ſtop at Aſkalon, as he could not proceed to Peluſium, Antipater reinforced him with three thouſand Jews, and induced the principal people of Arabia, and all Syria, to give him their aid: among the aſſiſtant princes was Jamblicus and his ſon Ptolemy; and Tholomy of Libanus, the ſon of Sohemus: in fact, the people were ambitious who ſhould be foremoſt in their ſervices. Hereupon Mithridates proceeded to Peluſium, the inhabitants of which refuſing him admittance, he attacked the place, and broke down part of the wall. Antipater firſt entered at the breach; and the troops ſo well ſeconded him, that the town ſoon ſurrendered.

After this Antipater and Mithridates being on their way to join Cæſar, were oppoſed by the Ægyptian Jews in the country of Onias: but Antipater, whoſe credit as their countryman was not ſmall, produced a letter from Hyrcanus the high-prieſt; on which the opponents afforded them ſuch ſupplies as might be neceſſary on their march; and the inhabitants of Memphis chearfully came into the ſame intereſt.

CHAP. XV.

Antipater relieves Mithridates when near loſing a battle. Cæſar does honour to Hyrcanus and Antipater. Antigonus complains againſt them to Cæſar, who determines in their favour.

MITHRIDATES and Antipater attacked the enemy at a place called Delta, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the camp of the Jews. Mithridates was puſhed ſo hard, as to endanger a general rout, when Antipater, advancing by the bank of the river, relieved him, put the enemy to

flight, took poſſeſſion of their camp, and ſent for Mithridates to ſhare in the booty. In this action Antipater loſt about fifty men, and Mithridates eight hundred. When Cæſar was informed what had happened, he confeſſed that the honour of the victory was due to Antipater, whom he employed in poſts of honour during the war, in conſequence of which he received a number of wounds.

This war being over, Cæſar went by ſea to Syria, paying all poſſible reſpect to Hyrcanus and Antipater, the former of whom he confirmed in his office of high-prieſt, and made the other a freeman of Rome. Some writers affirm that Hyrcanus was in the above war: Strabo ſays, "Hyrcanus the "high-prieſt came with Mithridates into Ægypt;" and, in another place, he tells us that "Mithridates having gone thither by himſelf, ſent for Antipater, governor of Judæa, to come to him at Aſkalon, who brought "three thouſand men with him: and that in conſequence of his advice, "many princes and great men, among whom was Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, "went over to Mithridates."

At this period Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, repreſented to Cæſar that his father had been poiſoned for ſerving him in the wars: that Scipio had cut off his brother's head: that himſelf was diſinherited, and an object of commiſeration. He accuſed Hyrcanus and Antipater with having injured him in particular, and violated the rights of the people in general. Antipater, being preſent, obviated theſe reflections, ſpoke of the ungovernable ſpirit of Antigonus, ever ready to deſtroy the public peace, and modeſtly hinted his own merits to Cæſar, to whom he appealed on his own declaration reſpecting the late war. Ariſtobulus (it was ſaid) was always a profeſſed foe to Rome; ſo that the treatment he had received at the hands of the Romans, was no more than what the law of nations, and common prudence, would warrant. With regard to Scipio's beheading his brother; he had been convicted of ſeveral robberies, and was only puniſhed according to his demerits. Cæſar, having heard the whole merits of the caſe, confirmed Hyrcanus high-prieſt, offered Antipater the choice of any command, and made him governor of Judæa.

CHAP. XVI.

Hyrcanus commiſſioned by Cæſar to rebuild Jeruſalem. The ſenate of Rome and the Jews enter into an alliance. The Athenians league with the Jews. The people exhorted by Antipater.

AT this period the walls of Jeruſalem lying in the ſame ſtate of ruin in which Pompey had left them, Hyrcanus ſolicited Cæſar's permiſſion to rebuild them, which he readily granted, with every token of reſpect: and he likewiſe diſpatched an expreſs to the conſuls at Rome, to enter on the records of the capitol, the following reſolution.

"The ſenate being met in the temple of Concord, on the 13th day of "December, have paſſed the following decree: L. Coponius, the ſon of "Lucius, and Caius Papirius Quirinus, being preſent."

"Foraſmuch

" Forafmuch as it appears to the fenate, by the report of Valerius, the " fon of Lucius Prætor, that Alexander the fon of Jafon, Numenius the " fon of Antiochus, and Alexander the fon of Dorotheus, ambaffadors from " our faithful allies the Jews, requeft that the antient league of friendfhip " between us may be renewed; and whereas they have brought a golden " cup and buckler, valued at fifty thoufand crowns, as a prefent, in token " of their friendly difpofition; and requeft our recommendatory letters to " all governors and free towns, that they may pafs fafely by land and fea " through their refpective diftricts: the fenate therefore ordain, that the " league of friendfhip be renewed and confirmed: that whatever the ambaf- " fadors have afked be complied with, and their prefents received." This happened in the month of Panemus, in the ninth year of Hyrcanus's office of high-prieft and prince. This governor of the Jews was likewife fingularly honoured by the republic of Athens, who tranfmitted him the following decree.

" Decree of the fenate of Athens, paffed the 25th of the month Pane- " mus; Dionyfius Afclepiades being prefident and high-prieft, and Aga- " thocles Archon, reported on the eleventh of the Prytanea, in the month " Munichion, by Eucles the Alimufian, fon of Menander the fecretary. A " council of the Proedri being aflembled in the theatre, the high-prieft " Dorotheus and his aflifiants collected the fuffrages of the people; and " Dionyfius, the fon of Dionyfius, made the following publication:

" Whereas Hyrcanus, the fon of Alexander, and high-prieft and prince " of the Jews, hath uniformly, on all occafions, public and private, " received and entertained our ambaffadors, and given every other teffi- " mony of his regard to our people in general, and the citizens of Athens " in particular, of which we have abundant proof: and whereas Theodo- " fius, the fon of Theodorus of Sunium, hath credibly informed us of the " virtues of the faid prince, and his wifhes to render us every fervice; we " have determined to prefent him with an honorary crown of gold, and, in " the temple of the people and the graces, to erect a brazen ftatue to his " memory; and we order that, when in theatres and places of public exer- " cife, fpectacles fhall be exhibited to the honour of Bacchus, Minerva, " Ceres, &c. proclamation be made of our having prefented this crown in " honour of his virtue. And we further command our governors and ma- " giftrates to aid and affift in making known this treaty of friendfhip be- " tween us; that our grateful regard to men of worth and honour, and our " zeal to encourage offices of friendfhip in future, may be acknowledged. " We alfo direct that proper perfons may be immediately chofen to wait on " Hyrcanus, in our name, and with this decree and our prefents, that others " may be excited to exceed us in liberality of conduct."

Cæfar having difpatched his affairs in Syria, returned immediately by fea to Jerufalem, taking with him Antipater, who, on his arrival, gave immediate orders for repairing the walls which Pompey had thrown down. Antipater likewife made a tour through the province, exhorting a turbulent people to peace and quietnefs. He repreſented to them the virtues of obedience to their prince, by the peaceable enjoyment of their poffeffions; explained

plained what danger would result from ſeditious practices and innovations, which would compel their governors to perſecute them, force Hyrcanus to acts of tyranny, and even produce enmity from their beſt patrons and allies, the Cæſars, and the ſenate of Rome, "who (ſaid he,) will exact a "rigid obedience."

CHAP. XVII.

Jeruſalem and Galilee governed by Phaſael and Herod. Ezechias, a famous thief, put to death. Antipater envied for his reputation. He is complained of to Hyrcanus, and Herod is ordered to appear before the judges. The ſpeech of Sameas. Herod exaſperated againſt Hyrcanus. Proclamations in honour of the Jews. Brutus and Caſſius deſtroy Cæſar in the Senate-houſe.

HYRCANUS being of an eaſy diſpoſition, Antipater ſeized the opportunity of promoting his ſons, Phaſael and Herod, to poſts of eminence. To the former he gave the government of Jeruſalem and the adjacent country; and to the latter that of Galilee. Herod, at this time, was only fifteen years of age; but of a genius ſo great and enterprizing, that he ſought every opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf. The borders of Syria were at that time much infeſted with robbers, and Herod took the whole band, and put them to death, with Ezechias, their commander. This heroic deed ſo raiſed his fame among the people, that he was deemed the author of their repoſe in every town and village: it alſo brought him to the knowledge of Sextus (kinſman of Cæſar) who had then the government of Syria. Phaſael was likewiſe inſpired by his example, to ſeek for popularity. He was a man of patriotic diſpoſition, calculated for buſineſs, of admirable addreſs, temperate in the uſe of power, and never abuſing it. This diſpoſal of his ſons rendered Antipater an object of regard to the whole nation, which conſidered him rather as a prince than a deputy: and he was ſingularly diſtinguiſhed by his faith and friendſhip, and for remaining unaltered in his proſperity.

The wealth, power, and grandeur of Antipater, the dignity of his family, and the veneration in which the people held him and his children, together with the vaſt revenue he received from Hyrcanus, cauſed him to be viewed with an eye of jealouſy by the principal Jews, eſpecially when they found he was a favourite with the emperor, as well as with the common people of Rome. They inſinuated that he received money of Hyrcanus, for the uſe of the Romans, and took the credit of it to himſelf, as if he had advanced it. This being hinted in malice to Hyrcanus, he appeared rather pleaſed with the circumſtance. But the people were chiefly chagrined by the ambitious diſpoſition of Herod, which induced them to make the following complaint to Hyrcanus: "Why will you be negligent while every thing is "going to deſtruction? Perceive you not that Antipater and his ſons divide "the prerogatives and emoluments of the royal power, while you are a "prince only in title and name? Be cautious e're matters proceed too far; "for depend on it your government and life are equally endangered. If "you

" you conſider thoſe youths as your deputies, you are miſtaken; for, in " fact they are maſters. Herod's treatment of Ezechias and his com- " panions was a violation of public juſtice: for it is murder to put a man to " death without the ceremony of trial, however atrocious his crimes may " have been: but Herod has exerciſed an arbitrary power, without the " leaſt pretence of authority for ſo doing."

The mothers of thoſe who had been ſlain now continued day after day in the temple, calling on prince and people for juſtice on Herod, for the murder of their children: till at length Hyrcanus appointed a day when a bench of judges ſhould determine between Herod and his accuſers. Herod came into court at the firſt call; but, in conſequence of his father's advice, only with ſuch attendants as might appear neceſſary to ſecure him without offending the court. At this time Sextus Cæſar, who commanded in Syria, wrote in favour of Herod to Hyrcanus, with threats, if he were not acquitted: but theſe were needleſs; for Hyrcanus was extravagantly fond of him. Herod and his attendants having waited a while, without a ſingle charge againſt him, the company were wondering at the event, when Sameas, a man of incorruptible integrity, ſpoke as follows:

" I never before ſaw a priſoner at the bar behave in ſo bold and vain a " manner; and I believe your obſervation and experience will hardly furniſh " you with ſuch another inſtance. It has been formerly cuſtomary for peo- " ple, in ſuch a ſituation, to appear, by their dreſs and behaviour, re- " ſigned to the legal enquiry that awaits them: but here is a cul- " prit who ſeems to pride himſelf in his dreſs and attendants, and looks " as if public juſtice was more to be dreaded by the court than the cri- " minal. Yet I cenſure not him for conſulting his own ſafety, rather " than the reſpect due to the laws, ſo much as I do the king and judges, " who have permitted him to act in this manner. But remember that God " is juſt and powerful; and the time is advancing, when this man, whom " in favour of Hyrcanus, you are ſeeking to diſcharge, ſhall ruin you, the " judges and the king." It will appear, in the ſequel of the work, that his prediction was verified.

As it now appeared to Hyrcanus that Herod was in danger, he adjourned the court till the following day, and adviſed him to ſave himſelf by a private retreat. Hereupon Herod retired to Damaſcus, under pretence of being in fear of Hyrcanus; and, in conference with Sextus Cæſar, declared that he would diſclaim the juriſdiction of the court, if ever he ſhould be again ſummoned. This enraged the judges, who told Hyrcanus that his ruin was concerted: but though the matter was evident, and himſelf convinced of it, yet he had not courage to take the neceſſary advantage of the circumſtance. By this time Herod was ſafe in the protection of Sextus Cæſar, and had purchaſed part of the government of Cœle-Syria. Hyrcanus now ſaw the danger that might be dreaded. Herod, enraged at being expoſed to a trial, drew forth an army, and would have attacked Jeruſalem, but for the entreaties of his father and brother: on their interceſſion, however, he abſtained from farther violence to the man who had raiſed him to fortune and honour. They ſaid that though he had been cited to trial,

he lay under obligation for his diſcharge. They mentioned the uncertain chance of war, and that victory often decided againſt all human expectations: ſaid he could hope nothing from divine juſtice, when fighting againſt the prince who had nouriſhed and protected, but never injured him: yet if, at preſent, he conceived an ill opinion of Hyrcanus, he ſhould attribute his conduct to evil counſellors.

By this time Cæſar was returned to Rome, and preparing for an expedition into Africa, againſt Scipio and Cato; having been congratulated on his way by ambaſſadors from Hyrcanus, who ſolicited the renewal of antient leagues of friendſhip. In this place it may be proper to advert to the diſtinctions repeatedly paid by the Roman emperors to the Jews, and to notice their mutual alliances, that the public may ſee in what eſtimation the valour and fidelity of the Jews were held by the kings of Europe and Aſia.

It is true the hiſtories of the Perſians and Macedonians are not generally known; and though we poſſeſs them, we would rather refer the credit of our cauſe to the monumental inſcriptions on the pillars of braſs, and in the Capitol of Rome; which evidence will not be controverted; neither will that inſcription of Julius Cæſar, on the brazen pillar of Alexandria, which remains a perpetual monument of the Jews admiſſion to the privilege of free citizens. I now proceed to give the orders and decrees of the ſenate, and of Julius Cæſar, to the credit of our nation in general, and the honour of Hyrcanus in particular.

" Caius Julius Cæſar, Emperor, Pontifex Maximus, and Dictator for the " ſecond time, ſends greeting to the magiſtrates, ſenate and people of " Sidon."

" Myſelf and army are in good health, which I truſt you are alſo. I " tranſmit you a copy of our letter to Hyrcanus, ſon of Alexander, prince " and high-prieſt of the Jews, to be engraved on a table of braſs, the in- " ſcription to be in Greek and Latin, and remain among your regiſters to " future ages." This letter was to the following purport:

" C. Julius Cæſar, Emperor, Dictator, and Pontifex Maximus for the " ſecond time, hath ordered the publication of this decree, by the advice " and approbation of the ſenate."

" Whereas Hyrcanus, ſon of Alexander, a Jew, hath conſtantly, in " time of war and peace, proved himſelf our friend and ally, as is evident " from indiſputable atteſtations; and in particular by his diſpatching fifteen " hundred ſelect men to Mithridates, for my aid in the late war in Alex- " andria. In conſideration of theſe ſervices and good offices, I hereby aſ- " ſign to Hyrcanus and his heirs the perpetual ſovereignty of the Jews, as " prince and high-prieſt, in conformity to their own laws: and I direct that " they be henceforth numbered among my truſty and well-beloved friends " and aſſociates. My farther pleaſure is, that all the privileges and rights " of the prieſthood be poſſeſſed by himſelf and his poſterity, in all future " times, and if any debate ariſes among the people, reſpecting the diſci- " pline of the Jews, let himſelf and his family be the final judges thereof.

" And

" And I farther ordain that the burden of winter quarters, and all public " payments be remitted to the Jews."

Let us now proceed to particular grants, decrees, and reſolutions.

" Caius Julius Cæſar being conſul, it is commanded that Hyrcanus and " his heirs for ever, ſhall enjoy the government of the Jews, together with " the grants, emoluments, and poſſeſſions belonging to the prieſthood: and " that in all caſes judgment be left to the high-prieſt. We farther order " that ambaſſadors be immediately ſent to Hyrcanus, to treat of an alliance " of friendſhip: and that the above determination be engraved on tables of " braſs, in Greek and Latin, to be placed in the capitol, at Tyre, Sidon, " Aſkalon, and in the temples, that none may pretend ignorance of our " pleaſure, which we would have known throughout our dominions: that " proper reſpect and attention may be ſhewn to the miniſters of our friends " in all places.

" The emperor, dictator, and conſul, C. Julius Cæſar, duly conſidering " the worth, ſervices, and friendſhip of Hyrcanus, doth hereby, for the " emolument of the ſenate and citizens of Rome, grant unto the ſaid Hyr- " canus, and to his ſons, in perpetual ſucceſſion, the office and authority of " prieſts and princes of Jeruſalem, and over all the Jewiſh people, that " they may exerciſe and enjoy theſe dignities in the ſame manner their pre- " deceſſors have done.

" C. Julius Cæſar, during his fifth conſulſhip, commands and directs " that the city of Jeruſalem be fortified and repaired; and that the go- " vernment be veſted in Hyrcanus, prince and high-prieſt of the Jews: " that every ſecond year a part of their taxes be remitted, and that they " be excuſed the payment for carriages, and other aſſeſſments.

" C. Julius Cæſar, Emperor, commands that the people pay an annual " tribute for the city and all its dependencies, except the city of Joppa: " but that all duties ſhall be remitted them on the ſeventh, or ſabbatical " year, when fruit, or grain, is neither ſewed, planted, nor reaped: and " he likewiſe ordains that a duty of a fourth part of the fruits be paid every " ſecond year, by the Jews of Sidon, excluſive of the tythes to Hyrcanus " and his ſons, as heretofore paid to their predeceſſors. He commands, " that no ſoldiers be raiſed, or charges impoſed on the lands of the Jews, " for winter-quarters, or otherwiſe, by his ambaſſadors, military officers, " or governors; but that they hold all their poſſeſſions in peace. He far- " ther directs that the city of Joppa, which the Jews poſſeſſed when they " firſt became allied to the Romans, remain in ſubjection to Hyrcanus " and his family, with the revenues ariſing from huſbandry, taxes, cuſ- " toms, anchorage, port-duties, and exportation of corn to Sidon, every " alternate year, the ſabbatical year excepted. With regard to the village " that Hyrcanus and his anceſtors poſſeſſed in the great plain, the ſenate " decree that it remain with him and the Jews as heretofore: that all " laws and cuſtoms between them and the prieſts be preſerved, and that all " privileges, even to Lydda, formerly granted them by the ſenate and people " of Rome, remain good: and foraſmuch as the Romans formerly granted " lands to the kings of Syria and Cilicia, let them remain in the poſſeſſion

" of

" of Hyrcanus. Be it likewiſe granted that himſelf, his ſon and ambaſ-
" ſadors, have ſeats among the ſenators, to ſee the gladiators, and other
" public ſhews: and that whenever they apply to the ſenate, the dictator,
" or maſter of horſe ſhall procure them an audience; and that if
" the ſenate ſhall come to a reſolution, an anſwer be given them in ten
" days."

When Alexander was emperor for the fourth, and conſul for the fifth time, he recognized the worth of Hyrcanus in the following reſpectful terms:

" Foraſmuch as thoſe who preceded me in the provinces as well as in the
" ſenate, have ſpoken highly of Hyrcanus the high-prieſt, and of the Jews
" in general, to whom the thanks of the ſenate and people of Rome have
" been tranſmitted, in teſtimony of the excellence of their conduct: I deem
" theſe offices of friendſhip and reſpect as worthy of memory; and think my-
" ſelf bound, in the name of the ſenate and people of Rome, to teſtify the
" high ſenſe I entertain of the friendſhip and regard of Hyrcanus, his
" family, and countrymen."

Caius Julius, *dictator and conſul, ſends greeting to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of the* Parthians.

" Foraſmuch as great numbers of Jews, from various diſtricts, have
" complained to us at Delos, in the preſence of your own ambaſſadors,
" that you have deprived the Jews of exerciſing their laws, rites, and ſa-
" crifices, and have ſhewn us your order of interdiction; we hereby acquaint
" you that our friends and allies ſhall not be thus rigorouſly treated: but,
" on the contrary, that the quiet enjoyment of their cuſtoms, feaſts and
" ſacrifices be permitted them; a privilege not denied them even in Rome:
" for when Caius Cæſar was conſul, and public meetings forbid, the Jews
" were excepted, and permitted to aſſemble at their feaſt; and, in another
" prohibition, I excepted the Jews from the reſtraint, and left them to their
" own cuſtoms. Wherefore it is requiſite that the order you have pub-
" liſhed to abridge our friends of their accuſtomed privileges, ſhould be re-
" voked, in reſpect to us, and to them for our ſake."

Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, being conſuls, aſſembled a ſenate, to give audience to ambaſſadors from Hyrcanus, and finally complied with every requeſt they made. In conſequence of letters received from Hyrcanus, Dolabella ſent diſpatches through Aſia, and particularly to Epheſus, the capital, to the following purport.

" Foraſmuch as Alexander the ſon of Theodorus, ambaſſador from Hyr-
" canus, prince and high-prieſt of the Jews, hath informed us, that by
" their religion, laws and cuſtoms, the Jews dare not carry arms, travel,
" or even procure the neceſſaries of life on their ſabbath: by which they are
" incapacitated from attending the duties of war; therefore we hereby com-
" mand, agreeable to the practice of our predeceſſors, that from this time
" forward the Jews be diſcharged from all military cares, and allowed to aſ-

" ſemble, worſhip, and ſacrifice in their accuſtomed manner. You are to " cauſe due notice to be given hereof through the ſeveral cities of your pro- " vince. Dated in our Court, the 18th day of September."

Dolabella granted theſe privileges to the Jews, at the requeſt of Hyrcanus; and Lucius Lentulus, when conſul, pronounced that a free exerciſe of their religion ſhould be granted to the Jews who were citizens of Epheſus; and that all offices and charges reſpecting the war ſhould be remitted to them.

It would be eaſy to produce many reſolutions and decrees of the ſenate in favour of Hyrcanus, and the Jews; with letters to governors of cities and provinces, reſpecting their claims. The ancient proofs, in fact, are indubitable; and the record is yet to be ſeen, on tables of braſs, and pillars in the capitol, of their alliance with the Romans: but what is ſaid above will be ſufficient to convince every reader.

A violent ſedition now happened in Syria. Cœcilius Baſſus engaging in a plot againſt the life of Sextus Cæſar, procured him to be murdered, withdrew his troops from the province, and took poſſeſſion of it. To this ſucceeded a war on the borders of Apamia. The friends of Cæſar marched againſt Baſſus, and were joined by Antipater and his ſons, who deemed themſelves bound to revenge the murder of their friend. During the progreſs of this war, Marcus offered himſelf to ſucceed Sextus; and, in the interim, Cæſar was murdered in the Senate-houſe, by Brutus, Caſſius, and their fellow conſpirators, after having governed three years and a half.

CHAP. XVIII.

A civil war enſues on the death of Cæſar. The people greatly oppreſſed, and even ſold by auction. Malichus enters into a plot againſt Antipater, but ſaves himſelf by perjury.

CÆSAR being dead, dreadful commotions happened among the principal men of Rome, each conſulting his apparent intereſt, till a civil war was the reſult. Caſſius taking poſſeſſion of the army in Syria, which then lay before Apamia, raiſed the ſiege, and induced Marcus and Baſſus to join him; which being done, he proceeded from place to place, collecting arms, money, and men: but in Judæa he impoſed a rate of between ſeven and eight hundred talents of ſilver, oppreſſing that diſtrict beyond any other. During this confuſion Antipater committed the care of levying part of his money to his two ſons, while Malichus, (who was ſecretly his enemy) was concerned with others in collecting the reſt. Herod, ready to oblige the Romans at the expence of other people, gave Caſſius an early proof of his zeal, by valuable preſents collected in Galilee: but cities under the command of other governors, not being equally ready with their offers, were publickly ſold, with their inhabitants, to the beſt bidder, by order of Caſſius; as was the caſe with Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamma. Malichus would, on this occaſion, have fallen a ſacrifice to the rage of Caſſius, had not

not Hyrcanus compounded for his life by the payment of a hundred talents. Caſſius had no ſooner departed with the treaſure he had collected, than Malichus concerted a plot againſt Antipater, conceiving that if he was deſtroyed Hyrcanus would govern with more ſecurity. Antipater was aware of this deſign on him, and, for the prevention of its effects, croſſed the river Jordan, and placed himſelf at the head of as large an army of Jews and Arabians as he could collect: but Malichus, who was a man of equal artifice and courage, went immediately to Antipater and his ſons, and ſolemnly ſwore to his innocence. "Can it be imagined (ſaid he) that I ſhould be ſo weak "as to think of a plot or conſpiracy, when I knew that Herod had the "command of the arms and magazines, and that Phaſael had the govern-"ment of Jeruſalem?" Thus, failing in his principal view, he obtained pardon of Antipater. At this period Syria was governed by Marcus, who, hearing of other deſigns that Malichus had in Judæa, would certainly have put him to death, but that he was ſaved by the mediation of Antipater.

CHAP. XIX.

The government of Lower-Syria beſtowed on Herod, by Marcus and Caſſius. Antipater poiſoned through the contrivance of Malichus, who forſwears the deed.

THIS pardon of Malichus ended in the deſtruction of Antipater. Marcus and Caſſius having collected an army, committed the command of it by ſea and land to Herod, whom they appointed to the government of the Lower-Syria, with the promiſe of that of Judæa, when a war in which they were engaged with Anthony, and the younger Cæſar (afterwards Auguſtus) ſhould be ended. Herod's advancement made Malichus ſo jealous of Antipater, that he bribed Hyrcanus's butler to poiſon him while he was at dinner with his maſter: which being done, he took poſſeſſion of the city with a guard of ſoldiers. This murder of their father enraged Herod and Phaſael: but Malichus confidently ſwore to his innocence. The brothers were reſolved to be revenged, but differed in the mode. Herod was for taking the field with an army; but Phaſael, dreading a civil war, propoſed rather to act by ſtratagem; wherefore he behaved with civility to Malichus, never hinting his ſuſpicions of the murder: and employed himſelf in erecting a ſuperb monument to the memory of his father. About this period Herod went to Samaria, where finding all things in great confuſion, he endeavoured by the rules of law and juſtice, to adjuſt the differences that had ariſen among the inhabitants.

On the approach of a ſolemn feaſt at Jeruſalem, Herod marched his army towards the city; which terrifying Malichus, he perſuaded Hyrcanus not to admit him; and accordingly he complied, on the pretence that a communication of their worſhip with ſtrangers would defile their holy religion. Herod, however, in contempt of this order, got into the city by night; which alarmed Malichus; but he had the artifice to provide a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon, and to conceal his real ſentiments by tears and lamentations for the loſs of his honoured friend Antipater. On the other hand,

the friends of Herod pretended to have the greateſt friendſhip for, and confidence in him, as a counterbalance to the weight of his grief.

CHAP. XX.

Herod joins with Caſſius to revenge the murder of Antipater. Malichus diſpatched with daggers.

CASSIUS was ſo well acquainted with the character of Malichus, that hearing of Antipater's death, he commanded Herod to take vengeance on the murderer, and iſſued private orders to his troops at Tyre to aſſiſt him. Some time afterwards, when Caſſius took Laodicea, and the people crouded to him with money and other effects, Herod thought that would be the proper opportunity to effect his purpoſe: but as Malichus was advancing to Tyre, his ſpirits failed him, and he had recourſe to a different plan. Having then a ſon who was an hoſtage in Tyre, he conceived that if he could privately carry him off to Judæa, the Jews might be induced to revolt, and himſelf take poſſeſſion of the government, while Caſſius was at war with Anthony. This ſcheme might have anſwered the propoſed end, but that Herod prevented it: for he ſent out a number of officers to meet Malichus and his party, and invite them to a treat: which being done, they attacked him on the ſide of the town next the ſea, and ſlew him with their daggers. Hyrcanus was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at hearing of this affair: but Herod immediately informed him that it was done in conſequence of Caſſius's command; on which Hyrcanus appeared ſatisfied with the vengeance that had been taken for ſo foul a murder, on a notorious enemy to his country.

Caſſius having quitted Syria, great commotions happened in Judæa. The troops in Jeruſalem under the command of Felix, attacked Phaſael, in whoſe defence the people betook themſelves to arms. Hereupon Herod applied to Fabius, governor of Damaſcus, for aid to aſſiſt his brother, but being ſeized with a fit of illneſs, was unable to carry his generous deſign into execution. However, Phaſael was happy enough to compleat his buſineſs without aſſiſtance, compelling Felix to retreat to a fortreſs, and ſubmit on conditions. Phaſael now reproached Hyrcanus with ingratitude for taking part with his enemy, after ſuch a number of obligations received; for at this period the brother of Malichus had poſſeſſed himſelf of many fortified places, among which was Maſſada, hitherto deemed almoſt impregnable: but Herod, recovering of his illneſs, retook the places, and parted with Malichus, after having executed terms of agreement with him.

CHAP. XXI.

An army raiſed by Antigonus. The generoſity of Herod to the Tyrians. Herod encounters Antigonus, defeats him, and is married to Mariamne.

AT this time Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, paid a ſum of money to Fabius, to aſſiſt him in raiſing an army; and they procured the confederacy of Marion, to whom Caſſius had given the command of Tyre, and all Syria, in which ſeveral garriſons were placed, and three even in Galilee. Theſe places, however, were ſoon reduced by Herod, who not only treated the Tyrians that defended them, with fair quarter, but ſhewed them reſpect, and made them preſents, to teſtify the regard that he had for them. This being done, he marched to Antigonus, attacked and routed him on the confines of Judæa; and then returned to Jeruſalem in triumph, where Hyrcanus and all the people received him with every teſtimony of reſpect. Herod was now on the point of marriage with Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, and the marriage being ſoon after conſummated, he had by her three ſons and two daughters. Antipater, his eldeſt ſon, was by the daughter of Dores, a former wife of his own country.

CHAP. XXII.

Anthony and Auguſtus rout Caſſius. Phaſael and Herod complained of. Hyrcanus ſolicits the releaſe of priſoners made by Caſſius. Copies of edicts favourable to the Jews.

ANTHONY and Auguſtus having conquered Caſſius at the battle of Philippi, Cæſar departed into Gaul, and Anthony proceeded into Aſia. Marching through Bythinia, the latter received ſeveral ambaſſies, and among them one from many Jews of diſtinction; complaining of Phaſael and Herod, and inſiſting that, though Hyrcanus was the nominal governor, yet the brothers had uſurped the authority and adminiſtration. Herod pleaded his own cauſe, and backed his arguments with preſents of ſuch value, that his enemies could obtain no advantage. When Anthony arrived at Epheſus, ambaſſadors waited on him from Hyrcanus, and the body of the Jews, with a crown of gold, and various preſents, entreating that ſuch of their countrymen as Caſſius had made priſoners, contrary to the laws of war, might have their freedom reſtored, and be put in poſſeſſion of their lands, of which they had been deprived: and for this purpoſe they ſolicited Anthony's letters to the provinces. There was ſo much reaſon in this requeſt, that Anthony, in compliance with it, ſent the following diſpatches:

The Emperor Marcus Antonius, *to* Hyrcanus, *High Prieſt, and Prince of the* Jews, *health, joy, and ſalutation.*

" Foraſmuch as we have been aſſured of the regard that you and your " people entertain for us, (agreeable to what we have formerly experienced " at Rome) by your ambaſſadors at Epheſus, Lyſimachus, the ſon of Pau- " ſanias, Joſeph the ſon of Mennæus, and Alexander the ſon of Theodo- " rus, who have honourably diſcharged their commiſſion: and foraſmuch " as we are convinced of your ſincerity, piety, and virtue, by better proofs " than verbal profeſſions, we accept your friendſhip and readily agree to your " propoſals. The enemies to ourſelf and the Romans having ravaged the " whole country of Aſia, in defiance of the laws of ſociety, of oaths, pro- " miſes, and all engagements ſacred and civil, we have turned our arms " againſt them, as againſt the violators of the common rights of humanity. " The murder of Cæſar was a villainy of ſo deep a dye, that the ſun hid " its face at the ſight. Many of the aſſaſſins retreated to Macedonia, " as if there alſo to ſolicit the vengeance of heaven. Their malice at the " battle of Philippi was extreme: having poſſeſſed themſelves of the for- " treſſes, even to the ſea, under cover of mountains almoſt impaſſable, their " ſituation was ſuch, that there was only one place at which to attack them; " yet the juſtice of heaven decreed us the victory: Brutus and Caſſius re- " tired into the town, where being attacked cloſely, they fell together; ſo " that a juſt judgement being inflicted on them, we now hope the return " of peace; and that Aſia, recovering from a deſperate diſeaſe, will be de- " livered from the ravages of war. We will take care that you and your " people participate in ſo great a happineſs; and for this purpoſe have al- " ready ſent orders that the Jews, both bond and free, who have been expoſed " to ſale by Caſſius, or his order, be immediately ſet at liberty. And we " farther command that all the privileges granted by myſelf and Dolabella " be peaceably enjoyed by you and your heirs; forbidding the Tyrians " from moleſting you; directing that they reſtore all the goods and eſtates " of which the Jews have been deprived; and ſignifying our acceptance of " the crown and preſents you tranſmitted us."

The Emperor Marcus Antonius *ſends greeting to the magiſtrates, ſenate and people of* Tyre.

" Foraſmuch as the ambaſſadors of Hyrcanus, high-prieſt and prince of " the Jews, have ſignified to us, at Epheſus, that when our enemies had " uſurped poſſeſſion of this province, you ſeized the lands of many of thoſe " people to your own uſe: now know ye, that as we embarked in the war " for the public welfare, and the promotion of religion, againſt the attempts " of the rebels; we hereby command that you not only live in friendſhip " with our allies, but return to the proprietors whatever was ſeized by the " enemies, to whom the ſenate not having given right of poſſeſſion, they " could not transfer any right to others; as what they poſſeſſed was in con-

" ſequence

" ſequence of unlawful ſeizure. Having now ſubdued our adverſaries, we " judge it expedient to re-eſtabliſh our friends in the poſſeſſion of their " eſtates: wherefore, if you at preſent poſſeſs any lands or eſtates, hereto- " fore the property of Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, which were ſeized " during the invaſion of Caſſius, we command that they be immediately de- " livered to the perſons who originally owned them; and if doubts or dif- " ficulties ariſe, we will enquire into them when we come into your coun- " try, and ſee that juſtice is equally adminiſtered."

The Emperor Marcus Antonius *greets the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of* Tyre.

" I have tranſmitted you my mandate, which you will take care to ſee " fairly tranſcribed in Latin and Greek, and placed among your records, " on a table, to the public view of all the people."

Marcus Antonius, *Emperor and Triumvir, &c.*

" Foraſmuch as Caius Caſſius, in the time of public commotion, with a " lawleſs force, broke in on a province where he had no concern, and with- " out any juſt cauſe, ravaged the country of the Jews, our faithful adhe- " rents; and continued his oppreſſions till the uſurpers were reduced by our " arms. Now in order to repair, as far as in us lies, the damages ſuſtained, " we command that reſtitution of, or ſatisfaction for, whatſoever hath been " taken from them be immediately made; and that inſtant liberty be given " to the priſoners of that nation: and, on pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure, " we command obedience to this decree."

Inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe were written to the people of Sidon, Antioch, and Arad; which is mentioned to prove what reſpect the Romans conſtantly paid to the Jews.

CHAP. XXIII.

Anthony falls in love with Cleopatra. Accuſations againſt Herod and Phaſael, who undergo a trial. Herod's accuſers loſe their lives through their ingratitude.

ON Anthony's going toward Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, to pay her reſpects; on which he became moſt violently enamoured of her. At this period near a hundred perſons of rank amongſt the Jews complained to him of the conduct of Herod and Phaſael, bringing with them a number of good orators, to act as counſellors. Anthony heard the cauſe at Daphne: Meſſala pleaded for the brothers, and was ſupported by Hyrcanus. When the pleadings were ended, Anthony aſked Hyrcanus which of the young men was beſt qualified for a governor. He replied Herod: but Anthony had ſuch regard to them both, (in remembrance of the kindneſs of their father Antipater, who protected him when Gabinus invaded Judæa,) that

that he made them tetrarchs, and committed that country to their government. He wrote many letters in their favour, threw fifteen of their moſt implacable enemies into priſon, and had reſolved to have them executed, but that Herod interfered, and obtained their pardon. Herod's benevolence, however, had no weight with his enemies; who were no ſooner diſmiſſed, than they concerted new ſchemes to deſtroy him. Having ſelected a band of a thouſand people, they went towards Tyre, to wait the arrival of Anthony. In the mean time Herod and his brother had made ſuch an intereſt by valuable preſents, that Anthony diſpatched orders to the magiſtrates of Tyre, commanding them to ſupport the authority of Herod, and to puniſh the Jewiſh meſſengers, as people whoſe wiſh was to fruſtrate the ſchemes of government. Herod now gave a ſecond proof of his benevolence, by going out to meet the deputies, whom he adviſed to retire. Hyrcanus ſeconded this advice, repreſenting the miſchief that might ariſe from their perſeverance: but in defiance of all danger, and in contempt of advice, they obſtinately perſiſted in going forwards, till being met by numbers, both Jews and Tyrians, many of them were ſlain, many wounded, and the reſt fled; which put an end to all open oppoſition; but the vulgar continued to revile the proceedings of Herod, till Anthony was ſo exaſperated that he ordered judgment of death on the priſoners.

Syria was conquered in the following year, by Pacorus, ſon of the king of Parthia, and Barzaphanes a prince of the country. At this period died Ptolemy Mennæus; who was ſucceeded by his ſon Lyſanias, who, through the intereſt of Barzaphanes, contracted an intimate friendſhip with Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus.

CHAP. XXIV.

The death of Herod and his party, and the depoſition of Hyrcanus, concerted by Antigonus. Pacorus and Barzaphanes unite againſt Judæa. Entrance denied to Pacorus by the Tyrians. The Jews of Mount Carmel take part with Antigonus. The brothers place a guard on the temple; but the adjacent houſes are fired. Phaſael betrayed by Pacorus. Barzaphanes denies a treachery with which he is charged.

THE people of Parthia were offered a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, by Antigonus, on the condition of their killing Herod and his adherents, depoſing Hyrcanus, and accepting Antigonus governor in his place. Hereupon the Parthians marched againſt Judæa, Barzaphanes going through the inland country, and Pacorus by the ſea-coaſt. The people of Tyre refuſed to admit Pacorus into the city; but thoſe of Sidon and Ptolemais received him readily. On this he entruſted a party of horſe to the king's cup-bearer, whoſe name likewiſe was Pacorus, to obſerve the ſituation of the country, and aſſiſt Antigonus, if it ſhould be neceſſary. The Jews of Mount Carmel aſſociated with Antigonus, who expected to conquer that part of the country called Drymæ, by their aſſiſtance. Many reinforcements joining him, he was induced to advance to Jeruſalem, to

attack Herod and Phaſael in the royal palace: but as he was proceeding to put his deſign in execution, the brothers attacked him in the market-place, and compelled the partizans to retreat to the temple. Herod placed a guard of ſoldiers in the adjacent houſes; but the croud ruſhing violently in upon them, ſet fire to the houſes, which were conſumed, with thoſe that were in them. Herod ſoon revenged this action by ſlaying a great number of them in battle. There were now almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes, till near the feaſt of pentecoſt, which Antigonus anxiouſly expected, on account of the number of people then reſorting to the city. The time arriving, thouſands, both armed, and unarmed, crouded round the temple, and every part of the city was thronged, but the palace, which Herod guarded, while Phaſael took charge of the walls and outworks. The enemy being now ſtationed in the ſuburbs, Herod ſallied out on them, killed many, and routed thouſands, ſome of whom fled to the city, ſome to the temple, while numbers ſought refuge behind an adjacent rampart. In this attack Phaſael likewiſe behaved nobly. Pacorus now, by the perſuaſion of Antigonus, entered the city with a ſmall party, under pretence of reſtoring peace; but in fact to promote Antigonus to the government. They were, however, treated reſpectfully by Phaſael; but in return Pacorus laid a plot againſt his life, under pretence of an embaſſy to Barzaphanes. Phaſael, naturally unſuſpicious, agreed to undertake this embaſſy, though much againſt the opinion of Herod, who adviſed deſtroying Pacorus and his people, knowing how little confidence was to be repoſed in them. Hyrcanus and Phaſael, however, proceeded on their journey, leaving behind them two hundred horſe, and ten of the people called freemen, with Herod, and being conducted by Pacorus. When they arrived in Galilee, the governors of the adjacent garriſons came in arms, and with preſents, to meet them; and among the foremoſt of theſe was Barzaphanes, notwithſtanding the latent treachery of his heart. Phaſael and his attendants being conducted to a ſtation near the ſeaſide, were there informed that Antigonus was to give the Parthians a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, for this ſervice. Phaſael now ſuſpected treachery; and the ſame night he had information that a band of ſoldiers were ready to ſeize him. This plot would have been certainly executed, but that they waited for advice of Herod's being ſeized at Jeruſalem, agreeable to a pre-concerted plan: for if the others had been firſt ſeized, it was thought that Herod might have had time enough to eſcape. The arrival of guards that were to take them into cuſtody, proved the reality of this contrivance. Hereupon Phaſael's friends adviſed him to take horſe, and ſeek his ſafety; particularly Ophellius, who had detected the conſpiracy through the information of Saramella, one of the richeſt men in Syria, who living near the ſea-coaſt, offered him the convenience of ſhipping from his houſe. But Phaſael diſdained to leave his friends in diſtreſs; and going to Barzaphanes, directly accuſed him with the baſeneſs of his conduct: "If "money (ſaid he) had been your object, I ſhould have conceived that Pha- "ſael might have more amply gratified you than Antigonus; to ſay no- "thing of the intended infamous inſult to be offered to the perſons of am-

" baſſadors, in violation of the laws of nations, and the rights of hoſpi-
" tality." Barzaphanes departed to Pacorus, having firſt denied the whole fact.

CHAP. XXV.

The Parthians ſeize Hyrcanus and Phaſael. A ſcheme to take Herod, who accuſes Pacorus. Alexandra governs Herod. He eſcapes, and builds Herodium. Joſeph meets Herod at Reſa. Herod goes to Petra. The beſieging of Jeruſalem, and demolition of Mariſſa. The government given to Antigonus. Phaſael deſtroys himſelf. Herod's preſence of mind. He applies to Malichus, king of Arabia, who orders him to leave the country. He departs for Ægypt and Rome, and relates his whole ſtory to Anthony.

AS ſoon as Barzaphanes had retired, a party of ſoldiers ſeized Hyrcanus and Phaſael, who exclaimed againſt the villainy of ſuch treatment: at this inſtant an eunuch was ſent to take Herod, if he could be enticed out of his palace; but his correſpondence with his brother having been intercepted, he ſuſpected their deſign, and went to Pacorus, and the chiefs of the Parthians, to expoſtulate with them. They anſwered that they were unacquainted with the matter, but if he doubted of his brother's welfare, his beſt way would be to go out of the town, and receive his letters, leſt they ſhould fall into improper hands. But Herod, having heard how his brother had been treated, was ſuſpicious; and his ſuſpicions were confirmed by Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, to whoſe daughter Herod was to be eſpouſed; and by her advice he governed himſelf. The Parthians now took till the following day to conſult how they ſhould act with Herod, for they were afraid to ſeize him openly; but Herod, knowing how violently they had acted towards his brother, and conſidering how dangerous it might be to remain longer among them, reſolved to attempt an eſcape in the night. Hereupon he provided waggons, horſes, and other beaſts of carriage for the women, among whom were his mother, ſiſter, and Mariamne, the neice of Ariſtobulus, and daughter of Alexander, to whom he was to be married. There were likewiſe the mother of his intended wife, with his own youngeſt brother, and all the family. Having collected his troops, they departed towards Idumæa, and were conſiderably advanced before their enemies had notice of their deſign. It was melancholy to think of women, with children at their breaſts, being thus hurried from their country, while their friends were in bonds, and themſelves in apprehenſion of a ſimilar fate.

At this period, however, Herod remained immoveable, animating his companions both by example and advice: he ſaid that neither their lives nor perſons were ſecure but in flight; and adviſed them not to loſe that time in lamentation which ought to provide for their ſafety: on which they reſolved to act with a becoming degree of reſolution. At this inſtant a waggon being overturned, endangered the life of Herod's mother; which ſo affected him, that, partly through tenderneſs to her, and partly through apprehenſion that the loſs of time might occaſion his being overtaken by the enemy, he would have

have thrown himſelf on his ſword, had not his attendants prevented him. They urged that he ought not to ſacrifice his friends to the fear of his enemies, and that a brave man ſhould diſdain to injure the public by his own deſtruction. Being reduced to the power of recollection, he took all poſſible care of his mother, and haſtened his journey to Maſſada: the Parthians frequently preſſing on him in ſmall parties; but he was ſtill victorious. When he was about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, the Jews who had purſued, attacked him; but he routed them, ſhewing admirable diſcipline in the fight, notwithſtanding his hurry and confuſion. On his ſubſequent advancement to the throne, Herod built a palace on the ſpot where this victory was obtained, and near it a village which he called Herodium.

Proceeding to Reſa in Idumæa, Herod's brother Joſeph met him, and they conſulted how to get rid of great numbers of uſeleſs people that were with them, excluſive of their troops: and conſidering that the caſtle of Maſſada, to which they intended to retire, was too ſmall to contain them all, they diſcharged about nine thouſand perſons, to ſeek ſubſiſtence in Idumæa, till they could find a regular ſettlement. Thoſe who were fit for war he kept, and having placed in the caſtle his near relations, with the women and children, in all about eight hundred people, he left them ſufficient proviſions, and proceeded to Petra, the chief city of Arabia.

On Herod's leaving Jeruſalem, the Parthians, the next morning early, ravaged the city and palace, ſeizing every thing therein, except three hundred talents belonging to Hyrcanus, and a few valuable articles the property of Herod. Nor were the Parthians ſatisfied with plundering the city, but ravaged the adjacent country, and totally demoliſhed the city of Mariſſa, which was famous for its ſtrength and riches.

The king of Parthia having given the government to Antigonus, Hyrcanus and Phaſael were delivered to him as priſoners: but he regretted the loſs of the women, who, as well as the money, were to be delivered to him by contract. Antigonus now ordered that Hyrcanus's ears ſhould be cut off, to incapacitate him for the office of high-prieſt; preſuming that the people might otherwiſe at ſome future period, reſtore him.

Phaſael, finding that he was deſtined to death, determined that his enemies ſhould not deſtroy him, but, as his hands were fettered, daſhed out his brains againſt a wall. It has been ſaid that the hurt was not mortal; but that the ſurgeons employed by Antigonus, put a period to his life, by dreſſing his wounds with poiſon. However, he lived to learn that Herod was ſafe from the hands of his enemies, which enabled him to die in peace.

In the interim Herod, ſo far from ſinking under his misfortunes, ſeemed but the better diſpoſed to encounter them. He applied to Malchus, king of Arabia, for a loan of money, either on paying intereſt for it, or in mere friendſhip, having no doubt that a prince who owed him ſo many obligations, would be glad to repay them. At this time he had not heard of his brother's death, and his intention was only to raiſe three hundred talents for his ranſom, and he took a ſon of Phaſael, of ſeven years of age, to pledge for the money. Meſſengers now arrived from Malchus, directing Herod to quit the country, for the Parthians would not admit his ſtay. He replied,

that he came not to give trouble, but to adjuſt his own buſineſs: but he conceived this treatment aroſe from a wiſh of ſome powerful people to avoid paying a juſt debt, and defraud him of money that had been lodged in their hands by Antipater.

Herod now retired towards Egypt, calling, in his way, at a temple where he had left a number of his friends. At Rhynocura, on the following day, he was told of his brother's death. By this time Malchus, repenting his ingratitude, went after Herod, to make reparation; but he was too late; for the former was gone to Peluſium, where arriving, the mariners bound to Alexandria would not take him on board. Hereupon he applied to the magiſtrates, who in reſpect to his former character, attended him into the city, where Cleopatra entertained him with magnificence, and entreated that he would reſide there ſome time: but he was ſo determined to go to Rome, that neither dangers, difficulties nor entreaties could prevent him from putting his ſcheme in practice.

Hereupon he embarked for Pamphilia, and after a tempeſt that obliged the ſeamen to throw the lading overboard to ſave the ſhip, he was at length landed at Rhodes, where he was happy enough to meet Sappinas and Ptolemy. He contributed part of his ſhattered fortune to the repair of the town, which was almoſt deſtroyed by the war with Caſſius. At Rhodes he ſhipped himſelf for Italy, and after putting in at Brunduſium, proceeded to Rome, where he informed Anthony of what had happened in Judæa: related the murder of his brother; the impriſonment of Hyrcanus; the contract for the thouſand talents, and five hundred women, to be delivered to the Parthians when the government devolved to Antigonus. "With regard "to the women (ſaid he) I got them away by night, and lodged them in a "place where they are now beſieged, and in momentary danger of being "made priſoners. Theſe are the facts: and in defiance of every danger by "ſea and land, I have come to ſtate my affairs, and to ſolicit your "aſſiſtance."

CHAP. XXVI.

Auguſtus and Anthony become Herod's friends. He is elected king of Judæa. Anthony and Auguſtus conduct him to the capitol. The caſtle of Maſſada attacked by Antigonus. Ventidius extorts money from Antigonus.

ANTHONY was affected with the ſtory of Herod's misfortunes. He reflected on the inſtability of fortune, which might ſoon make his own ſituation as pitiable: he recollected the friendly offices formerly done him by Antipater, father of Herod; nor forgot the ſum he was to receive when he advanced Herod to the rank of a king: but what chiefly influenced him in his favour was the enmity he had to Antigonus, whom he conſidered as a dangerous man, and a foe to Rome. Auguſtus ſeconded Anthony's views in favour of Herod, partly on account of a family acquaintance; partly becauſe his father and Antipater had been fellow-ſoldiers in Egypt; and partly from his

his wiſh to gratify Anthony. Meſſala and Atratenus preſented Herod to the ſenate of Rome, recommending him to their regard, on account of his own and his father's ſervices; reprobating Antigonus, for accepting the government from the Parthians, in contempt of the Romans, and for his former ill conduct. When the ſenate were warmed with their addreſs, Anthony ſaid that in conſideration of the preſent ſtate of the war with the Parthians, it would be proper to appoint Herod king of Judæa; and this was univerſally agreed to. Diſtinguiſhed as this honour was, Herod owed much to Anthony for procuring it; ſince the Romans deviated from their uſual practice, in beſtowing a royal dignity on one who was not a branch of a royal family. His ambition had aſpired no farther than to ſolicit it for Alexander brother of Mariamne, and nephew to Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, whom he afterwards put to death, as will appear in the ſequel. This buſineſs was tranſacted in ſeven days, at the end of which Herod was ſent from Italy, on the exerciſe of his new dignity.

When the ſenate broke up Herod was conducted to the capitol, between Anthony and Auguſtus, attended by the conſuls and ſenators, where they offered ſacrifices, and depoſited their decrees. This was in the conſulſhip of C. Domitius Salvinus, and C. Aſinius Pollio, in the 184th Olympiad; and Anthony made a moſt ſuperb entertainment, to congratulate the new king on his acceſſion.

During Herod's abſence Antigonus beſieged the caſtle of Maſſada, where all proviſions were plenty except water, for which they were ſo diſtreſſed, that Joſeph, with 200 men, had reſolved to force their way through the beſiegers to the Arabians; having been informed that Malchus regretted his late ungenerous treatment of Herod: but at this juncture a violent ſhower of rain falling, their ciſterns and reſervoirs were all filled with water, which determined them to remain in their preſent ſituation: and animated by this providential relief, they made repeated ſallies on the enemy.

In the interim, the Parthians were driven out of Syria by Ventidius, a Roman general, who then went into Judæa, on a pretence of aſſiſting Joſeph; but in fact to extort money from Antigonus, which, by advancing his troops to Jeruſalem, he effected. His end being anſwered, he retreated with the greater part of them; leaving a few under the command of Silo, to diſguiſe his deſign: for Antigonus was compelled to compound with him alſo, leaſt he ſhould attack him before the arrival of the Parthians, whom he expected to his aſſiſtance.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod returns out of Italy, and marches towards Antigonus. Anthony orders Silo and Ventidius to aſſiſt Herod. Silo becomes a penſioner to Antigonus. Herod advances towards Joppa, and reſcues Silo. He takes Joppa, and relieves Maſſada. He takes Reſa, and marches with Silo's troops towards Jeruſalem. An act of indemnity and oblivion offered. Herod reproached on account of his extraction. A mutiny among the ſoldiers. Herod quiets them, and ſupplies them with all ſorts of proviſions. He advances to Jericho. The city rifled by the Romans. Joſeph being ſent into Idumæa by Herod, he himſelf goes to Samaria. The robbers routed, and Galilee reduced. Pheroras provides for the army, and repairs to Alexandrion. Anthony orders Silo to join Herod. Mode of puniſhing the robbers. An old man kills himſelf, his wife, and ſeven children, rather than accept of favour. The government is left to Ptolemy, and Herod marches to Samaria. Ptolemy killed. The Parthians defeated. Macherus puts the Jews to death in his way to Emmaus. Herod afflicted; but forgives the offence. Herod leaves the command of the army to his brother Joſeph, and retires to Anthony, who was ſtationed before Samoſata. Anthony receives Herod with honour and reſpect, and Antigonus delivers up Samoſata. Anthony commits his army to Soſius, and departs into Ægypt. The death of Joſeph. A revolt in Galilee. Gath is fortified by Macherus. The dreams of Herod. A wonderful providence preſerves Herod at Jericho. Pappus defeated by Herod. He is ſurprized in the Bath. Jeruſalem beſieged by Herod.

BY this time Herod was returned out of Italy, and had reached Ptolemais, on his way towards Galilee, to meet Antigonus, having under his command a large body of auxiliary troops, beſides his own forces. At this period alſo Gellius arrived from Anthony, with orders to Silo and Ventidius, that they ſhould afford Herod all poſſible aſſiſtance in taking poſſeſſion of his kingdom: but when theſe orders arrived, Ventidius was buſily employed in ſubjecting tumults that had taken place in ſeveral cities, through the means of the Parthians; and Silo was in Judæa, on the receipt of a penſion from Antigonus. Herod's army being collected, appeared to be conſiderable, and increaſed as they marched: almoſt all the people of Galilee declared in his favour. The firſt great object of his preſent wiſh was to raiſe the ſiege of Maſſada, in order to give liberty to his friends and relations, who had been ſo long impriſoned in that city. But in this expedition Joppa appeared to be ſuch a barrier againſt his views of advancing to Jeruſalem, that he could not think of leaving ſo ſtrong a place unſubdued. In this ſituation Silo marched off; and the Jews making a cloſe attack upon his rear, Herod drove in upon them with a ſelect party, put them to the rout, and reſcued Silo, when he was on the point of being made priſoner. This being done, Herod made a conqueſt of Joppa, and, without loſs of time, repaired to relieve his friends in Maſſada, at which place numbers of people flocked to his aſſiſtance; ſome of them on account of his father, ſome in reſpect to his own merits, and a third ſort in conſideration of the obligations they owed to both: but a hope of ingratiating themſelves with the new king

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was the moſt prevailing motive. In the interim Antigonus had laid ſeveral ſnares and ambuſhes to entrap him in his way. Theſe, however, produced ſcarce any effect; and Herod, having raiſed the ſiege of Maſſada, gave all poſſible relief to his friends. He then attacked and took the caſtle of Reſa, and marched towards Jeruſalem, his army being compoſed of a number of citizens that dreaded his power; together with Silo's forces. Having ſtationed his army on the weſt quarter of the city, many violent ſallies were made againſt him, and the beſieged galled his forces with repeated ſhowers of darts and arrows. In the interim Herod commanded his herald to proceed round the walls of the city, and proclaim, in different places, that his whole view in the undertaking was the benefit of the city, and the welfare of the public at large: that ſo far from harbouring the leaſt intention of doing them any injury, he was willing to grant a perpetual oblivion and forgiveneſs of all paſt offences, let the crime be ever ſo atrocious, and by whomſoever it might have been committed. In anſwer hereto, Antigonus (in an addreſs to Silo and the Roman ſoldiers) repreſented how inequitable and unreaſonable a thing it was, to think of advancing Herod to the throne, who was himſelf a private man and an Idumæan, and to be conſidered in no other light than as a half Jew; a practice diametrically oppoſite to ancient cuſtom, and to the laws and rights of ſucceſſion. Antigonus farther ſaid, that if they were offended at his receiving the crown from the hands of the Parthians, and ſought to deprive him of the dignity on that account, there were not wanting ſeveral of the royal and ſacerdotal line, who had merited equally well from the Romans, and having an indiſputable title to the government, the depriving them of it would be an act of the higheſt injuſtice. At length the diſpute between Herod and Antigonus encreaſed to that degree, that abuſive language paſſed, and in the end Antigonus commanded his men to drive the enemy from the walls; which they did effectually, by means of darts and arrows. There now remained no doubt but that Silo had been corrupted. He had tampered with many of his acquaintance among the troops, who began to be very clamourous for money and proviſions; demanded more commodious winter-quarters, and ſaid that Antigonus had ravaged the country in ſuch a manner that no ſubſiſtence was to be obtained in it. This mutinous diſpoſition encreaſed to ſo great a degree, that the ſoldiers were on the point of quitting their arms, and deſerting. Herod, on the contrary, declaimed on his authority; made uſe of the names of Cæſar, Anthony, and the ſenate, who had commiſſioned him to come into that country; and encouraged both his officers and ſoldiers not to depart from their duty, but to rely on him, who would exert his utmoſt influence to accommodate them with every convenience that their preſent ſituation would allow. Hereupon he diſpatched commiſſaries to buy up all kinds of neceſſaries, ſo that Silo had not the leaſt cauſe of complaint left; for the troops were ſoon ſupplied with incredible quantities of proviſions: Herod having likewiſe directed his friends in Samaria to collect at Jericho great ſtores of corn, wine, oil, and cattle, and to ſupply the army from thence. Antigonus conceiving rightly of what had been directed, ſent out parties to patrole the fields and roads, and intercept the perſons bringing the ſupplies: and, according to order,

they

they lay in detachments near Jericho, and about the crags of the mountains, watching when the convoys might paſs. Nor was Herod leſs aſſiduous on his part; for with ten companies of troops, half conſiſting of Jews, and the other of Romans, together with a hired party, he marched toward Jericho; but five hundred of the inhabitants, with all their families, having quitted the town, and fled to the mountains, he purſued them, made them priſoners, but afterwards gave them their liberty. The city was ranſacked by the Romans, who found therein an immenſe treaſure, conſiſting of money, jewels, rich furniture, and other valuable effects. The king having left a garriſon in the place, retired by the way that he came, and appointed his army to take up their quarters in places which he had lately conquered; as Samaria, Idumæa, and Galilee. Antigonus bribed Silo with a ſum of money to permit the Roman army to be quartered in Lydda, which was done to obtain the friendſhip of Anthony. The Romans were now in the midſt of peace and plenty, and every way well accommodated.

Herod, however, whoſe diſpoſition would not permit him to remain long idle, ſent one thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, under the command of his brother Joſeph, into Idumæa, while he himſelf went to Samaria, to take proper care of his mother, and the reſt of his relations, whom he had conveyed from Maſſada; and then he went to Galilee, to take in ſome garriſons of which Antigonus was in poſſeſſion. Arriving at Sepphoris, while the ſnow laid deep on the ground, he found that the inhabitants had deſerted the place, but left behind them great quantities of proviſions of all kinds. At this time the adjacent country, particularly about Arbela, was moſt dreadfully infeſted with robbers, who iſſuing from their lurking places in the mountains, diſturbed the neighbourhood in a high degree. Hereupon Herod ordered out a ſquadron of horſe, and three companies of foot, to drive them out from their retirements. He marched againſt them with his whole army, about forty days after he had ſent out this force; on which the robbers made their appearance, and attacked Herod's troops with ſo much reſolution that his left wing gave way; but bravely rallying his forces, and putting himſelf at the head of them, he renewed the charge, and totally routed the opponents, whom he purſued even to the river Jordan. The conſequence of this victory was that, in a ſhort time, all the people of Galilee ſubmitted, except thoſe who had taken refuge in the mountains. On this concluſion of the buſineſs, Herod directed that one hundred and fifty drachmas ſhould be given to each private ſoldier, and a ſum proportionably larger to the officers; and they were ordered into winter quarters on the receipt of this gratuity. Herod was now informed by Silo and his officers, who had been in the pay of Antigonus, that the latter not only refuſed to grant them more than proviſions for one month, but had likewiſe iſſued orders to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, to clear the country of all the neceſſaries of life, and to ſtarve the Romans out of their quarters, by retiring with the proviſions to the mountains. Herod, however, prevented this calamity from befalling them, by directing his younger brother Pheroras to take care and provide for the army, and likewiſe to repair the then ruined fort of Alexandrion: and he executed both theſe commiſſions with great fidelity, and much to his credit.

Ventidius was at this time in Syria, and Anthony at Athens, who commanded Silo to repair to the former place with the Parthian auxiliary troops; but firſt to give his aſſiſtance to Herod, if it ſhould be found neceſſary. To him he repaired, but Herod diſpatched Silo and his forces to Ventidius, while himſelf marched againſt ſuch of the enemy as were ſkulking about in the mountains. The paſſages were ſo narrow, and the rocks ſo ſteep, that it was almoſt an impoſſibility to approach them; and themſelves and families lived in the caverns. On viewing theſe places Herod found that it would be equally impoſſible to creep down on them from above, or ſcale them from below; and he therefore had recourſe to the following contrivance: he had a number of caſes made, to be let down by iron chains from a machine at the top of the hills: in which caſes were men with hooks, darts, lances, and other arms, to deſtroy them in their holes, or draw them out, and throw them headlong to the bottom, as might be requiſite. Conſidering the depth and danger of the place, this was a horrid experiment: beſides that the robbers were furniſhed with proviſions in their caverns. On letting down one of theſe caſes to the mouth of a cell, and no one daring to come out, a ſoldier, impatient of waiting, ſeized his ſword and buckler, and catching hold of the chain that ſuſpended the caſe, ſlipped into a cavity of the rock. In this place he ſlew ſeveral with his darts, and in caſe of their reſiſtance drew out others with his hooks, and caſt them down the precipice. Some he killed with his lance, and then ſafely returned to the caſe. Thoſe who eſcaped were terribly frightned by the lamentations of the wounded, but night advancing, nothing more was done. The king now offered pardon to all who would lay down their arms and ſubmit, and many acceded to theſe terms of mercy.

The attack was commenced in the ſame manner on the following day; only they expoſed themſelves more; placing fire to combuſtible materials that were in the caves, by which the parties were ſmothered. In one cave was an old man, who had a wife and ſeven ſons, who earneſtly implored him to ſubmit to the enemy. The man however took his ſtation at the mouth of the cave, and as they attempted to paſs him, he ſtabbed them one after the other, killing his wife the laſt. Their bodies he threw down the precipice, and followed them himſelf, determined rather to die, than ſacrifice his liberty. While he was thus deſtroying his family, he reprobated Herod on account of the meanneſs of his extraction; though the prince, who ſtood at a diſtance, courted his acceptance of mercy, by the moſt expreſſive ſigns in his power. The war between Herod and theſe people was now at a period.

Soon after this enterprize the government of that diſtrict was committed to Ptolemy, and Herod marched into Samaria, with three thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, in order to come to a deciſive battle with Antigonus. Ptolemy, however, loſt his life by his advancement; for he was attacked and ſlain by a party of thoſe who had committed ſo many ravages in Galilee; and they immediately retired to the mountains, and other almoſt inacceſſible places; whence they occaſionally iſſued, and ravaged all the country: but

Herod, on his return, puniſhed them for their outrages, killing ſome on the ſpot, forcing others from their retreats, whom he put to the torture, and deſtroyed their forts and caſtles. Having thus conquered his foes, he laid a fine of a hundred talents on certain cities ſuſpected to favour the enemy.

Pacorus king of the Parthians, having been now defeated in battle, Ventidius, agreeable to his orders from Anthony, ſent Machærus to Herod with a thouſand horſe, and two legions; but Machærus having been artfully applied to by Antigonus, departed to him, under pretence of giving intelligence, though in direct oppoſition to the advice of Herod. On his approach, Antigonus, ſo far from confiding in him, directed his people to oppoſe him with darts and ſlings. He was now convinced that Herod was perfectly right in his diſſuaſion, and that he ought to have liſtened to his advice. Enraged at the treatment he had received, he turned about towards the city of Emmaus, deſtroying, without diſtinction of friend or foe, every Jew that he met with in the way. This conduct was ſo obnoxious to Herod, that he immediately went towards Samaria, to acquaint Anthony with what had happened, and to inform him that he was himſelf able to cope with Antigonus, without the aid of ſuch as did more miſchief to their own cauſe, than to that of the enemy. While he was on this expedition, Machærus hurried after him, and having overtaken him on the road, earneſtly entreated him either to give over all thoughts of his propoſed journey, or at leaſt to leave his brother Joſeph behind, that thoſe two might carry on the war againſt Antigonus in conjuction. On this ſolicitation Herod yielded, forgave all that had paſſed, and left the army under the command of Joſeph, with particular directions not to quarrel with Machærus, nor to undertake any enterprize without a proſpect of ſucceſs.

On this adjuſtment of affairs Herod took with him an additional number of horſe and foot, and marched to join Anthony, who then lay before Samoſata, on the banks of the Euphrates. When he arrived at Antioch he found multitudes diſpoſed to join Anthony, but that the roads where ſo thronged with barbarian enemies they could not approach him. Hereupon Herod put himſelf at their head, and undertook to conduct them: they proceeded on their march; but having advanced within two days journey of Samoſata, a party of the enemy's horſe encountered them, which had lain in ambuſh behind ſome buſhes, on the entrance into the open country, to prevent Anthony receiving any aid from that quarter. The enemy ſuffered the front of the troops to paſs; but when Herod advanced with the rear, they attacked him violently with about five hundred horſe, and broke his front ranks. The king, however bore down courageouſly on them with his guards, drove them from their ſtation, rallied his ſcattered forces, and purſued his ſucceſs till he recovered all they had taken, which in priſoners, baggage, carriages, horſes and mules, amounted to a very conſiderable booty. This battle being ended Herod proceeded in his way to Anthony; but was frequently attacked on his rout, by companies of barbarians, who ſallied out upon him from the woods and thickets; but in all his encounters he was ſtill ſuperior to them, defeating them in all the attempts they made; till at length a free paſſage

was

was left him, no perſon to oppoſe him, and the people hailing him as their preſerver as he proceeded.

Herod's actions againſt the barbarians being ſignified to Anthony, with the gallant manner in which he had acquitted himſelf in other conteſts, he ſelected the choiceſt of his troops, and going out to meet him, he no ſooner approached the town than he was received with all poſſible diſtinction. As ſoon as Anthony ſaw him he ran to embrace him, with every token of friendſhip and regard: praiſed him for his wiſdom and virtue, and treated him with a degree of dignity and reſpect proportioned to the royal character with which he had inveſted him. Not long after this a period was put to the war, by Antigonus delivering up Samoſata. Anthony now conferred on Soſius the government of the province, and the command of the army, with orders to afford all proper aſſiſtance to Herod, and then departed into Ægypt. On this Soſius ſent two legions to guard the king in his way to Judæa, and followed himſelf with the reſt of the army, almoſt immediately.

During theſe tranſactions Joſeph loſt his life in Judæa, by not obſerving the directions which Herod had given him when he departed to Anthony. Joſeph marching towards Jericho, with his own ſoldiers, and five companies of Machærus, with a view to get in the harveſt; ſtationed his troops on the mountains. The greater part of the Roman troops being lately raiſed in Syria, and all of them raw and undiſciplined, the enemy ſeized the advantage both of their poſition and inexperience; and attacking them by ſurprize, totally routed them, deſtroying ſix companies, and cutting Joſeph to pieces, while he was valiantly fighting at their head. The field being now in poſſeſſion of Antigonus, he found the body of Joſeph among the ſlain, and gave directions for cutting off his head; but this was redeemed, at the price of fifty talents, by his brother Pheroras. Soon after this the diſtrict of Galilee revolted, and as many of Herod's friends as could be found were drowned in the lake. There were various other diſturbances in Judea; and, in the interim, the caſtle of Gath was fortified by Machærus.

Intelligence of theſe repeated misfortunes, ſo immediately following each other, was conveyed to Herod, at a place called Daphne, in the neighbourhood of Antioch: but he was the leſs aſtoniſhed at it, as he had lately had ſome diſagreeable dreams, which evidently predicted the death of his brother. Herod now departed with all expedition towards Mount Libanus; and, taking with him eight hundred men, he approached to Ptolemais: from whence, going forward in the night through the country of Galilee, he was attacked by the enemy, who had quitted the caſtle on the preceding day. He beat them back to their old quarters, ſurrounded the place, and diſpoſed his troops for an attack early on the following morning; but in the interim there happened ſo violent a tempeſt, that he was obliged to retreat and take ſhelter in the adjacent villages. At this critical juncture arrived another legion which Anthony had ſent to Herod, a circumſtance which ſo intimidated the garriſon, that they abandoned the place, and made their eſcape in the night. Herod being now impatient to revenge the death of his brother, repaired with all poſſible expedition to Jericho, where, on his arrival, he treated the princes of the place with the utmoſt magnificence. Supper being ended,

and the company departed, Herod was the laſt man who quitted the room, to retire to his own apartment; and he was no ſooner out of the parlour than the roof of it fell at once to the ground, without injury to any perſon. This was deemed a ſignal interpoſition of providence, by which the imminent danger that had awaited Herod was prevented.

On the following day the enemy deſcended from the mountains, ſurprizing the Romans with a body of ſix thouſand men. The diſtreſs occaſioned hereby was very great; they trampled down all oppoſition, and Herod himſelf was wounded in the ſide by an arrow. Juſt after this, Antigonus, as if boaſtful of his ſuperior force, ſent Pappus, with a number of troops under his command, into Samaria; and while he and Machærus were mutually conſidering which ſhould attack the other, Herod took poſſeſſion of five towns, put to the ſword two thouſand men that were in garriſon in them, and leaving the places in aſhes, retired to ſeek for Pappus, who had then made his encampment at a place named Iſanas, where numbers of people from Jericho and Judæa flocked to his ſtandard. Herod finding the enemy in a diſpoſition to decide the matter by arms, a battle immediately enſued, in which he totally routed his opponents, amply revenging the death of his brother, and puniſhing them in the very town to which they fled for ſanctuary. In an inſtant the houſes were crouded with ſoldiers from the top to the bottom, each ſeeking his own ſafety. The roofs were uncovered, and ſtones and weapons deſcending, the ſlaughter was moſt horrid: but the moſt dreadful part of the ſpectacle was the dead bodies lying one on another in the chambers, which ſunk their ſpirits into a ſtate of abſolute deſpair.

The broken troops now fled in ſuch numbers, and in ſuch wildneſs of diſorder, that if a furious tempeſt had not happened in the very juncture, the aſſailants, in the firſt zeal of conqueſt, would have marched directly to Jeruſalem, and put a ſpeedy termination to the war: for at this period Antigonus was doubting if he ſhould not quit the city. The evening being far advanced, Herod directed his ſoldiers to go to ſupper, and retreated to his own chamber, to take ſome neceſſary refreſhment after the battle: and now again he had a providential deliverance, no leſs ſingular than the former. Being in his bath, unattended but by one perſon, three ſoldiers, each with a drawn ſword in his hand, ruſhed into the room, croſſed it with great haſte, and went off by the oppoſite door. On enquiry it appeared that theſe men, during the rage of the battle, had concealed themſelves in the houſe, in fear of the enemy; and now retired with all expedition, to ſave themſelves, without having any notion of doing injury to the king, whom it would have been eaſily in their power to put to death. Among the bodies of the ſlain was found that of Pappus, whoſe head Herod ordered to be cut off, and ſent it to Pheroras, as a ſort of conſolation for the death of his brother Joſeph, who had been ſlain by Pappus, while fighting at the head of his troops.

The confuſion occaſioned by the above battle was no ſooner over, than Herod marched his army towards Jeruſalem, and ſtationed himſelf (where Pompey had done before) on that part of the city next the temple, which ſeemed the moſt obvious place of attack. When his engineers were ready, all proper materials provided, and he had given orders for the erecting of

towers,

towers, and throwing up trenches and bulwarks about the place, he went to Samaria, to conclude his marriage with Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, and grandchild of Ariſtobulus, to whom, as hath been heretofore obſerved, he had been contracted a conſiderable time before: but he left behind him a number of officers, to conduct the ſiege in his abſence.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Herod and Soſius beſiege Jeruſalem. The taking of the city and temple. Herod's moderation. Antigonus makes his ſubmiſſion. The army mutinous. The inhumanity of Herod. Antigonus carried to Anthony in chains, and put to death through the influence of Herod. The extinction of the Aſmonæan line.

SOON after the marriage of Herod had taken place, Soſius diſpatched a large body of horſe and foot, which he ſoon followed himſelf, taking the road through Phœnicia. In the mean time the king returned from Samaria, with a body of about thirty thouſand men, and the whole army being united, advanced towards the north walls of the city, conſiſting, excluſive of the auxiliaries from Syria, of ſix thouſand horſe, and eleven regiments of foot. Herod and Soſius were the commanding officers: the latter being employed by Anthony to aſſiſt in the war; and the former conſulting his own intereſt, having a view to ſettle himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which, on the defeat of Antigonus, the profeſſed enemy of Rome, had been beſtowed on him by the ſenate.

In the city the Jews were equally courageous and numerous: for almoſt all the body of that people were aſſembled within the place. Their defence was very obſtinate. They animated each other with exclamations of "The "temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord!" repeatedly exulting in what they deemed preſages of victory, and flattering themſelves that theſe ſeemed to foretel a conqueſt which, by the bleſſing of God, would attend their arms. At the ſame time they were extremely frequent in ſallying forth into the country, where they made ravages, in order to diſtreſs the beſiegers; and ſo induſtrious were they in this buſineſs, that in a ſhort ſpace they left ſcarce any ſubſiſtence for man or beaſt. Herod, however, who foreſaw the inconveniencies that muſt ariſe from theſe proceedings, in great meaſure prevented them, partly by placing troops in ambuſh to entrap the pillagers, and partly by ſupplying the camp with proviſions, by means of commiſſaries ſent to diſtant parts. The weather proved ſo very fine, and ſuch a number of hands were employed in advancing the works, that the pioneers had ſoon finiſhed their part, and the aſſailants were now advanced to the battery, exerting all their ſkill and diligence to accompliſh their end. Nor were the parties beſieged leſs vigilant in their reſiſtance; ſtill oppoſing one ſtratagem to another, and by one invention counterworking another. A number of deſperate ſallies were made, in which the enemies works, as well thoſe that were compleated, as thoſe that were only in hand, were frequently ſet

on fire: their courage was likewiſe extremely conſpicuous when they advanced to fight hand to hand, being no ways inferior to that of the Romans; though it muſt be confeſſed that in experience and military knowledge, the advantage was very greatly in favour of the letter. One wall was no ſooner thrown down, than immediately the beſieged ſupplied its place by a retrenchment that anſwered the end of another. When the beſiegers wrought one mine, the beſieged worked a counter-mine; and they repeatedly met under ground, and fought while employed in this buſineſs; their actions were moſt deſperate, and they became valiant through mere deſpair. At the time they were acting theſe wonders againſt an enemy without the walls, they were almoſt ſtarving within them, for want of neceſſaries; for this happened in the ſabbatical year, when it was unlawful for them to cultivate the earth. At the end of forty days after the attack commenced, twenty gallant men mounted the firſt wall, and were followed by one of Soſius's centurions. At the expiration of fifteen days from this time the ſecond wall was taken, and a number of the galleries round the temple ſet on fire, which circumſtance Herod attributed to Antigonus, to render him obnoxious in the eyes of the people. The lower town, and the outer-quarter of the temple being taken, the Jews retired to the upper part of the city, and the middle of the temple: and apprehenſive that the Romans might interrupt them in offering up their daily prayers and ſacrifices, they ſent ambaſſadors to Herod, to aſk permiſſion to bring in as many beaſts to the city as might be neceſſary for that ſervice. This requeſt, in the hope that it might have a conciliating effect upon them, Herod readily granted: but he ſoon diſcovered his error, for they appeared to be ſtill more zealous in the cauſe of Antigonus; on which Herod immediately attacked the city with his whole force, and made a conqueſt of it by aſſault. The delay that had happened, and the oppoſition that had been made, ſo exaſperated the Romans, and the Jews in the ſervice of Herod were likewiſe ſo enraged with thoſe of the oppoſite party, that they jointly united to put all they met with to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age: and this was done equally in the ſtreets and houſes; nor was the temple itſelf any longer a ſanctuary to thoſe who ſought for refuge in it. The ſcene of blood and ſlaughter that now enſued exceeds all deſcription. The ſoldiers, tranſported to the higheſt degree of fury and revenge, were implacable in their reſentment, and paid not the leaſt regard to the rights of humanity: Herod, however, did all that was in his power, by intreaty and authority, to put a ſtop to the carnage; but all his orders and perſuaſions paſſed equally unheeded.

When things had arrived at this extremity of diſtreſs, Antigonus, in debaſement of his former regal character, deſcended from the tower, and threw himſelf at the feet of Soſius; but, ſo far from taking pity on his misfortunes, Soſius treated him as one who had debaſed himſelf below the dignity of manhood, calling him by the name of Antigona, (inſtead of Antigonus) as if he had been a woman. But in the ſequel he was not treated like a woman; for Socius directed that he ſhould be put in irons, and a ſtrong guard placed over him for ſecurity.

Herod,

Herod, however, had not yet accompliſhed his end; for the victory he had already obtained over his enemies, was not attended with greater difficulties than he now experienced in keeping his own people in ſubjection. The forces which he had hired crouded in immenſe numbers, and were extremely importunate, to get into the temple, and even into the very ſanctuary; to prevent which, Herod was obliged to exert all his authority, and to have recourſe to force as well as to fair words and threatenings. In fact, he would have been more eſſentially injured by his ſucceſs than even by a defeat, if he had indulged the curioſity of the riotous multitude ſo far as to expoſe to their ſight the ſacred and venerable myſteries of religion. He likewiſe argued and reaſoned with Soſius, to prevent the ſoldiers from indulging their rage for plunder, murder, and devaſtation: repreſenting that if they continued to ravage and deſtroy, as they had hitherto done, the Romans would find, in the end, that inſtead of having a people to govern, he would be king of a deſart: he added, that if the ſovereignty of the whole world were to be offered him at the expence of ſo much blood, he would not accept of it. In anſwer to this Soſius ſaid that it was a matter of courſe, an act of juſtice, and agreeable to general practice, that when any place was taken by aſſault, the ſoldiers ſhould have the booty. Herod in reply told him that, as far as the ſoldiers had any intereſt in the matter, he would himſelf compound with them for the plunder, and gratify them to the utmoſt of their wiſhes; and this he accordingly did; for he made it a point of honour and conſcience to be true to his engagements. In a word, he behaved in ſo liberal a manner to the common ſoldiers, gave the officers ſuch ſuperior gratuities, and made ſo many acknowledgments, attended with ſumptuous preſents, to Soſius, that he wholly redeemed the city, and in the end, all parties appeared perfectly ſatisfied.

This event took place in the 185th Olympiad, in the third month, and on the day of a ſolemn faſt, being the anniverſary of the taking of the city by Pompey, twenty-ſeven years before: happening likewiſe, when Marcus Agrippa and Canidius Gallus were conſuls.

All things being thus ſettled, Soſius dedicated a golden crown to God, and then departed to Jeruſalem, and took with him his priſoner Antigonus, in chains, to preſent him to Anthony. Herod now began to entertain an idea that it was poſſible Anthony would not put the priſoner to death; but that, when he ſhould appear at Rome, he might appeal to the ſenate for the legality of his claim to the government; and as Antigonus was of the blood-royal, and Herod himſelf but of vulgar extraction, he was exceedingly doubtful what might be the iſſue. It occurred to him that Antigonus might inſinuate, that as he had been in arms againſt the Romans, he could not expect the reſtitution of the regal dignity in his own perſon, as his actual offences might be deemed a ſufficient forfeiture of all his pretenſions; yet that his ſon, who was perfectly inoffenſive, might be admitted to the ſucceſſion, and no advantage taken of the innocent for the crime of the guilty. Herod becoming very uneaſy with the weight of theſe reflections, bribed Anthony,

Anthony, with a large ſum of money, that Antigonus might be privately put to death; and this being done, Herod became eaſy in his mind.

The Aſmonæan line was extinguiſhed by the death of Antigonus. This family had poſſeſſed the government one hundred and twenty-ſix years; was rendered famous by the long continuance of the prieſthood therein; and not leſs illuſtrious by the ſignal ſervices rendered to the public by a long line of anceſtors. Our forefathers have by tradition informed us that a domeſtic war put an end to theſe ſervices; and that the adminiſtration fell into the hands of Herod, who was a private ſubject, and of no diſtinguiſhed family.

End of the Fourteenth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XV.

Containing the hiſtory of the tranſactions from the year of the World 3929 to 3955.

CHAP. I.

Herod's kindneſs to his friends, and ſeverity to his enemies. The friendſhip of Pollio and Sameas with Herod. Pollio's prediction recited. Herod makes preſents to Anthony. Forty-five principal men belonging to Antigonus put to death. Antigonus beheaded at Antioch.

THE conqueſt of Jeruſalem by Herod and Soſius, and the taking Antigonus a priſoner, having been already mentioned; it now remains to give a detail of what followed upon this event. Herod was no ſooner promoted to the exerciſe of his regal authority over the kingdom of Judæa, than he began to make ample proviſion for thoſe of the citizens who had adhered to his intereſt, while he was to be conſidered only in the ſtation of a private man: but with regard to thoſe who had oppoſed his meaſures, one or more of them were almoſt daily doomed to death, and executed. On this occaſion Herod took into his particular favour Pollio, the Phariſee, and his diſciple Sameas, in gratitude for the favour conferred on him (when he beſieged

ſieged the city,) by adviſing the citizens to open the gates, and give him entrance. This was the ſame Pollio*, who, on a former occaſion, when Herod was examined before Hyrcanus, and the reſt of the judges, told them that the time was advancing when that man whom they were ſeeking to diſcharge, ſhould ruin them: and in the event this prediction was wholly verified.

Herod had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the city, than he gave orders for the collection of all the royal furniture, together with ſuch valuable treaſure, in gold, ſilver, and effects, as had been ſecreted by the more wealthy of the citizens; and this he directed to be conveyed to the palace, and out of it made a moſt ſumptuous preſent to Anthony, gratifying with the remainder ſuch friends and adherents as had been moſt faithful to his intereſt. He now gave orders that forty-five of the moſt zealous friends of Antigonus ſhould be put to death, and directed that a guard ſhould be placed at their doors while the bodies were brought out, which guard was alſo to ſee that nothing elſe was conveyed away: and if any gold or ſilver was diſcovered, it ſhould be immediately produced to the king: ſo that, in fact, the vanquiſhed ſaw no end to their misfortunes. They were unhappy enough to be ſubjected to a neceſſitous prince, whoſe avarice was ſo great, that all their earthly poſſeſſions were too little to gratify it. This happened, likewiſe, during their ſabbatical year, when their wants could not be ſupplied by the cuſtomary produce of the harveſt.

At this time Antigonus was a priſoner to Anthony, who had an intention of gracing his triumph by exhibiting him in chains: but hearing that the Jews began to be mutinous, and to favour Antigonus, from the antipathy they had conceived to Herod, he immediately gave orders for his being beheaded at Antioch, as the moſt likely method to appeaſe the paſſions of the people. This event is mentioned by Strabo, in the following terms:

" Antigonus, king of the Jews, being conveyed by Anthony priſoner to " Antioch, he there ordered his head to be cut off: being the firſt king ever " put to death in this manner by the Romans: but thus much he could al- " ledge in his juſtification; that while Antigonus was living, the Jews would " never acknowledge Herod for their king: and, in fact, the veneration they " had for their former prince was ſo great, that no degree of puniſhment would " prevail upon them to acknowledge Herod as a king, even in name: he, " however, propoſed to himſelf, by this ignominious puniſhment, to de- " ſtroy the reputation, and inſult the memory of Antigonus, while he con- " ciliated the affections of the people to himſelf." This is the ſhort hiſtory which Strabo gives of this affair.

Of Barzaphanes and Pacorus, the two generals of the Parthians, we have already ſpoken, together with their making priſoners of Hyrcanus and Phaſael, of whom the former had been high-prieſt, and then prince of the Jews; and the other (who was brother of Herod) had daſhed his brains out againſt the wall, rather than ſubmit to an ignominious death from the hands of the enemy. At this period Hyrcanus was a priſoner in the hands of the Parthians,

* In the 17th chapter, of the XIVth book, this is ſaid of Sameas, not of Pollio.

thians, and news being conveyed to him of Herod's advancement to the ſovereignty, he was very ſolicitous to obtain his liberty, and return. How he came to obtain it will hereafter appear.

CHAP. II.

Hyrcanus treated with great honour by Phraates. Hyrcanus wiſhes to viſit Herod on his promotion, but is oppoſed by his friends. An invitation from Herod to Hyrcanus, and preſents ſent to Phraates. Hyrcanus diſcharged, and goes to Jeruſalem, where he is generouſly entertained by Herod. Herod advances Ananel to the office of high-prieſt, which offends Alexandra, who writes to Cleopatra, to beg the office for her ſon. The pictures of Ariſtobulus and Mariamne ſent to Anthony by Alexandra. Anthony writes to Herod, deſiring to ſee Ariſtobulus; but this is oppoſed by Herod, on account of Anthony's ill character. Alexandra charged by Herod with conſpiring with Cleopatra. Ananel depoſed, and Ariſtobulus advanced to the prieſthood. Alexandra's vindication.

TO the care of Phraates, king of Parthia, Hyrcanus was conveyed as a priſoner: but this prince, in conſideration of his birth and character, and through a veneration of his quality and illuſtrious deſcent, gave inſtant orders that he ſhould be freed from his chains, and permitted him the liberty of the whole city of Babylon. In this city Hyrcanus found great numbers of Jews, who paid him the higheſt degree of reſpect; nor was leſs reverence ſhewn him by thoſe who dwelt on the other ſide of the Euphrates. Thus ſituated, the life of Hyrcanus was rendered tolerably agreeable. At length Hyrcanus was informed that Herod was advanced to the government; and being himſelf a man of a grateful and generous diſpoſition, he conceived that others poſſeſſed the ſame benevolent feelings. Influenced by theſe ideas, he thought that Herod, on his elevation, would make every poſſible acknowledgement to the man who had preſerved his life and honour, in a caſe of the utmoſt extremity; which he himſelf had actually done, as hath been mentioned in a former part of this work.

Hyrcanus reflected ſo much on this plan, that he was reſolved to carry it into execution by a journey to Herod; but he thought it expedient firſt to conſult his moſt intimate friends on the ſubject. A conſultation being held on the buſineſs, they unanimouſly adviſed him againſt taking the journey: "While you remain here (ſaid they) you may be certain that we and our "people will all pay you that reſpect and obedience to which the dignity of "your own character, and our rank as ſubjects and ſervants entitle you. "This is an honour you cannot expect to receive in your own country, as "you are incapacited from the acceptance of it by the perſonal injury that "hath been done you by Antigonus." They likewiſe repreſented to him, that, with regard to the rendering of mutual good offices to each other, princes were leſs careful than perſons in a more humble ſituation: that the memories of kings were not the moſt tenacious, and that the fortunes of men were very apt to have an influence on their manners. Reaſonable as this diſcourſe was, the violent inclination that Hyrcanus had to viſit his own country made him

him deaf to all their advice. At this period too it happened that Hyrcanus was invited, by a letter from Herod, to repair to him, and take his ſhare in the government: this letter deſired him to requeſt Phraates, and the Jews his brethren, not to deny him a ſatisfaction which he ſo much coveted: intimating that this was the period when he had the faireſt opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude to the man to whom he was indebted for his life and advancement. Nor did Herod's entreaties thus end: for he diſpatched Saramalla as an ambaſſador to Phraates, commiſſioning him to deliver valuable preſents, and pay all poſſible reſpect, in behalf of Hyrcanus, whom he eſteemed his friend and patron. Now the whole of this conduct appeared to be dictated by hypocriſy; for Herod being a prince not only ſuſpicious and artful, but knowing that he had uſurped the dominion, thought it a point of prudence to ſecure himſelf againſt every viciſſitude of fortune; and on this principle deemed it good policy to get Hyrcanus into his cuſtody; or to cauſe his deſtruction; which laſt circumſtance happened, as will appear in the ſequel.

At length Phraates, gave a diſmiſſion to Hyrcanus, whom the Jews in Babylon having ſupplied with money, and all other neceſſaries for his journey, he repaired to Jeruſalem, where no degree of reſpect or eſteem was wanting to congratulate him on his arrival. Herod aſſigned him the moſt diſtinguiſhed place at all public meetings and entertainments; called him, and treated him as his father, and behaved in all reſpects with ſuch an unreſerved confidence, that there could not remain the leaſt doubt but that he was ſincere in his profeſſions. In the common opinion nothing ſeemed to be now wanting to the confirmation of Hyrcanus in the office of high-prieſt, but Herod's too great ſolicitude on the occaſion; which gave riſe to a diſſention in the family, of a moſt dangerous nature. Herod however, determined that no man of diſtinguiſhed extraction ſhould be promoted to the office of high-prieſt, ſent to Babylon for Ananel, a perſon of inferior degree, and cauſed him to be promoted to that diſtinguiſhed honour. The wife of Hyrcanus was Alexandra, the widow of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, by whom ſhe had a ſon, likewiſe called Ariſtobulus, after his grandfather, and a daughter named Mariamne, married to Herod, who was a woman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed beauty. Now Alexandra was exceedingly concerned at this ſlight being put on her family; ſince, as ſhe had a ſon living, ſhe thought the office of high-prieſt ought not to be given to a ſtranger; and hereupon ſhe employed a certain muſician to carry a letter to Cleopatra, requeſting that ſhe would ſolicit Anthony to beſtow that diſtinguiſhed office on her ſon: but no regard was paid to this ſolicitation. It happened at this juncture, that Gellius, a confidential friend of Anthony, being in Judæa, on buſineſs reſpecting his own affairs, ſaw Ariſtobulus and Mariamne, whom he deemed to be two of the moſt beautiful and graceful perſons that had ever exiſted. Hereupon he paid many compliments to Alexandra, on having had the happineſs to give birth to two ſuch wonderful inſtances of human perfection, and perſuaded her to ſend Anthony a preſent of each of their pictures, as the moſt likely method to ſucceed in any requeſt ſhe had to make to him. In conſequence of this advice ſhe ſent the pictures: and Gellius, who wiſhed to inflame

Anthony with a paſſion for Mariamne, greatly exceeded the bounds of truth in his report of the beauty of their perſons, repreſenting that they were elegant beyond deſcription, and had much more the appearance of angels in human ſhape, than of mere mortals. Anthony could not, with any appearance of a regard to the laws of honour or politeneſs, think of ſending for the wife of a prince with whom he was on terms of friendſhip; and he was equally averſe to give offence to Cleopatra. Thus ſituated, he wrote to Herod, intimating how happy he ſhould be to receive a viſit from Ariſtobulus, whenever it might be thought convenient. At this time Ariſtobulus was not more than fifteen or ſixteen years old; and Herod conceived that it would be extremely imprudent, to ſend a youth of noble extraction, in the flower of his age, and ſo diſtinguiſhed by his perſonal perfections, to a man who was remarkable beyond all others for a propenſity to unnatural crimes, and unceaſing in the purſuit of irregular pleaſures: for this, in fact, was the character of Anthony: ſuperadded to which, he was known to uſe his authority to countenance and aſſiſt him in the perpetration of his enormities. On this conſideration Herod ſent him an excuſe, intimating that the Jews were of ſuch a ſeditious diſpoſition, and ſo fond of the idea of a new king, that if Ariſtobulus was to quit the kingdom, an inſurrection would unavoidably happen.

Herod having ſent this meſſage to Anthony, now contrived to keep on the beſt terms with Ariſtobulus and Alexandra: but his wife was repeatedly urging him to do juſtice to her brother with regard to the office of high-prieſt; inſiſting that his own intereſt was concerned in the affair; ſince the duties of the office would neceſſarily prevent Ariſtobulus from taking the journey. Herod, having reflected on this diſcourſe, put an extraordinary ſcheme into execution. Having ſummoned a kind of council of his friends, he began to exclaim bitterly againſt Alexandra, who he ſaid had engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him, and was endeavouring, by means of Cleopatra, to prevail on Anthony to remove him from the government in favour of her ſon; a conduct, he ſaid, which was the more extraordinary, as ſhe could not elevate Ariſtobulus without degrading her daughter, and paving the way, by means of civil diſcord, to diſplace her ſon-in-law from the throne, and deprive him of that rank which he had acquired by ſuch unremitted toil and repeated danger. "Notwithſtanding this (ſaid he) I am ſo willing "to bury in oblivion all that is paſt, and to ſhew the reſpect and regard "I entertain for my mother, and every one of her family, that I will im- "mediately beſtow the office on her ſon; which, indeed, I ſhould ſooner "have done, but that he was not of proper age to undertake it when I "committed it to the care of Ananel.

This addreſs, which was calculated only to amuſe the women and the council, affected Alexandra in a very high degree. She was at once highly concerned to find her own conduct ſuſpected, and enraptured to hear the determination in favour of her ſon; ſo that ſhe burſt into tears, proteſted her innocence, and proceeded farther to elucidate the motives of her conduct in the following manner; "With regard to the office of high-prieſt, I was ſo

" enraged at the inſult offered to my ſon, that I left no proper and equita-
" ble means unattempted to procure juſtice to be done him: but with re-
" gard to any deſign of advancing him to the throne, it has been ſo far
" from my intention, that if an offer of that kind had been made, I ſhould
" have rejected it: for I was no farther ambitious than that my ſon might be
" ſo provided for, as that the honour and ſafety of the family might be con-
" ſulted. But as the matter is now adjuſted, I am ſo ſenſible of the king's
" goodneſs to myſelf in the perſon of my ſon, that I ſhall always remain truly
" loyal to him; and if through too nice a ſenſe of honour, or too great a
" degree of pride, I have been leſs obſervant of my duty than I ought to
" have been, he will be pleaſed to pardon me." This conceſſion appeared to have put an end to all animoſity; for they parted, with mutual expreſſions of friendſhip and regard.

CHAP. III.

Spies appointed to watch the conduct of Alexandra. In conſequence of her application to Cleopatra, ſhe is invited to bring her ſon into Ægypt. The ſecret betrayed by Eſop to Sabbion, who reveals it to Herod, and their eſcape is prevented. Ariſtobulus drowned by the contrivance of Herod. An univerſal grief on the occaſion. Alexandra conceals her grief. Ariſtobulus ſplendidly buried, and Herod affects great concern.

NO ſooner had the above-mentioned meeting broke up, than Herod depoſed Ananel from the office of high-prieſt. This Ananel, as hath been heretofore mentioned, was a foreigner, deſcended from thoſe Jews who had been formerly carried captives by the Aſſyrians, beyond the river Euphrates, thouſands of which captives went to reſide at Babylon. Ananel, however, was deſcended from the line of the prieſthood, and had been an old friend of Herod, who, on his advancement to the regal dignity, made him high-prieſt, and now depoſed him, in order to procure peace in his family. This proceeding, however, was contrary to law; for the office of high-prieſt having been once regularly conferred, ought to remain with the party for life. This rule was firſt violated by Antiochus Epiphanes, who placed his brother Onias in the office, having removed Joſhua for that purpoſe. In the ſecond inſtance, Ariſtobulus ſet aſide Hyrcanus, and took on himſelf the dignity. And finally, Herod, as above related, conferred this diſtinction on the other Ariſtobulus, during the life time of Ananel.

The intention of this proceeding appeared to have been a regard to domeſtic peace; but the event will ſhew that the reconciliation which ſeemed to have taken place was by no means ſincere: for Herod was impreſſed with the idea that Alexandra would not remain quiet any longer than till ſhe could find a freſh opportunity of giving farther trouble. Convinced in his own mind that this was the fact, he gave orders that ſhe ſhould be confined to her palace, and iſſued his injunctions that ſhe ſhould never intereſt herſelf in public concerns. Excluſive of this he appointed ſo many perſons to watch over every part of her conduct, that all her actions were immediately reported to

the king. As ſhe was a woman of great rank, diſtinguiſhed ſenſe, and high ſpirit, ſhe could but ill brook the indignity of having all her motions thus minutely obſerved. She was cut to the heart when ſhe reflected on the circumſtance, and determined that ſhe would do or ſuffer any thing, rather than ſhe would be thus unjuſtly ſuſpected, and live in perpetual fear and diſtreſs, the life of a ſlave, while ſhe had every right to be diſtinguiſhed as a perſon of ſuperior dignity. Having maturely reflected on her ſituation, ſhe ſtated her whole caſe in a letter to Cleopatra, whoſe advice and aſſiſtance ſhe ſolicited. Cleopatra returned an anſwer, in which ſhe earneſtly entreated her to make an eſcape with her ſon, and gave her an invitation to take refuge with her in Ægypt. This advice ſhe highly approved, and contrived to carry it into execution in the following manner. A ſhip being provided that lay ready to convey them into Ægypt, ſhe directed that two coffins ſhould be got ready, herſelf put into one, and her ſon into the other; and ſervants whom ſhe thought ſhe could depend on were entruſted to carry them out by night, and put them on board the veſſel. It happened that there was one Sabbion, who was deemed to be a firm friend of Alexandra, and ſo utter a foe to Herod, that he had been ſuſpected of being concerned in the plot for putting Antipater to death by poiſon. Now Alexandra had a ſervant named Æſop, who not having the leaſt doubt but Sabbion was acquainted with the intended eſcape, incautiouſly revealed the whole ſecret to him: on which the latter, ſeizing this opportunity to redeem his loſt credit with Herod, immediately informed him of every particular. Herod, however, ſuffered all the proceedings to go forward till they were on the very point of making their eſcape, and then he cauſed them to be taken into cuſtody. Nevertheleſs he was induced to forgive this attempt of Alexandra, not from any motive of benevolence to her, but leſt the power of Cleopatra, and her influence over Anthony, ſhould carry into execution ſome ſcheme of revenge. Herod, in fact, was ſo far from treating her with ſeverity, that he aſſumed an uncommon appearance of benevolence and greatneſs of mind; and this even to ſuch a degree, that it was beyond the bounds of all probability that his profeſſions ſhould have any ſincerity for their foundation. However, notwithſtanding all this apparent nobleneſs of conduct towards Alexandra, it was ſecretly determined that the life of her ſon ſhould be of ſhort duration: but he was not to be diſpatched ſo haſtily or inconſiderately, as to give cauſe of ſuſpicion.

It happened that the feaſt of tabernacles, one of the moſt ſolemn and celebrated that is held among the Jews, was now advancing: when Herod determined to recreate and make merry among his people; and aſſumed an unuſual degree of good nature on the occaſion: but an incident now gave occaſion to accelerate the original intention of murdering Ariſtobulus. He was at this time in the eighteenth year of his age, very tall, remarkably handſome, and in fact the perfect reſemblance of his grandfather. As he advanced towards the altar, dreſſed in the proper robes of his office as a prieſt, to officiate as the law required, he did his duty with ſo ſingular a grace, aided as he was by the diſtinguiſhed perfections of perſon, and a dignity of mind that was apparent even in his countenance, that he at once engaged the hearts, and charmed the eyes of all the ſpectators. And to ſuch a degree

were

were they delighted, that they could not refrain from expreſſing the affection, reſpect and eſteem they had for him, by offering up their prayers, wiſhes and vows, for his proſperity; their joy and gratitude ſeemed to be without bounds; and they teſtified it by repeated acknowledgements of the obligations they owed to his diſtinguiſhed family. The people, however, did not ſeem to reflect, that while they were extolling Ariſtobulus, they were degrading Herod, and that the envy of the latter would conſider it in this light: but this was actually the caſe, and Herod becoming jealous of their behaviour, the deſtruction of the other was accelerated.

After the feſtival was ended, Herod went to Jericho, to accept of a treat given by Alexandra, and there, as in point of compliment to Ariſtobulus, he took him apart from the company, to take a ſhare in his diverſions and recreations. As the weather was too hot for any conſiderable degree of exerciſe, they re treated to a cool ſhade, adjacent to a number of fiſh-ponds; in which ſeveral of their friends and dependants were bathing. Herod, now prevailed on Ariſtobulus to make one of the party, and the latter, taking his advice, jumped into the water; when ſeveral of Herod's agents, who had been purpoſely ſtationed for that buſineſs, began to plunge and play with him in the water, under pretence of diverſion only, ſo that at length they kept him down till he was drowned. Thus ended the life of Ariſtobulus, in the firſt year of his prieſtly office, and the eighteenth of his age: and Herod immediately reſtored Ananel to his former dignity. This tragical event was no ſooner known to the women, than univerſal deſpair ſeemed to take place: the lamentations exceeded all deſcription, and the ſorrow was beyond all bounds. The loſs was deemed a general one; the whole city was in tears on the occaſion, and every family ſeemed to ſhare the common diſtreſs. Alexandra, however, was the principal mourner; and it was no ſmall aggravation of her misfortune, that though ſhe was convinced of the baſe deſign to which her ſon had fallen a ſacrifice, ſhe was compelled to ſilence, in the fear of more fatal conſequences. Her deſpair, however, was ſuch, that ſhe was frequently tempted to deſtroy herſelf; but ſtill ſhe reſtrained every effort of her paſſion, in the hope that if ſhe could but ſurvive her preſent reſentment of the horrid murder of her ſon, and conceal her knowledge of the real author of the crime, ſhe might live to ſee a juſt vengeance fall on his head. On this principle ſhe behaved as if ſhe had been a ſtranger to what had really happened; but Herod exerted all his addreſs to convince the public that he was totally innocent; and by his language, appearance, and conduct, ſo well acted the part of a real mourner, that it was almoſt impoſſible to have ſuppoſed that he was inſincere. It has been deemed doubtful whether, partly from motives of humanity, and partly from the influence of conſcience, he might not be conſidered as a true penitent, for the having ſpilt the blood of ſo accompliſhed and noble a youth; but, on the other hand, it is ſaid that the death of the one was thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of the other; and that Herod's principal view was to obviate all ſuſpicion of his being concerned in ſo infamous a baſeneſs. Ariſtobulus was buried with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, by the order of Herod. His body was embalmed, and

nothing

nothing left undone that might tend to add ſplendor to the ſolemnity: and this he did to appeaſe the violent paſſions of the women, who were highly exaſperated on account of the murder.

CHAP. IV.

An account of the murder tranſmitted by Alexandra to Cleopatra, who urges Anthony to ſee juſtice done on the murderer. Anthony ſends for Herod to anſwer for his conduct. Herod appears. His uncle Joſeph adminiſters in his abſence; being ordered by Herod, that if Anthony deſtroyed him, Mariamne ſhould be put to death by Joſeph. The ſecret accidentally diſcovered by Joſeph. Herod prides himſelf on Anthony's favour to him. He becomes jealous of Mariamne. Joſeph is put to death, and Alexandra committed to priſon. Anthony is governed by Cleopatra. Account of the baſeneſs of her conduct.

THESE ſplendid proceedings, however, afforded no ſatisfaction to Alexandra, whoſe mind was ſo diſtracted by the murder of her ſon, that her whole thoughts were employed in conſidering of ſome means of revenge. Having revolved the whole matter deliberately in her mind, ſhe diſpatched to Cleopatra a particular account of the perfidious manner in which her ſon had been deſtroyed by Herod. On this occaſion Cleopatra, who had been always inclined to do her ſervice, felt herſelf unuſually animated to aſſiſt her, and eſpouſed her intereſt as if it had been her own; continually ſoliciting Anthony to ſee ample juſtice done on the murderer. She repreſented to him the atrociouſneſs of the crime itſelf, and how derogatory it would be for him to ſuffer a king whom himſelf had elevated, and who was in fact but the uſurper of the right of another, to eſcape unpuniſhed, after having committed ſo violent an outrage on the legal heir to the throne. Anthony having maturely conſidered the affair, went to Laodicea, where he ſent for Herod, to examine him reſpecting the death of Ariſtobulus, ſince he could not but entertain the utmoſt horror of the deed, even though Herod himſelf was the perpetrator of it.

Herod was too ſenſible of his guilt to truſt to the merit of his cauſe; beſides, he reflected that Anthony would be repeatedly applied to by Cleopatra in his diſfavour: ſo that, at all events, he came to a reſolution to make his appearance, which, in fact, he would otherwiſe have been compelled to do. Wherefore he entruſted the care of his government to his uncle Joſeph during his abſence, ſtrictly commanding him that if Anthony ſhould put him to death, he ſhould immediately doom Mariamne to the ſame fate: for ſo violent was his regard for his wife, that he could not bear the reflection of any other man poſſeſſing her after his death; and he likewiſe conſidered that her perfections had been, in great meaſure, the cauſe of his misfortunes. Anthony had likewiſe conceived an affection for her, on the report of her charms. When Herod had given the above orders, he repaired to Anthony, but in the utmoſt dejection of mind.

Joſeph, during his adminiſtration, took the utmoſt care of the truſt committed to his charge; and often waited on Mariamne, partly through reſpect, and partly on affairs of buſineſs. While they were in converſation Joſeph uſed frequently to ſpeak of Herod, as one of the moſt fond and tender huſbands in the world. The women ſeemed to wonder at the ſtrangeneſs of this aſſertion, particularly Alexandra: but Joſeph, in the zeal of his heart to aſcertain that character of which he had ſpoken ſo highly, unintentionally betrayed the ſecret he was intruſted to have kept; arguing as an undoubted proof of Herod's affection, that as he found himſelf unable to live without his wife, he was determined that they would not be parted even in death. Theſe words were interpreted by the women, not as a proof of Herod's love, but as a reſolution that they ſhould not long ſurvive, in caſe he ſhould be put to death.

A report now became prevalent in the place, propagated by ſome who wiſhed ill to the king, that Anthony had firſt ordered Herod to be put to the torture, and then doomed him to death. The whole court was alarmed at this news; and the women in particular; whereupon Alexandra entreated Joſeph to take them with him, and ſeek protection of the Roman legion commanded by Julius, which was then quartered in the ſuburbs. She urged that if any diſturbance ſhould happen in the palace, the Romans would provide for their ſafety; and that if Mariamne could but have an opportunity of appealing to Anthony, he would not refuſe her any favour ſhe could aſk, even though ſhe were to ſolicit the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and all the royal privileges attendant thereon.

During the conſideration that took place on this affair, letters were received from Herod, which proved the falſhood of the late report: and by them it appeared that Herod was no ſooner arrived with Anthony, than by obliging language, and the effects of preſents, he ſo far engaged him in his intereſt, that the power of Cleopatra to do him injury ſeemed to be at an end. "Kings (ſaid Anthony) would be no longer kings, if they were to "be accountable for their proceedings: it is their privilege that their actions "ſhould paſs unqueſtioned; and Cleopatra would give an inſtance of her "prudence, if ſhe would ſeek leſs to pry into the arcana of government." Theſe letters were likewiſe full of a deſcription of the honours that Herod had received from Anthony; mentioning that he had invited him to his council and ſolemn feaſts, notwithſtanding all the detractions of Cleopatra, whom he repreſented as having a deſign on the government, excluſive of her endeavours to injure him. But he ſaid that Anthony was a prince of integrity and honour, and his friends might ſoon expect his own return to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which would be effectually ſecured to him, together with the continued friendſhip of Anthony, who had made Cleopatra a preſent of the country of Cœle-Syria, on the condition that ſhe would never trouble him again on the affairs of Judæa.

The conſequence of theſe letters was that the deſign they had of putting themſelves under the protection of the Romans, was ſet aſide: but the plan had not been conducted ſo ſecretly but that Herod had ſome intimation of it; and as ſoon as Anthony was gone on an expedition againſt the Parthians, he

he returned to Jeruſalem, where he was made acquainted with the whole affair by his mother, and his ſiſter Salome: in fact, the latter proceeded ſo far as to charge Joſeph her own huſband, with having an intrigue with Mariamne: but this aroſe from a former animoſity againſt Mariamne, who being once in a diſpute with Salome, had thrown out ſome inſinuations reſpecting the meanneſs of her extraction. By theſe inſinuations, however, Herod was thrown into the utmoſt rage of wrath and jealouſy; (for Mariamne was dear to him as his own exiſtence) ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was enabled to prevent himſelf from breaking out into the wildeſt extravagancies, and to reſtrain his paſſion within the bounds of diſcreet moderation: but on cool recollection he took Mariamne apart, and cloſely examined her reſpecting her intimacy with Joſeph.

Mariamne, in vindication of her innocence, ſaid every thing that it might be ſuppoſed ſuch innocence would dictate; inſiſting, that for any thing that might look like criminal, or diſhonourable in her conduct, ſhe was not only innocent with regard to Joſeph, but with reſpect to all mankind. At length the king, enamoured of the charms of his wife, and overcome by the extremity of his own paſſion for her, relaxed by degrees from his former ſeverity to her, totally abſolved her from all ſuſpicion of the crime that had been imputed to her, and confeſſed himſelf perfectly convinced that ſhe had given no cauſe of offence. He likewiſe repeatedly entreated her pardon for that inconſiderate haſte, which induced him to give credit to a report by which ſhe had been ſo vilely traduced. During this diſcourſe he behaved to her with unfeigned tenderneſs, and with ſuch endearments, that mutual tears and embraces ſucceeded, as is generally the caſe in theſe kind of reconciliations. The more doubts Mariamne ſeemed to entertain of the reality of Herod's regard for her, the more anxious was he to give her every teſtimony of his undoubted ſincerity. At length, however, ſhe exclaimed, "Yes, "truly, you give an abundant proof of the tenderneſs of your regard as a "huſband, by ordering an innocent wife to be put to death, in caſe you "ſhould happen to die yourſelf!" Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoken than he broke from her arms in the utmoſt rage, tore his hair, and cried out with all the fury of a madman, "Ay! it is now evident, beyond a doubt, that "the purity of my wife has been corrupted by Joſeph; for nothing leſs than "the confidence ariſing from ſuch an intimacy could have induced him to "give up ſo important a ſecret, which had been committed to his care with "ſuch ſolemn injunctions not to reveal it." In the firſt impetuoſity of his paſſion Herod had almoſt determined to put Mariamne to death on the ſpot: but, after ſome violent ſtruggles on his part, the warm love that lay latent in his heart prevailed for her preſervation. With regard to Joſeph, however, he gave inſtant orders for his being put to death, even without being heard in his own defence: and he directed that Alexandra, as the author of all the miſchief, ſhould be committed to priſon.

At this period there were great commotions in Syria, ariſing from the conduct and intrigues of Cleopatra, who had now an abſolute aſcendant over Anthony, which ſhe made uſe of to produce very miſchievous conſequences: ſhe was perpetually ſoliciting him againſt the men of rank in his dominions,

till ſhe had prevailed on him to take their governments from them; and then ſhe got them appropriated to her own uſe. In a word, her ambition and avarice were ſo extravagant, that ſhe made no ſcruple of any thing which might be productive of her own advantage. One of her firſt flagitious crimes was to procure the deſtruction of her brother, a youth near fifteen years of age, and who was next heir to the throne. She then cauſed her ſiſter Arſinoe to be deſtroyed, while ſhe was engaged in her devotions, in the temple of Diana, at Epheſus. Neither ſanctuaries, temples, nor ſepulchres eſcaped the rage of her avarice, where ſhe conceived that any thing might be obtained by a ſacrilegious violation of them. She conſulted no meaſures of right or equity, nor made diſtinction between things ſacred and profane, ſo that her own advantage might be promoted. In a word, this woman was ſo loſt in pride, vanity and voluptuouſneſs, that the poſſeſſion of the whole world would have been inſufficient to gratify the unbounded exuberance of her paſſions. This being her diſpoſition, it is not much to be wondered at that ſhe was ſo ſolicitous to urge Anthony to deprive others of what ſhe intended for her own emolument: and, in fact, ſhe had no ſooner entered Syria with him, than ſhe began to concert how ſhe might make herſelf miſtreſs of the whole country. She procured Lyſanius, the ſon of Ptolemy, to be put to death on the pretence that he was a friend to the Parthians; without aſſigning any other cauſe. She ſolicited and obtained of Anthony, the countries of Arabia and Judæa, in injury of the kings who were the legal poſſeſſors. Anthony, in a word, was ſo very much devoted to the humour of this woman, that he appeared to be almoſt faſcinated with her charms: yet ſome of her demands were ſo extremely enormous and illiberal, that there was no poſſibility of his complying with them, without publicly declaring himſelf the ſlave of a woman of moſt abandoned character. In a word, being unwilling, on the one hand, to diſoblige her by the refuſal of any of her requeſts; and, on the other, equally aſhamed publicly to announce himſelf her ſlave by complying with all her demands, however unreaſonable, he took a middle courſe of conduct, between the two extremes, by aſſigning to her uſe certain parts of both the provinces, together with all the cities from the river Eleutherus, to Ægypt, Tyre and Sidon alone excepted, which had been always accounted free: yet theſe donations, liberal as they were, did not prevent her ſoliciting Anthony, in the moſt earneſt manner, to give her thoſe two places likewiſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Herod receives Cleopatra with great diſtinction at Apamia. She attempts to ſeduce Herod, who doubts whether he ſhall not put her to death; but this being oppoſed by his friends, he compliments her, and attends her towards Egypt. Armenia ſubdued by Anthony, who preſents Cleopatra with priſoners and other booty. Two hundred talents a year paid to Cleopatra as a tax.

CLEOPATRA having adjuſted her own affairs, and Anthony being going into Armenia, ſhe attended him as far as the river Euphrates, and on her return towards Judæa ſhe came by the way of Apamia and Damaſcus, where ſhe was met by Herod, who received her in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner, and entered into a treaty with her reſpecting as much of her revenue as aroſe from that part of Arabia and Jericho as had been granted to her. Now Jericho is a place diſtinguiſhed for its balſam, which is the moſt valuable of all gums; and alſo for the fineſt palm-trees in the univerſe.

Cleopatra now exerted all thoſe artifices of which ſhe was ſo compleat a miſtreſs, to induce Herod to embark in an amour; and as ſhe was a woman of warm paſſions, and almoſt dead to ſhame, ſhe made ſuch advances towards the concluſion of the contract as could not be miſunderſtood. Love was the pretence for all her actions; though it is extremely probable ſhe had ſome farther deſign in reſerve, for her artifice was unbounded.

Now Herod was not unapprized that Cleopatra was one of the moſt malicious women exiſting; ſo that he thought himſelf previouſly prepared how to treat her: but when he came to be a witneſs of the ſhameleſs licentiouſneſs of her behaviour, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and ſecretly reſolved that if ſhe ſhould proceed to any greater lengths, he would affront and abandon her. On farther reflection he ſummoned a meeting of his friends on the buſineſs, and conſulted whether it might not be beſt to put an end to the life of ſo vile a woman while he had her in his power, which he thought would yield ſome kind of ſatisfaction to thoſe ſhe had heretofore ill treated, and be a ſecurity to thoſe who might otherwiſe fall a prey to her artifices in future. He conſidered too, that Anthony would receive an advantage by this proceeding, as ſhe was the common enemy of all mankind, nor would fail to betray him likewiſe, if ever it ſhould happen that he ſhould want her aſſiſtance. On the whole, then, Herod was abſolutely of opinion that ſhe ſhould be put to death: but his friends were zealous in adviſing him to the contrary, thinking it would be a derogation from his regal dignity, and a dangerous proceeding. Wherefore they entreated him to recollect himſelf, reflect ſeriouſly on the buſineſs, and not to proceed raſhly: for Anthony, though the circumſtance might be really to his advantage, would not eaſily brook the affront; beſides that his miſtreſs being taken off by force, or privately deſtroyed, he would but become the more enamoured of her

former merits, and be irritated to a ſpirit of reſentment. They urged too that it would not be eaſy to palliate or excuſe a violence offered to the perſon of a princeſs of her diſtinguiſhed rank and deſcent: and however great the advantage might be that Herod would reap from her death; yet no pardon could ever take place, on account of the inſult it would appear to be to the honour and love of Anthony. They likewiſe repreſented to him in the moſt earneſt manner, that if the execution of his intended ſcheme ſhould take place, the dreadful diſtreſs and confuſion that would moſt certainly follow, not in the royal family only, but throughout the whole kingdom. With regard to the wanton importunities and addreſſes of the queen, they urged that neither actual injury, nor any danger of it, could poſſibly ariſe from his rejection of them: and as to any thing elſe that might happen, he had only to act as his reaſon ſhould dictate in the preſent ſtate of affairs. This was the ſubſtance of the arguments made uſe of by the friends of Herod; and partly by the credit of their counſels, and partly by the weight of the arguments themſelves, they prevailed on him to acknowledge that his plan was not fit to be adopted; and thus diverted him from the execution of it. Herod having thus altered his intentions, behaved complaiſantly to Cleopatra, made her preſents of great value, and as ſhe was going into Ægypt, he conducted her a part of the way.

At this time Anthony was ravaging the country of Armenia; and having made priſoners of Artabazes, the ſon of Tygranes, and ſome of the princes his ſons, he ſent them into Ægypt as preſents to Cleopatra, together with immenſe quantities of valuable treaſure, of which he had made capture. Artabazes was ſucceeded in the government by his eldeſt ſon Artaxias, whom fear had induced to leave the country on the firſt commencement of the war: but he had not been long in poſſeſſion of this new dignity before he was deprived of it by Archelaus, and the emperor Nero, who cauſed Tigranes, the youngeſt brother of the family, to reign in his ſtead.

Herod made the moſt regular payments of the revenues of the country which Anthony had granted to Cleopatra; conſidering that it was ill policy to provoke a woman, and it was particularly his intereſt to keep on good terms with her. As Herod had the care of collecting theſe revenues, the Arabians paid them punctually for a conſiderable time, raiſing no leſs a ſum than two hundred talents annually: but they ſoon began to decreaſe in their contributions, till in the end not quite one hundred talents were raiſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

A competition for the empire between Auguſtus and Anthony. An army marching to join Anthony, under the command of Herod, he is adviſed to attack the Arabians. The Jews conquer the Arabians in a bloody battle. Another vaſt army of Arabians at Cana, in Cœle-Syria, is likewiſe routed by the Jews. Athenion attacks the Jews when they are fatigued, and off their guard, and obtains a compleat victory over them.

THIS breach of faith, and neglect of the Arabians, in not raiſing the ſtipulated taxes, would certainly have been puniſhed by Herod, by a war upon that people, but he was prevented from carrying his deſign into execution by the civil contentions among the Romans: for at this time the battle of Actium was near at hand, the event of which it was thought would prevent all farther competition for the empire, which then prevailed between Anthony and Auguſtus. This happened in the 187th Olympiad. As Herod had now been, through the diſtinguiſhed generoſity of Anthony, a long time in poſſeſſion of a fertile and well-peopled country, and having plenty of cattle, corn, and money, he immediately began to raiſe a large army, with which he marched to offer his patron aſſiſtance: but Anthony not being in want of ſuch additional force, adviſed Herod to march immediately againſt the Arabians, whom he conſidered in the light of a traiterous and perfidious people. In fact, theſe directions were given in conſequence of the advice, and by the direction of Cleopatra, who thought ſhe was conſulting her own intereſt in promoting a quarrel between the Arabians and Jews. In obedience to the royal will, Herod returned with his army, and ſoon arrived in Arabia, having under his command a very conſiderable number both of horſe and foot. The Arabians, having perfect intelligence of all his motions, were waiting to give him battle near a place called Dioſpolis, towards which he immediately directed his march. The oppoſite armies ſoon came to an engagement, and after a moſt obſtinate and bloody conteſt, victory declared in favour of the Jews. Not long after this event the Arabians aſſembled another large army at Cana, in Cœle-Syria; of which Herod having received authentic information, and being adviſed that they were upon their march, advanced with the main body of his troops to that part of the country; intending there to encamp and fortify himſelf, till he ſhould have a favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy with good proſpect of ſucceſs. The ſoldiers, however, were ſo elated with the conſideration of their former victory, and ſo perfectly convinced that the army was animated with courage, and in the beſt poſſible condition for an attack, that they urged that waiting in expectation was but looſing time; and they therefore deſired permiſſion to proceed to an immediate encounter: nay, ſuch was their impatience for engagement, that they were ready to break through all the bounds of diſcipline. This uncommon ardour and alacrity of the troops gave the king ſo much ſatisfaction, that he was determined to encourage the humour, and not check the eagerneſs of diſpo-

diſpoſition, which he thought might, moſt probably, lead on to victory. Wherefore he immediately put himſelf at the head of his troops, graſped his ſword in his hand, gave the word of command to march and begin the attack, and only follow the example of his own valour. Hereupon they marched forward to the combat with ſuch a determined warmth of bravery, that the Arabians were aſtoniſhed at their courage before the actual encounter. For a little while, indeed, they made ſome faint ſhew of a ſlight reſiſtance; but, ſoon after the firſt onſet, they gave way, and the greater part of them fled in confuſion, finding themſelves wholly unable to cope with the magnanimous valour of their enemies.

This defeat would probably have proved the total deſtruction of the Arabians, but that Athenion, who acted as general for Cleopatra in that country, took advantage of the ſituation of affairs. Now Athenion, who was an irreconcileable enemy to Herod, had remained, during the late battle, in a kind of neutrality, having his forces drawn up in order to wait the event of the conteſt. If the Arabians had happened to have proved ſucceſsful, Athenion would not have interpoſed between the contending parties: but when he came to find that the Jews were the conquerors, and that after the battle they ſeemed to be fatigued and wearied out with the labours of the day, and likewiſe, in the pride of victory, indifferent to a proper care of their own ſecurity, he collected a great number of the natives, and taking advantage of the Jews being off their guard, he ſurprized them by a ſudden attack, and routed them with a very ſmall degree of difficulty: purſuing his advantage, he followed them over precipices, and drove them into bogs, doing great execution, as the Jews were unacquainted with thoſe places.

Theſe ſymptons of victory inſpired the Arabians with ſuch additional courage, that they renewed the battle, and gave freſh chace to their enemies, whom they ſlew in ſuch immenſe numbers, that very few eſcaped out of ſo great a multitude. Herod beginning to ſee the dangerous ſituation of affairs, and being a witneſs how greatly the enemy had the advantage of his troops, haſtened away with all poſſible expedition to get freſh ſuccours; but the camp of the Jews was taken and plundered before he could bring up his reinforcements. Thus, by the means of a ſingle ſurprize, was a compleat and important victory obtained, and the deſtruction of a potent enemy effected, beyond all human expectation or probability. After this melancholy iſſue of the conteſt, Herod was compelled to have recourſe to the making of depredations, and incurſions, on the Arabians. He was likewiſe obliged to ſeek refuge in the ſecure places of the mountains, being afraid to expoſe his army to the event of a battle. However, the time thus ſpent was not abſolutely thrown away; for his troops were hereby kept in perpetual exerciſe, inſtructed in the duties of military diſcipline, inured to hardſhips and fatigues; and in ſome degree qualified to redeem their forfeited honour on any future occaſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Account of a terrible earthquake in Judæa. The Jewiſh ambaſſadors put to death by the Arabians, when they went to ſue for peace.

IN the ſame year that the important battle of Actium was fought, which was in the ſeventh year of the reign of Herod, there happened a more violent and dreadful earthquake in Judæa than had been known in any former period. Great numbers of cattle were deſtroyed by this melancholy event, and, in the ſeveral towns, above ten thouſand men loſt their lives by the overthrow of the buildings: but the ſoldiers who were in the open fields eſcaped with much leſs injury, as they could not ſuffer by the fall of houſes. The news of this providential judgment having reached the Arabians, their pride and inſolence on the occaſion is not to be deſcribed. Though in fact the earthquake was exceedingly horrid and deſtructive, the report of the miſchief it had done greatly exceeded the truth. The Arabians, however, thought that the land of Judæa was almoſt wholly depopulated, the cities and people buried in the ruins, and the nation no longer in a condition to wage war againſt them. The Jews, in the midſt of their diſtreſs, diſpatched ambaſſadors to the Arabians, humbly ſoliciting terms of peace; but the Arabians not only put the ambaſſadors to death, but, in a ſhort time, advanced with an army, ſtill farther to diſtreſs the already unfortunate.

Mature reflection on the hopeleſs and deplorable ſtate of their affairs, had dejected the Jews to ſuch an aſtoniſhing degree, that they became utterly deſponding, loſt all regard to the ſupport of their public government, and, in caſe of the approach of an enemy, deſpaired of having courage to defend themſelves. Matters being thus ſituated, the king did all in his power to elevate their ſpirits, encouraged them to diſmiſs their unreaſonable anxiety, and entreated an exertion of as much courage as might be neceſſary to prepare for their own defence. Some of the more diſtinguiſhed of Herod's people felt their misfortunes ſo ſeverely, that while the ſenſe of them was recent in their minds they could not eaſily be prevailed on to attend to the arguments of prudence and wiſdom: but when Herod, in conſequence of his advice, had prepared them to liſten to what he had to offer for the emolument and ſatisfaction of the army, he delivered himſelf as will be found in the following chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

The addreſs of Herod to the army, ſtating the nature of the war, and their ſituation. Courage aſſumed by the Jews, who conquer their Arabian enemies. The Arabians reduced to the moſt extreme diſtreſs for want of water. They ſubmit themſelves to the protection of Herod.

" MY fellow ſoldiers, and companions in misfortune! You muſt be " well acquainted with the diſtreſs and difficulty we have lately met " with, which has occaſioned a degree of diſappointment that no language " can deſcribe: and, in fact, it is not to be wondered at if we ſhould want " courage on the occaſion: but if we reflect that the war has already ſur- " rounded us beyond prevention; we ſhould likewiſe recollect that nothing " has yet befallen us which a vigorous exertion of our courage may not, " in a great degree, repair. For my own part, I think it my duty to en- " deavour to elevate your dejected minds, by pointing out the means by " which your ancient virtue may be recovered.

" To ſpeak in the firſt place of the war. You will pleaſe to reflect on the " juſt grounds on which it is undertaken, and the many provocations that there " were to commence it; two conſiderations that have the moſt powerful in- " influence on men of honour and courage: and in the next place I will en- " deavour to prove that our caſe is not ſo deſperate and hopeleſs as may be " imagined. And reſpecting the firſt article of which I have engaged to " ſpeak, that is the juſtice of our cauſe, you will yourſelves be competent " judges of what I am about to advance. With regard to the Arabians, it " is known to you all that they are an impious and barbarous race of peo- " ple, deſtitute of all ſenſe of truth or honour; and that this is the general " character they bear wherever they are known: but towards us their con- " duct has been ſupereminently atrocious; as if we had been ſelected from " the whole race of mankind, to be the peculiar mark of their envy and " ill-treatment. To ſay nothing of their ingratitude for all other obliga- " tions, what was it prevented their falling under the yoke of Cleopatra, " but the ſtrength of my intereſt with Anthony? For my ſake, likewiſe, " it was that Anthony behaved in other reſpects ſo favourably to them, " through the generous kindneſs which inſtigated him not to do any thing " which would be diſagreeable to me. With regard alſo to the portions of " land obtained by Cleopatra from Anthony, out of both the provinces, " what was it but my induſtry and kindneſs alone adjuſted the whole buſi- " neſs, partly by the payment I made of two hundred talents, and partly " by the ſecurity I gave for the payment of two hundred more? Notwith- " ſtanding that ſeveral portions of the land which are taxed to the payment " of this very tribute, are at this time poſſeſſed by us, and are the abſolute " property of the Jews, who ought not, in point of equity, to pay any tri- " bute at all, eſpecially on account of the Arabians, who are under obliga- " tion to us even for their very preſervation from deſtruction. But beyond " all I have ſaid, it ſeems inconſiſtent with the laws of common reaſon, that " a nation which owes the poſſeſſion of its liberties to our bounty, which

" themſelves have repeatedly and gratefully confeſſed, ſhould now, in " time of peace and amity, refuſe the acknowledgement of a juſt debt, and " ſeek to violate that good faith, which hath hitherto been deemed ſacred, " even among enemies. But theſe people are diſtinguiſhed by the ſingularity " of their conduct: they think nothing criminal that is attended with profit, " and have no farther notion of honeſty than as it promotes their own emo- " lument. What then have we now to do but to aſſume our indiſputable " right of puniſhing by the means of war, a faithleſs and perfidious enemy? " This too is perfectly conſonant with the will and ordinances of the Divine " Being, who hath iſſued his orders, and veſted us with an authority to do " right to thoſe who wrongfully ſuffer under the weight and violence of ar " bitrary oppreſſion: and while we are in a ſtate of warfare this is not only " proper, but abſolutely an act of juſtice. Is it poſſible to conceive a " deed more baſe, or a greater outrage to the rights of human ſociety, (even " if Greeks and Barbarians were to be the Judges) than the inſult offered by " our enemies to the perſons of our ambaſſadors, who are a rank of men " whoſe characters are agreed to be held ſacred by all nations; nor are they " deemed leſs ſo by the Jews than by others. If we reflect, in what light " can we conceive of the angels and meſſengers of the Moſt High, from " whom we have learnt his commands, and received the knowledge of his " will, but as ambaſſadors of a higher and more diſtinguiſhed rank? By the " means of this kind of mediation through ambaſſadors, we have been " taught the knowledge of our duty to our Creator, and inſtructed to live " in the practice of acts of friendſhip to each other. Conſider, for a " moment, my friends, if any act could be more ſavagely brutal than the " deſtruction of that only adequate proviſion which God hath made for the " peace and ſecurity of mankind, by the extirpation of thoſe officers while " in the actual execution of their duty. Is it poſſible that theſe people can " expect any degree of proſperity in war, or the enjoyments of any of the " calm comforts of peace, after ſo violent an outrage on the natural rights, " and acknowledged privileges of their fellow-creatures? I have not yet " been able to learn that they have the ſlighteſt argument to offer in their own " juſtification. If it ſhould be ſaid that the poſſeſſion of the power to do an ill " action will juſtify its being done, notwithſtanding that equity is on the ad- " verſe ſide; I anſwer that this kind of argument will have no weight with " thoſe who have been better inſtructed, and taught to know that God is the " eſſence of juſtice; and that, againſt his decrees, neither ſtrength nor num- " ber has any weight.

" Not, however, to dwell on extraordinary caſes, let us conſider the pre- " ſent as it actually ſtands, oppoſing their force to ours. When we firſt " attacked theſe people, we obtained the victory; and in the ſecond battle " they ſoon gave way, and fled on the firſt attack, intimidated by our ſu- " perior valour. After we had become perfect maſters of the field, contrary " to the laws of war and honour, Athenion broke in upon us; for at that " time there was no declaration of war. Now will any man call this conduct " the effect of courage or of perfidy; and is the ſucceſs of the action to be " deemed any other than the reward of a ſucceſsful iniquity? This then,

" ſurely

" ſurely, is not a time for us to deſpond, when we have every reaſon to in-
" dulge in the fullneſs of hope! Who will ſay that we have any motive to
" fear thoſe people whom we have repeatedly conquered, whenever we
" had an opportunity of attacking them on fair and equal terms? Who
" will ſay that they ever obtained a victory which they did not owe to
" fraud? Let us, however, ſuppoſe that they were indeed men of courage:
" this conſideration ought to be an additional incitement to men of equal
" courage to attack them: ſince the higheſt honour a man of bravery can
" obtain is from the conqueſt of a man of bravery; and no credit ever yet
" reſulted from a victory over a coward.

" If a conſideration of our domeſtic broils ſhould weaken your reſolution,
" or your ſpirits ſhould fail from a reflection of the judgment of the late
" earthquake, you will do well to conſider that the Arabians have always
" looked upon theſe misfortunes as much greater than they really are; ſo
" that they will be deceived in the judgment they have formed of us. In
" fact, there can be no kind of reaſon why we ſhould be diſcouraged in our
" proceedings, becauſe they are emboldened in their ſentiments: nor have
" they any rational grounds for their confidence, but that they have con-
" ſidered us as deſponding and almoſt broken-hearted. The whole then,
" that we have to do to reduce their pride, is to ſtruggle againſt our own
" misfortunes with a generous ardour; for the more reſpect we learn to en-
" tertain for ourſelves, the leſs conſiderable will the enemy appear in our
" eyes. Let me add, that there is nothing in our ſituation which renders
" us ſo deſpicable as ſome perſons may conceive: ſince there is nothing in
" our diſappointment that ſeems to prove any fatality operating againſt us;
" and it ought to be conſidered only as one of the common conſequences of
" war. If this evil was brought on us by the providence of God, it is
" equally certain that the ſame divine commiſſion removed it, conſiſtent
" with that benevolent plan by which ſinners are puniſhed without being
" deſtroyed. But that we may be more perfectly convinced of the approba-
" tion of Heaven in the continuance of this war, let us reflect how ſignal has
" been the deciſion of God in our favour. What more compleat and conclu-
" ſive evidence could you have wiſhed of the diſtinguiſhed mercy of the
" Almighty, than that not a ſingle ſoldier ſuffered by the earthquake,
" while ſo many thouſands of other people were deſtroyed in various parts
" of the province? And who will ſay that if every individual of us had been
" employed in the ſame cauſe, but that the judgment might have been
" averted in conſequence of the laudable engagement? Let the idea of this
" providence be ever uppermoſt in your minds; and let it afford you all poſ-
" ſible conſolation that God is your protector. Recollect, likewiſe, that
" you are to fight in the cauſe of juſtice, againſt the moſt impious and
" abandoned among men: a people who are treacherous to their friends
" and allies, in all their public and private actions: that are bold in deeds
" of ſacrilege and murder; but void of that courage neceſſary to enter the
" liſts with a determined enemy."

The Jews were ſo exceedingly animated by this ſpeech of Herod, that all their antient courage ſeemed to be revived; wherefore taking advantage

of

of their preſent diſpoſition, he offered the cuſtomary ſacrifices, and immediately marched beyond the river Jordan, (towards the Arabians) where he fixed his camp. Now, between the two armies there happened to be a caſtle, which either party regarded as a moſt advantageous ſituation, in caſe of their coming to a battle, or of decampment. The obtaining poſſeſſion of this place, then, occaſioned a kind of ſkirmiſh with their darts and lances; but the armies by degrees approaching nearer to each other, a cloſe engagement enſued, in which many men were loſt on both ſides; till, in the end, the Arabians turning about, left the field with great precipitation. This evident puſilanimity of the enemy inſpired the Jews to ſo great a degree, that they ruſhed forward, and forced them to their very trenches, where, for a conſiderable time, they made ſome appearance of reſiſtance; but this was in a very irregular manner, and with ſuch apparent dejection in all their looks and actions, that it was evident they fought in mere deſpair, and almoſt without the hope of conqueſt. Still, however, they continued the conteſt, partly encouraged by the greatneſs of their numbers, and partly impelled by the neceſſity of fighting, or loſing their lives on the ſpot; till at length, after a tedious conteſt, and the ſhedding of much blood, they were totally routed, with the loſs of five thouſand men, part of whom fell by their own ſwords, part by thoſe of the enemy, and the reſt were trodden to death by the croud. Thoſe who remained alive retreated with all poſſible expedition to their camp, where their proſpect was of the moſt melancholy kind; for they had neither food nor liquor to ſupport their exiſtence; and in this ſituation they remained for a conſiderable time, without proſpect of eſcape or relief, ſo cloſely were they environed by the Jews.

Thus reduced to the moſt extreme neceſſity, they ſent out deputies to Herod, humbly entreating that he would either grant them peace, or permit them to furniſh themſelves with cold water, to relieve them from the intolerable pain of intenſe thirſt: but Herod, reſolved to give full ſcope to his revenge, refuſed to accept of preſents which they had ſent him, diſdained to attend to the entreaties of the deputies, and determined not to gratify them in any of their requeſts.

Within five days after the return of the deputies, about four thouſand of theſe wretched people came out of the camp, and offered to become ſlaves, and ſubmit to chains, rather than endure any longer the extreme diſtreſs of an unconquerable thirſt. On the ſixth day, by a general conſent, all the remainder of them ſallied forth, and attacked Herod's troops, preferring an inſtant death, to the torment of tediouſly expiring under every circumſtance of infamy. Thus deſperate were they on their firſt iſſuing forth; but having neither ſtrength nor ſpirit equal to the ardour of the undertaking, but they fought death as a relief to their preſent miſery. On the firſt attack ſeven thouſand of them were ſlain; and by this victory, the reſt were taught that Herod was a ſkilful commander, and not to be eaſily perſuaded to reſign advantages he had gained: and thereupon they ſubmitted themſelves to the protection of the conqueror.

CHAP IX.

Herod becomes greatly elevated by the victory. The defeat of Anthony at Actium. Herod debates with himself on the deſtruction of Hyrcanus, who is a prince of the meekeſt diſpoſition. Malchus appointed to meet Alexandra, with three hundred horſemen, at the lake Aſphaltis. The letter of appointment, and its anſwer, ſhewn to Herod. Hyrcanus examined by Herod, and put to death. It is ſuſpected that Herod was the contriver of the whole plot. An abſtract of the Hiſtory of Hyrcanus. Herod retreats to Cæſar, firſt committing his government to the care of his brother Pheroras. He leaves his relations at Maſſada, and his wife in Alexandrion, under the care of Joſeph and Sohemus.

HEROD was elevated to the higheſt degree of vanity on reflecting upon the above victory. He conceived that the world would deem him a conqueror of the firſt magnitude; and in this idea returned to Jeruſalem, filled with the moſt pleaſing thoughts that he had obtained the ſummit of his ambition. But while he was congratulating himſelf on his good fortune, he received advice that Auguſtus had defeated Anthony at Actium; on which he conſidered himſelf as a ruined man: nor was he ſingular in this opinion: all parties, friends and foes, were of the ſame ſentiment; conceiving that the perſon who had been ſo firm a friend to Anthony would never be forgiven by Auguſtus. His friends were ſo ſincere with him as not to conceal their opinion that he would be utterly ruined: while his foes, who conceived great hopes from the probable change of affairs, pretended to condole with him on his misfortunes.

Herod now began to conceive, that as Hyrcanus was the only ſurviving branch of the royal family, it would be good policy to procure his deſtruction, even though Auguſtus might afterwards determine unfavourably with regard to himſelf. He thought that, whether he might fall under his diſpleaſure, or eſcape it, there would be no wiſdom in leaving between himſelf and the government a perſon who had ſo fair a pretenſion thereto: excluſive of which, the cutting him off from the ſucceſſion would afford him a perſonal gratification.

While he was revolving in his mind how he ſhould act in this emergency, an incident that happened in the family of Hyrcanus afforded him the means of coming to a reſolution. Hyrcanus was a man of the moſt pliant and eaſy diſpoſition imaginable: he had an utter averſion to buſineſs of all kinds; he was for leaving every thing to chance, and was contented with whatever event took place. Oppoſed to this character was that of his daughter Alexandra, a woman violent in her paſſions, aſpiring, turbulent, and, on the preſent occaſion, animated with the warmeſt hopes of a change in the adminiſtration of affairs. Now Alexandra was perpetually remonſtrating with, and urging her father, to deviſe ſome mode of delivering his family from the oppreſſions and perſecutions of Herod; and adviſing him to make a timely proviſion for his own ſecurity, while a happy change in his fortune preſented itſelf to his view. The ſubſtance of her advice

was

was, that he ſhould immediately write to Malchus, who was at that time governor of Arabia, requeſting that he would receive him into his protection, if the urgency of affairs ſhould require it: but ſhe told, that it ſhould happen that Auguſtus ſhould be diſpleaſed with the conduct of Herod, the conſequence would be, that himſelf would be reſtored to his dignity; ſince the opinion of the public was clearly on his ſide, and he had an indiſputable right to the ſtation.

Hyrcanus heſitated for a conſiderable time: but Alexandra perpetually urging him to the ſame purpoſe, and giving him every encouragement to hope, while Herod was preparing ſecret practices againſt his life; he at length ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the importunities of his daughter, and thereupon wrote a letter to Malchus, the care of which was committed to one Doſitheus, and the ſubſtance of it was, that "Malchus ſhould "ſend a party of horſemen to the lake Aſphaltites, about three hundred furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem."

Doſitheus being a confidential friend both of Hyrcanus and Alexandra, this letter was therefore entruſted to his care; and the rather becauſe he was conceived to be an inveterate foe to Herod and his cauſe for the putting his relation, Joſeph, to death; and likewiſe on account of his brothers who had been ſometime before ſlain at Tyre, by Anthony. All theſe conſiderations, however, were inſufficient to make Doſitheus faithful to his employers; for he thought it more to his intereſt to ſolicit the favour of the preſent King; whereupon he immediately went and ſhewed him the letter, and received his acknowledgements for the obligation. Herod now requeſted the farther favour of him to fold it up, ſeal it, carry it according to the original direction, and bring back the anſwer that Malchus ſhould ſend; ſince it would very much import him to know how the latter would act in ſo intereſting a buſineſs. Thus directed, Doſitheus ſet forward on his journey, executed his commiſſion with fidelity, and brought back the anſwer of Malchus, which was to the following purport: "That he was willing to give entertainment "to Hyrcanus and his family: that if he choſe to bring with him all thoſe "Jews who remained true to his intereſt, they ſhould likewiſe be received "in the moſt hoſpitable manner: that he was ready to ſend a proper force "to conduct them in ſafety; and heartily diſpoſed to give Hyrcanus all poſſible aſſiſtance in any way he might require."

Upon the receipt and reading of this letter Herod ſent for Hyrcanus, and demanded of him whether he held any correſpondence with Malchus or not; and being anſwered in the negative, Herod produced the letter, and commanded that it ſhould be read publicly, which having been done, he directed that Hyrcanus ſhould be put to death. In the way above mentioned this ſtory is recited in Herod's commentaries; but many different reports have prevailed reſpecting this affair. Several perſons have inſiſted that he did not fall a ſacrifice on account of the crime above alledged, but for a conſpiracy in which he was ſaid to be concerned. The ſtory is yet told in a different manner. It is ſaid that Herod being at a public entertainment, enquired of Hyrcanus (but not in a way that ſeemed to evidence any ſuſpicion) whether he had received any letters from Malchus. To this he anſwered in the affirmative,

tive, but averred that these letters had nothing particular in them, containing only matters of mere compliment and civility. Herod, it is asserted, now proceeded to interrogate Hyrcanus farther, and demanded whether he had ever received any presents from Malchus. To this likewise he answered in the affirmative; but said that these presents were nothing more than four horses for his own use. It is avered that the king construed this trivial circumstance into treason, arising from the acceptance of bribes; and thereupon gave orders for his being taken from his presence, and immediately put to death.

After all that has been said on this matter, many persons are of opinion, that Hyrcanus was altogether innocent; and this opinion they found on very rational arguments. He was remarkably distinguished for being a man of almost the mildest temper immaginable, who had the least of officiousness in his disposition of any person that ever lived. He was so singular for his modesty, and the temperance of his conduct, that he is said never to have been guilty of one rash action in the whole course of his life: never to have indulged himself in the usual livities of youth, nor to have been wanton in the exercise of his authority; for in his mode of government he strictly followed the advice of Antipater, the father of Herod. Hyrcanus, at the period above mentioned, was more than eighty years of age, and dwelt on the opposite side of the river Euphrates, having left his friends and best connections behind him, in submission to the will of Herod, who was now established in the plenitude of his power: so that it seems to exceed the bounds of all human probability that Hyrcanus should have attempted a plan so impracticable in itself, and so totally contrary to the whole bent and disposition of his mind: wherefore the whole matter hath been justly looked upon to be a contrivance of Herod for the destruction of the other.

Thus ended the life of Hyrcanus; a life long and troublesome, and checquered with a vast variety of fortune. He was promoted to the execution of the office of high priest during the reign of his mother Alexandra, and continued to discharge the duties of it nine years, at the end of which his mother died, and he assumed the reigns of government. He had not been in possession above three months, when he was expelled by his brother Aristobulus: after this, however, he was restored to his former station by Pompey, who put him in possession of all his dignities, and for the space of forty years he continued in the enjoyment of them; but was at length dethroned by Antigonus, suffered the pain and disgrace of having his ears cut off, and was carried away prisoner among the Parthians. But he had not long remained in this situation before he obtained his liberty, and returned home, flatering himself with great advantages from the friendship of Herod: but in this hope he was so egregiously disappointed, that the latter caused him to suffer an ignominious death, at a most advanced age, and after having experienced so many of the malicious turns of fortune. Hyrcanus was distinguished by the candour and moderation of his disposition, as well as by his regard to the laws of equity. He was remarkable for his love of ease, and generally entrusted the administration of public affairs to the care of others, from a conviction that he was himself ill calculated for the management of them. This easiness of disposition in Hyrcanus laid

the principal foundation of the fortunes of Antipater and Herod: yet, in the event, it ſo happpened, that, in defiance of all law and juſtice, he fell a ſacrifice to that very goodneſs of temper which ought to have been his protection.

Herod had, by the means above mentioned, no ſooner got rid of Hyrcanus, than he immediately departed to Cæſar, not that he had any great expectation of favour from that quarter, towards a man who had abetted the cauſe of Anthony with ſo great a degree of zeal. Previous to his departure, being ſuſpicious of the conduct of Alexandra, and apprehenſive that ſhe might foment a rebellion among the people during his abſence, he committed the executory power of the government to the care of his brother Pheroras. His mother Cypris, his ſiſter, and his other relations, he ſent to the caſtle of Maſſada; laying ſtrong injuctions on his brother that if any misfortune ſhould ariſe to them, he ſhould reſolutely ſupport his authority, and adminiſter all public affairs in his own name. Mariamne, the wife of Herod, he ſent to Alexandrion, to reſide with her mother Alexandra, as the animoſities ſubſiſting between his wife, his own mother and his ſiſter were ſo great, that it would have been the higheſt imprudence to have permitted their reſidence together. The government of the fort of Maſſada, he committed to the care of two of his faithful and confidential friends, Joſeph his treaſurer, and Sohemus of Iturea; which was done under the pretence of a reſpectful attention to the princeſſes: but the governors received private orders that if they ſhould hear of any violence offered to the perſon of Herod, the women ſhould be immediately deſtroyed, and their utmoſt endeavours exerted that his brother and ſons might be rendered ſecure in the government.

CHAP. X.

Herod's ſpeech to Cæſar, who treats him with ſingular reſpect, and confirms him in his government by a decree of the ſenate. Interceſſion made for Alexander by Herod, but in vain, as Cæſar had made a vow not to ſpare him. Herod waits on Cæſar at Ptolemais, where he is received with the utmoſt magnificence and ſplendor.

HEROD had no ſooner iſſued his orders reſpecting what he intended ſhould be done in his abſence, than he proceeded, without loſs of time, to wait upon Cæſar at Rhodes. When he came to that city he laid by his crown, but did not diſrobe himſelf of any other part of his dreſs that was an enſign of royalty. Cæſar having given permiſſion for his being admitted to an audience, he exhibited a diſtinguiſhed proof of the dignity of his mind: diſdaining to make needleſs apologies and idle excuſes for what he had to ſay, (as is but too cuſtomary in ſimilar caſes) but delivering his whole ſentiments with manly freedom and reſolution.

"Illuſtrious Cæſar! (ſaid he) I wait not upon you to diſavow the ſincerity "of a friendſhip I have always entertained for Anthony: and I muſt be

" free enough to declare that if it had been in my power to have made him " maſter of the world, he had not wanted that diſtinguiſhed ſtation. My " duty demanding that I ſhould go in purſuit of the Arabians, I could not " be perſonally with him in the laſt battle; nevertheleſs, I did my utmoſt " to render him ſervice, by proper ſupplies of money and proviſions; and " I regretted that nothing farther was within my power; for ſo great were " my obligations to Anthony, and ſo perfect the eſteem that I entertained " for him, that I conſidered my life, equally with my fortune, as a debt " due to the affection that I owed him. Though it was not in my power " to be with him at Actium, it becomes me, in my own juſtification, to " ſay that I entertained the ſame affection to his perſon and cauſe after the " fatal iſſue of that day, as I had done before: nor did the revolution in " his fortune tempt me for a moment to heſitate whether I ſhould or ſhould " not change my party. In caſes where it was out of my power to aſſiſt him " with my arms, I have never failed to offer him my beſt advice; which " was to deſtroy Cleopatra, and take poſſeſſion of her kingdom, as the moſt " likely method to effect his own preſervation. Now I appeal to Cæſar, " whether, if Anthony had been prudent enough to have followed theſe di- " rections, he would not, at this time, have treated with him on more equal " terms: but Anthony choſe to proceed in another mode, and has promoted " your intereſt rather than his own, for want of an exertion of that pru- " dence which his ſituation demanded. Now though you may have con- " ceived the leſs favourably of me, becauſe I had attached myſelf to the " intereſt of Anthony, at a time when you were his profeſſed enemy, yet I " ſhall not, on that account, heſitate to make known and defend the ſer- " vices I have done him, and the perfect eſteem I have ever entertained for " him. If you will for a moment advert to his rank, and the friendſhip I " bore him, without retroſpect to the peculiarities of his ſituation, I con- " ceive that you will ſee ſo much of gratitude and good faith in my con- " duct, that you may think the acceptance of my friendſhip worthy your " notice; for the dignity of my character will ſuffer no alteration whether " I vow this friendſhip to Cæſar or to Anthony."

Herod delivered this ſpeech with an air of ſo much magnanimity, and accompanied it with ſo graceful an action, that Cæſar, who poſſeſſed a natural greatneſs and benevolence of diſpoſition, was wonderfully charmed with the defence he had made. He had no ſooner finiſhed his oration than the emperor treated him with particular marks of generoſity and regard, directed him to re-aſſume his crown, and continue to be as ſincere a friend to himſelf in future, as he had heretofore been to Anthony: he likewiſe informed him that the good offices which Herod had done him in the affair of the gladiators, had been made known to him by Caſſidius.

Theſe generous expreſſions of Cæſar were ſoon followed with the moſt ſubſtantial effects; for Herod was reinſtated in his kingdom, the poſſeſſion of which was ſecured to him by a decree of the ſenate: and this very ſingular favour was granted through the immediate influence of Cæſar; a circumſtance that, as it exceeded Herod's moſt ſanguine expectations, was matter of equal ſurprize and joy to him. Theſe matters being adjuſted, he went

went into Ægypt with Cæſar, and on the journey treated both the emperor and his attendants with a degree of ſplendor agreeable to their high rank, and conſiſtent with the benevolence of his own diſpoſition: excluſive of which he made them many valuable preſents. Herod now greatly intereſted himſelf with Cæſar, to obtain the pardon of Alexander, who had been a friend of Anthony: but this ſolicitation could by no means be complied with, as Cæſar had bound himſelf, by a ſolemn vow, not to grant a pardon to the delinquent.

The Jews, who on Herod's departure had conſidered him as a ruined man, were now ſo aſtoniſhed at his return with a greater degree of reputation and ſplendor than that with which he had left them, that they looked upon him as one whom providence protected in a peculiar manner, and turned to his advantage all thoſe circumſtances which appeared to lead him only into diſgrace and danger.

Some time afterwards, when Cæſar was on his return out of Ægypt, Herod went to Ptolemais, in order to pay his reſpects to him; and there treated him with a degree of magnificence, and a profuſion of expence, that exceeds the power of deſcription: nor was this liberality confined to himſelf only; but he ſupplied all his army with neceſſaries of every kind. Cæſar was ſo ſtruck with this behaviour, that he entered into the utmoſt degree of familiarity with him, and they generally rode together, while their troops were forming in order. Herod had at this time in his train one hundred and fifty perſons, dreſſed in a moſt ſumptuous manner, who were perfectly well inſtructed in the diſcharge of a truſt committed to their care; which was to pay particular attention to the accommodation of Cæſar and his friends on their march, and to take care that himſelf and his army ſhould be properly ſupplied both with wine and water, however barren or dry the ways might be; a circumſtance that greatly enhanced the reputation of Herod in the opinion of the army. He likewiſe made Cæſar a preſent of eight hundred talents, and behaved in all reſpects ſo much to the general ſatisfaction, that far greater reſpect was paid to the ſublimity of his ſentiments, than to the dignity of his ſtation. In conſequence of this conduct in embracing ſo proper an opportunity to exhibit the benevolence of his diſpoſition; and his ſubſequent reſpectful behaviour to many other Romans of diſtinction, in their journey out of Ægypt, he obtained, from all ranks of people, the character of one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever exiſted.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The great diſorders in Herod's family. His wife and mother-in-law priſoners. Mariamne reflects on the order given to Joſeph to deſtroy her. Sohemus diſcovers the plot on Mariamne's life, which inflames her with rage againſt her huſband. He carries the firſt news of his re-eſtabliſhment: ſhe receives him coldly; and he is highly provoked. The mother and ſiſter encreaſe his anger. The death of Anthony and Cleopatra. Herod goes into Ægypt to Auguſtus, and is honoured with ſingular marks of his eſteem. Herod returns unhappy amidſt all his honourable diſtinctions. The virtuous character of Mariamne. She rejects the advances of her huſband, and treats him with ſcorn. A plot on her life betwixt Salome and the Butler. Sohemus put to death by Herod. Mariamne is tried, and ſentenced to execution. Her reſolution in her laſt moments. The horrors of Herod's conſcience. A plague breaks out in Jeruſalem. Herod afflicted with a dreadful diſeaſe. Alexandra endeavouring to obtain the poſſeſſion of ſome forts, her plan is diſcovered, and ſhe is put to death. The enormous cruelties of Herod. Coſtabarus and others, being charged with a conſpiracy againſt him, are cut to pieces. A deſign againſt Herod in the theatre is diſcovered by a ſpy, and the conſpirators acknowledging the plot, they are all put to death; but the informer is torn in pieces. Thoſe who deſtroyed him are executed. Samaria fortified by Herod.

WHEN Herod returned to his kingdom, diſtinguiſhed in the moſt glorious manner, he found his family in the higheſt degree of diſorder, and his wife and mother-in-law greatly chagrined at their ſituation: for they could not but deem themſelves rather to be priſoners in the caſtle (which was really the caſe) than as having been lodged there for the ſecurity of their perſons: and they were mortified beyond all deſcription from the conſideration that not a ſingle circumſtance there was at their order or diſpoſal. Previous to his return, the mind of Mariamne was filled with the idea that the whole of Herod's profeſſions of regard to her had no farther view than the conſulting of his own convenience. But what, above all other things, gave her the utmoſt concern, was the reſolution that ſhe ſhould fall a ſacrifice in caſe of her huſband's death. The ſanguinary tendency of the orders which Herod had given to Joſeph engroſſed all her faculties: ſhe ſaw that her only proſpect of ſecurity conſiſted in her obtaining the favour of her keepers; particularly that of Sohemus, for her life was more immediately in his hands. For ſome conſiderable time he remained true to his truſt, and kept the ſecret inviolable; but on the ladies treating him with great complaiſance, and preſenting him with ſeveral little gratuities, he began to recede by degrees, and, at length, diſcovered the whole ſecret that Herod had entruſted him with. Now at this time he had formed an idea that Herod was to be conſidered only as a loſt man: and he therefore imagined that no danger could ariſe from that quarter, while, on the other hand, he ſhould be certain of ingratiating himſelf with the princeſs, and by this means advance his intereſt at all events. But if the matter, however, ſhould

iſſue the other way; and if Herod ſhould ſucceed in every wiſh of his heart; "In this caſe (ſaid he) I know that he doats on Mariamne to ſo extravagant "a degree, that he will never conſent to any thing that is not perfectly "agreeable to her:" and in conſequence of theſe reflections it was that he determined to reveal the whole ſecret.

Mariamne was ſo ſhocked with theſe conditional orders which her huſband had repeatedly given reſpecting her, that ſhe conceived the greateſt antipathy to him; and ſo great was the horror and dread of her mind at the thought of living with a man who could entertain ſuch ſentiments regarding her, that ſhe made it the ſubject of her daily prayers that he might never return to her alive: and, at a future period, when ſhe had it not in her power to conceal her ſentiments any longer, ſhe acknowledged this circumſtance in the moſt open and explicit manner.

The new and unexpected honours and diſtinctions with which Herod had been gratified, ſo engroſſed his whole mind, that he was impatient to be the firſt meſſenger of the good news to Mariamne: and he delivered the happy tidings to her amidſt a profuſion of tender embraces, that evidently proved the violent and unabating love that he had for her. But while he was relating the circumſtances of events which he could not doubt would afford her great ſatisfaction, ſhe looked about her with an air of the moſt perfect indifference, without paying the leaſt kind of attention to his narrative. She was, in fact, perfectly unreſerved in her neglect; and being a woman who prided herſelf in acting without diſguiſe, ſhe took no pains to aſſume a look foreign from her heart, but permitted Herod to read in her countenance, that his good news and endearments afforded her abundantly more pain than ſatisfaction.

Herod was now no longer tormented with the doubts of jealouſy, ſince what he moſt dreaded to be aſſured of, appeared now to be altogether certain. In fact, the averſion that his wife had to him was now ſo evident, that partly through the indignation he felt at finding his love rejected, and partly through his confuſion, from the tranſports of his rage, and the warmth of his affection, each paſſion tormenting and tearing his breaſt with violent and oppoſite force, his tenderneſs inciting him one way, and his reſentment hurrying him another, that a perfect whirlwind of paſſion agitated his whole frame. He ſaw not how to gratify his love, without offering violence to his reſentment; and at the ſame time he dreaded the giving ſcope to his vengeance, more than the oppoſite extreme, for he felt a principle of ſelf-love in his breaſt, which told him that after he ſhould have taken vengeance on his wife, the moſt unhappy conſequences would ariſe to himſelf, when future experience ſhould convince him that life was not to be ſupported without the endearments of her converſation.

This reſtleſs anxiety of Herod's mind (which was greater than language can expreſs) leaving him in doubt how he ſhould conduct himſelf with regard to Mariamne, his mother and ſiſter thought this a fit opportunity of encreaſing the difference between them, by doing all kinds of ill offices, and propagating every ſpecies of calumny, that might tend to promote that

hatred which was already growing apace in the breaſt of Herod. They, therefore, ſuggeſted a number of circumſtances to him, ſuch as, from their nature, though he could not entirely reject, yet neither could he afford them ſuch an implicit confidence of belief, as to determine, on the credit thereof, to deſtroy a perſon for whom he had ſuch an unbounded affection. Nevertheleſs, he became daily more and more diſcontented in his mind, and behaved with a greater degree of ſeverity to his wife. On the contrary, Mariamne took not the leaſt pains to diſguiſe the diſcontent which rankled at her heart; ſo that the violent regard that Herod entertained for her, was, by degrees, converted to the utmoſt rancour of hatred: inſomuch that it is not improbable but that ſhe might have fallen an immediate ſacrifice to his reſentment; but that juſt at this juncture intelligence was received of the death of Anthony and Cleopatra, and that Ægypt was at that time in the poſſeſſion of Cæſar. On the receipt of this information, Herod loſt not a moment in repairing to Cæſar, leaving his family in the abovementioned diſordered ſituation, and once more committing Mariamne to the care of Sohemus, to whom he made many acknowledgements for his former ſervices, and gratified him with a command in Judæa, as a teſtimony of his eſteem.

On the arrival of Herod in Egypt, Cæſar treated him with great diſtinction, behaved more in a ſtile of familiarity than heretofore, placed great confidence in him, and conferred the following favours on him in token of his regard: he made him a preſent of four hundred Gauls who had officiated as guards to Cleopatra; he likewiſe made him governor of that part of the country which Anthony had heretofore given to Cleopatra, and added thereto the government of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton which lay towards the ſea, together with the command of Gadara, Hippen and Samaria; all which proved a great addition to his royal ſplendor and dignity.

Herod having reſpectfully attended Cæſar as far as Antioch, there took leave of him, and returned to Jeruſalem, but found himſelf altogether as unhappy at home, as he had been ſucceſsful abroad: he was convinced that the ſplendor of a crown was by no means a counterpoize to the misfortunes attendant on an unhappy marriage; and his diſtreſs was aggravated from the conſideration that this match was of his own choice, on which he had built all his hopes of earthly happineſs: for certainly no man ever loved a woman with a purer or more honourable affection than Herod did Mariamne. Notwithſtanding all objections to her conduct, her chaſtity remained undoubted, beyond even ſuſpicion; but ſhe had ſome ſingularities of temper which made her forget all reſpect to her huſband's power and authority; for ſhe would ſometimes treat him in the moſt opprobrious manner. Herod endeavoured to behave with an apparent evenneſs of temper, though ſhe uſed frequently to reflect on his mother and ſiſter, on account of the meanneſs of their extraction; and this too in ſo public a manner, that it created the moſt implacable animoſities among the ladies, and was the ſource of a thouſand ſcandalous reports, and malevolent calumnies.

Mutual

Mutual offices of enmity had now continued a whole year from the time of Herod's return from Cæſar, and ſeemed to be continually encreaſing, when a plot which had been preconcerted was carried into execution. Herod, oppreſſed by the heat of the weather, and intending to indulge himſelf in repoſe, retired to his cloſet for that purpoſe: but thoughts of a more tender kind occurring to his mind, he ſent for Mariamne: and when ſhe came to him he careſſed her with the utmoſt fondneſs, and beſought her kindneſs with prayers and ſolicitations: but ſhe anſwered him only with the utmoſt contempt and ſcorn, and reminded him with great acrimony of the death of her father and brother. Herod, enraged beyond all deſcription at the inſolence of this behaviour, flew into ſo violent a paſſion, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he reſtrained himſelf from taking immediate vengeance on her, in which caſe ſhe would undoubtedly have fallen a ſacrifice to the impetuoſity of his wrath. Herod's ſiſter, Salome, hearing a diſturbance, kept the butler in readineſs to execute an important commiſſion with which ſhe had previouſly charged him; and this was no other than to wait on the king, with a tale that Mariamne had been ſoliciting his aſſiſtance in the preparation of a love potion for his majeſty. The butler was inſtructed that if the king ſhould demand to know its contents, he ſhould declare that they were mixed by Mariamne, that he knew nothing of the ingredients, and that all his buſineſs was to deliver the preparation; but if the king ſhould not be particular in his enquiries, he ſhould behave with equal reſerve, and no injury would ariſe from what might paſs from the interview.

The butler being perfectly well inſtructed in what manner he was to act, executed his commiſſion agreeable to his directions; and approaching the king with an appearance of great gravity, and as if he had important buſineſs to communicate, he told his majeſty that Mariamne had offered him bribes and other gratuities to induce him to provide a love portion for him. The butler finding that the king appeared to be alarmed at hearing this intelligence, proceeded to inform him that ſuch a preparation having been offered to him, and he being ignorant of what it might contain, thought it would be an act of the greateſt prudence, as far as it concerned both the king and himſelf, to wait upon him with an account of what had happened. Herod had heretofore met with ſufficient cauſe of vexation; but the aſtoniſhment with which he was ſtruck at the above-mentioned information drove him to the very verge of diſtraction: wherefore he inſtantly ordered that a perſon in whom Mariamne particularly confided ſhould be put to the torture, preſuming that ſhe would not carry into execution any plan whether of greater or leſs conſequence, without his being in the ſecret. Obedience being paid to this ſentence, the party was ſtrickly queſtioned; but nothing could be extorted from him, till, in the extremity of his anguiſh, he dropped ſome words intimating that the uneaſineſs of Mariamne aroſe from ſomething that Sohemus had communicated to her. The ſufferer had hardly pronounced theſe words, when Herod burſt into the moſt paſſionate exclamation, declaring that "Sohemus, who had hitherto been ſo loyal a ſubject, and approved "himſelf ſo true a friend both to his king and country, never could have "betrayed a ſecret of ſo important a nature as that with which he had

" been intruſted, but in the confidence of illegal familiarities with Mari-
" amne." He therefore gave immediate orders that Sohemus ſhould be put to death; and directed that his wife ſhould be ſummoned to take her trial before a court of juſtice: and appointed for her judges a number of perſons devoted to his will.

When the day of her trial arrived, the charge exhibited againſt her was the having conſpired to poiſon the king. Herod was more violent againſt her, both by his words and actions, than was conſiſtent with the dignity of a court of juſtice; and the judges obſerving the diſpoſition of the king, followed his example in pronouncing her guilty. This ſentence was no ſooner paſſed, than both Herod, and all his ſurrounding friends, thought it would be prudent not to carry it into execution; but rather to ſpare her life, and detain her in priſon. Salome and her adherents were alone violent in their exclamations for immediate juſtice: and, in conſequence of what they urged, that a revolt would happen among the people if the queen's life was ſpared, Herod was prevailed on to agree to her execution: and this occaſioned the fatal exit of Mariamne.

When Alexandra found to what extremity the proceedings againſt her daughter had been carried, ſhe had every reaſon to conclude that her own life was in danger. In order, therefore, to avoid the dreaded conſequence, ſhe deſcended to a conduct that was altogether derogatory to the dignity of her character. Her fears in this juncture, induced her to go ſuch lengths, and ſhe was ſo zealous not to be thought to have combined with her daughter, that ſhe ſought every opportunity of traducing her character in all companies, repreſenting her as the moſt baſe and ungrateful of women, and extolling the juſtice of that ſentence which had doomed her to death for conſpiring the deſtruction of a huſband to whoſe tenderneſs ſhe lay under ſuch unbounded obligations. Alexandra carried this hypocritical behaviour to ſuch a height, that ſhe became univerſally deſpiſed, as one who could condeſcend to inſult her daughter during the extremity of her misfortunes: but Mariamne, even while ſhe was conducting to the place of execution, ſpoke not a word in anſwer to all ſhe had heard of her mother's unnatural behaviour, though her countenance teſtified the ſenſe ſhe entertained of the ſhameful part that her mother had acted. In a word, Mariamne maintained her ſpirits to the greateſt degree of firmneſs and conſtancy; not exhibiting, even by the change of her complexion, that ſhe was terrified at the thoughts of approaching death. In a word, ſhe died in the ſame manner ſhe had lived, a pattern of courage, diſdaining fear, and proving herſelf capable of ſuſtaining the moſt arduous trials.

Thus ended the life of the generous and virtuous princeſs Mariamne, a woman who would have been ſuperior to all her ſex, but that ſhe had too great a mixture of paſſion and pride in her diſpoſition. Her beauty was ſo great, the graces of her perſon ſo extraordinary, and the charms of her converſation ſo ſingular, as not ſimply to render her ſuperior to all other women, but ſo much ſo, as not to admit of any degree of compariſon. Now theſe ſupereminent gifts and qualifications tended in a great degree to the advance-

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ment of her misfortunes, by occaſioning the unhappy life ſhe led with her huſband: for he was enamoured of her beyond all deſcription, neither oppoſed her will, nor denied her any thing; but permitted her to do what ſhe pleaſed, and indulged her in every gratification ſhe choſe: and this perhaps might give riſe to thoſe frequent and inconſiderate reproaches that ſhe caſt upon him, without reflecting that ſhe was thereby deſtroying her own happineſs: for by this kind of conduct ſhe rendered herſelf obnoxious to the mother and ſiſter of her huſband, and finally to himſelf, whoſe affection ſhe conceived would never have been alienated from her.

After the death of Mariamne, the paſſion which Herod had entertained for her in her life time (of which much hath been already ſaid) broke forth with redoubled violence: for the regard that he had for her exceeded that of other huſbands to their wives; it was a paſſion carried beyond all common conjugal affection, even to a degree of dotage; for the more preſumptuouſly ſhe treated him, the more his fondneſs for her encreaſed. Now when he came to reflect upon the ſentence he had ordered to be carried into execution, he broke out into the ſtrangeſt and moſt unmanly exclamations, ſtill repeating the name of Mariamne, and ſaying that her blood cried aloud for vengeance. The agonies of his mind encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that he ſought to divert his melancholy by drinking, feaſting, keeping much company, and a variety of other entertainments: but when he found that all theſe endeavours were fruitleſs, he reſigned the care of his government, which he was no longer able properly to manage: ſoon after which he grew delirious, talked in a raving manner, and while his fits of phrenzy were on him, he would frequently call for Mariamne, and direct that ſhe ſhould be brought to him; for in the ramblings of his fancy ſhe appeared to him to be yet living.

During the time that Herod was afflicted with this diſorder, a moſt dreadful plague broke out in Jeruſalem, which raged with ſuch prodigious violence, that perſons of all ranks and degrees fell a ſacrifice to its rigour; and this calamity was univerſally deemed to be a juſt judgment conſequent on the murder of the unfortunate and innocent Mariamne. As the king's illneſs now daily increaſed upon him, he retired to a private country ſeat in Samaria, and cauſed a report to be propagated that he was gone to take the diverſion of hunting. Before he had been long in this retreat, he was attacked with an illneſs much more violent than the former; attended with a racking pain and inflamation in the head, ſo that he was not maſter of his own conduct. The preſcriptions applied with intention to relieve him, were found to do him more injury than ſervice, ſo that his caſe was conſidered as little leſs than hopeleſs. The difficulties that aroſe in the attempt to conquer this diſeaſe, the peculiar ſituation of the patient, and the impoſſibility of relieving him in the regular way, being conſidered, the phyſicians reflected that it would be in vain to interpoſe their advice any longer, and therefore left him entirely to his own management, and the event to Providence; only recommending that he might be gratified in every thing that he required.

Herod's unhappy ſituation of body and mind being made known to Alexandra, who was then at Jeruſalem, ſhe reflected on the circumſtance, and

began to conſider if it might not be poſſible for her to obtain the poſſeſſion of ſome of the ſtrong forts; and, in particular, ſhe wiſhed to be miſtreſs of two of them above the reſt, one of which was ſituated in the city, and the other cloſe adjoining to the temple; being aſſured that the people muſt be altogether at the mercy of the party in poſſeſſion of thoſe two towers: for ſuch is the diſpoſition of the Jews, that they will yield up their lives rather than part with their religion; and as their daily ſacrifices make a very conſiderable part thereof, whoever has the command of the abovementioned towers may determine whether they ſhall have any ſacrifices at all or not. With a view to the accompliſhment of her deſign, Alexandra made application to the governors of the ſaid towers, whom ſhe addreſſed to the following purpoſe: "I need not inform you of the very deplorable ſtate of the "king's health; wherefore I entreat you that the two fortreſſes may be "given up to the poſſeſſion of the mother of the king's wife, and the chil- "dren of Herod and Mariamne; leaſt, in caſe of his death, a different fa- "mily ſhould ſucceed to the throne; and even if the king ſhould recover, the "hands of his neareſt relations are thoſe in which the government may with "moſt ſafety be truſted." The governors, partly from a ſenſe of their duty, but chiefly from an enmity they had to Alexandra, refuſed to acknowledge the force of her arguments for the delivering up of the towers: beſides they ſaid it would ill become them to make a kind of prejudication of the king's life, for whom, during many years, they had entertained the moſt perfect friendſhip: and Achiab, one of theſe very governors, was nephew to Herod. Their converſation was no ſooner at an end than Achiab diſpatched an account of the propoſal that Alexandra had made, to Herod, who ſent back immediate orders that ſhe ſhould be put to death, without loſs of time.

With great difficulty Herod recovered of his violent indiſpoſition, but it produced a very ſtrange and ſingular effect both in his body and mind. His diſpoſition was totally altered, and he became ſo extravagantly cruel and ferocious, that the leaſt trifle that ruffled his temper incited him to acts of ſingular barbarity; and either friends or foes were equally the objects of his vengeance. The following account reſpecting Coſtabarus, Lyſimachus, Antipater (otherwiſe named Gadia) and Doſitheus, will be deemed a caſe in point. Coſtabarus was a man of as great diſtinction as moſt in Idumæa, and deſcended from a family whoſe anceſtors had heretofore officiated as prieſts of Coze, a deity which they had formerly paid great veneration to, till at length, during the reign of Hyrcanus, they adopted the Jewiſh mode of religion. When Herod was firſt advanced to the regal authority he committed to this Coſtabarus the government of Idumæa and Gaza, and gave him for a wife his ſiſter Salome, whoſe huſband Joſeph he himſelf had cauſed to be put to death, as hath been noticed in another place. This promotion ſo exceeded the expectations, or even the hopes of Coſtabarus, that his pride and inſolence encreaſed with the elevation of his rank, till at length he even conceived the idea of diſputing the authority of Herod; for, on reflection, he thought that the Idumæans had deſcended beneath their own dignity in acknowledging themſelves to be ſubject to the Jews, merely becauſe they had adopted their ceremonies and mode of worſhip. Here-

upon he diſpatched an embaſſy to Cleopatra, hinting to her that as the country of Idumæa had long ſubmitted to the authority of his anceſtors, there would be no impropriety in her ſoliciting Anthony to beſtow the government of it on herſelf. Coſtabarus did not recommend it to her to make this application from any particular deſire he had to be under the command of Cleopatra, but in the hope that, the force of Herod being thereby weakened, he might have it in his power to ſeize the government of Idumæa for himſelf: and to induce him to hope for ſucceſs in this undertaking he had two principal encouragements, viz. the dignity of his birth, and the immenſe fortune he had acquired; the latter, indeed, by means that did him no credit for he amaſſed his money without paying any regard to the dictates of honour or conſcience: nor was his avarice in any degree ſuperior to his ambition.

Cleopatra exerted her utmoſt influence with Anthony to obtain the government of Idumæa: but all her interceſſions proved in vain. This circumſtance being made known to Herod, Coſtabarus would have fallen a ſacrifice, for the advice he had given, but that Herod's mother and ſiſter became advocates in his behalf, and after ſome difficulty, procured him a pardon, on the condition that no future confidence ſhould be repoſed in him. Some time after this a violent quarrel happening between Coſtabarus and Salome, the latter cauſed a bill of divorce to be delivered to her huſband, a circumſtance diametrically oppoſite to the uſage and practice of the country, and an abſolute infringement of the privilege of the man; for the cuſtom was that the huſband might diſcharge the wife, and abſolutely forbid her contracting marriage again without his permiſſion. In the preſent inſtance, however, the will of Salome had the validity of a law: ſhe parted from her huſband, and going to her brother, paid him a compliment, intimating that ſhe entertained a higher ſenſe of the duty ſhe owed to him, than that ſhe had vowed to her huſband: and that ſhe came to inform him of a conſpiracy againſt him, which had been entered into by Coſtabarus, Lyſimachus, Antipater, and Doſitheus. What gave the principal credit to her information was, an account of the friendſhip that Coſtabarus had ſhewn to the ſons of Babas, whom he had privately protected for no leſs a ſpace of time than twelve years. A piece of intelligence ſo very extraordinary made an unuſual impreſſion on Herod; for he had long ſince determined in his own mind to compleat the deſtruction of the ſons of Babas, as perſons who were profeſſed enemies to his intereſt; but one incident or other had continually ariſen to divert his attention from this ſubject. Now the offence that provoked Herod to ſuch a degree of enmity to theſe people aroſe from the following circumſtance.

During the time of Antigonus, when Herod was beſieging Jeruſalem, the inhabitants were ſo wearied out with the misfortunes and calamities conſequent on the ſiege, that a great majority of them declared for throwing open the gates, and permitting Herod to enter the city: but this was reſolutely oppoſed by the ſons of Babas, who were men of great rank and influence in the city, and friends to the cauſe of Antigonus; and their advice was to make an obſtinate defence, and ſupport the government in the royal line,

line. Soon afterwards, when Herod took the city, he gave inſtructions to Coſtabarus to keep a ſtrict watch on all the paſſages which led out of the city, and to ſee that not a ſingle perſon of the country-faction made his eſcape. Now it happened that the ſons of Babas were the peculiar favourites of the people in general, and of courſe the moſt proper inſtruments to be made uſe of, in caſe of any future attempt that might be made to change the government. Coſtabarus ſeemed to conſult his own intereſt in their preſervation, and gave private orders that they ſhould be ſecretly conveyed to a place of ſafety. This tranſaction had no ſooner paſſed, than Herod, who immediately ſuſpected what had happened, examined him ſtrictly on the circumſtances of the affair; but the other ſwore a ſolemn oath that he was altogether ignorant how they had been diſpoſed of. This produced an immediate proclamation, offering a reward to thoſe who would diſcover the place of their retreat; and many other modes of enquiry were adopted: but nothing was confeſſed on the part of Coſtabarus, who having at firſt denied the truth, found that he could not now retract what he had ſaid: ſo that the concealment of the affair, which had been a point of kindneſs, now became a matter of neceſſity and prudence. At length, however, the whole ſecret being developed by Salome, the king immediately diſpatched proper perſons to their places of retreat, and cauſed them all to be cut to pieces, with their friends and adherents; and by this proceeding the whole houſe of Hyrcanus was utterly eradicated: inſomuch that, from this time forward, there was no ſuch thing thought of as controuling the actions, or oppoſing the will of the king.

No ſooner was Herod eſtabliſhed in the plenitude of an abſolute dominion, than he began, by ſlow degrees, to recede from an obſervance of the valuable laws, and prudent government of our anceſtors, by which the people, in former times, had been kept in obedience, and induced to a regular diſcharge of their duty: and, inſtead thereof, he introduced a number of foreign innovations, particularly, he cauſed a theatre to be built in Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of exhibiting wreſtling matches, which were to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of Auguſtus Cæſar. Herod likewiſe built a magnificent amphitheatre without the walls of the city: and the two buildings abovementioned were equally ſuperb and expenſive: but theſe were neither of the leaſt uſe, nor afforded any entertainment to the Jews, who were not of a diſpoſition to be gratified by the vanity of ſuch exhibitions. Now Herod, to make his public entertainments the more diſtinguiſhed, cauſed proclamations reſpecting them to be made in various parts of the country, with promiſes of conſiderable rewards to ſuch as ſhould come off conquerors. By this mode of proceeding, he engaged (from various parts) a great number of competitors in their ſeveral profeſſions, ſuch as wreſtlers, horſe-racers, mimicks, ſingers, players on muſical inſtruments, charioteers, ſome of whom were ſkilled in driving two horſes, others four, &c. in fact it was the king's particular care to collect together every thing that might tend to promote the principal deſign, to render it curious, pleaſurable, or ornamental. The theatre was embelliſhed with trophies, devices and inſcriptions, to the honour of Cæſar, and in celebration of his triumphs: the whole building

was ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones, and furnished with rich habits, and hangings of great price. That the diversions might be rendered the more various, he provided likewise a number of lions, tigers, and several other of such kinds of wild beasts as were distinguished by their strength or fierceness, or by any other remarkable singularity. Sometimes these ravenous animals were turned loose to encounter each other, and at other times to attack criminals under sentence of condemnation. Now the foreigners seemed to receive a singular satisfaction at this sight; but, on the contrary, the Jews had an equal aversion to it, deeming it an unjustifiable cruelty, and such a kind of violation of their laws as tended to a corruption of their manners: for what can be more inconsistent with the dignity of human nature than receiving satisfaction from the savage entertainment of sacrificing men to beasts, and the spilling of blood by way of diversion! To say nothing of the folly of adopting bad new customs in the room of excellent old ones.

In a word, the Jews in general were exceedingly disgusted; but what gave them greater dissatisfaction than other circumstance was the trophies, which appeared to them to be the representations of men covered with arms; and which they looked upon in the light of a total opposition to the institutions of their country. They were so vehement and outrageous in the expression of their antipathy to these trophies, that Herod did not think it would be a point of prudence to oppose their humour in a forcible manner, but rather endeavoured by reasonable arguments, and the prevalence of fair language, to set before them the absurdity of those superstitious notions which gave rise to the objections that they made: but they were so far from being convinced by his arguments, that they universally exclaimed against a proceeding which they thought had the appearance of insult. They said they could have submitted to any thing else; but with regard to the bringing of images (for so they denominated the trophies) into the city, they could never think of acquiescing in so atrocious a wickedness, but would always oppose it to the utmost of their power.

As Herod found that the antipathy to the trophies was continually encreasing, and that neither the exertion of authority, nor the arts of persuasion tended to moderate the passions of the people, he selected a number of the principal men of the opponents, and having conducted them to the theatre, where he directed that the trophies should be shewn them, he demanded their opinion of them, desiring they would frankly tell him what they took them to be; on which they declared, as with one voice, that "They were the images of men." Hereupon Herod gave directions that the trophies should be stripped, and when it came to appear that there was nothing beneath the covering but stumps of wood, the suspicion in which they had so long indulged themselves was turned into perfect ridicule: and when the tumult arising from the discovery of this affair was subsided, the majority of the people appeared to be perfectly passive in the submission to every innovation: still, however, there were not wanting several who persisted in their abhorrence of the admission of all foreign customs, apprehen-

ſive that they might probably be followed by very fatal conſequences in the public ſtate of affairs: theſe therefore thought it a point of duty they owed their country, at whatever hazard to themſelves, to preſerve their antient diſcipline, now ſo greatly endangered, and not to permit Herod, under the ſanction of the regal dignity, to behave as an enemy to his country, and, by the introduction of illegal cuſtoms, to wound the conſciences, and violate the rights of the people.

A great deal being publicly ſaid on this ſubject, the minds of the people were much inflamed; and hereupon ten citizens immediately united in a conſpiracy againſt the life of the king, notwithſtanding the extreme hazard and danger that muſt attend the engaging in ſuch a plot. Now among the reſt there was one who happened to be blind. This man hearing repeated accounts of the alarming nature of Herod's proceedings, was ſo tranſported with rage at his conduct, that he declared, though it was out of his power to take an active part for the general welfare, yet he was willing to bear an equal ſhare in the ſufferings of his companions, however ſevere they might happen to prove: and this public-ſpirited declaration tended, in a great degree, to fix them in their reſolution. After having held repeated conferences together upon the ſubject, each man concealed a dagger under his coat, and, thus armed, they proceeded to the theatre, with a fixed determination to ſlab the king, if they ſhould be ſo happy as to get near enough to him, which they flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to do: but at all events they determined to make an attack on his guards, from whence they promiſed themſelves one comfort would ariſe, in caſe of their miſcarriage; ſince their being put to death for the attempt would render the king ſtill more odious in the ſight of the people: ſo that the force of their example in vindication of the ſacred rights of their religion, might encourage others to carry the plan into execution on ſome future opportunity.

Juſt as the king was going to enter the theatre, a perſon whom he had employed as a ſpy prevented his going in, by revealing all the circumſtances of the plot: whereupon Herod, fully ſenſible of the enmity the people entertained for him, returned to his palace, whither he ſent for the conſpirators, of whoſe names he had been previouſly informed. When they attended, they conſidered themſelves as if taken in the actual fact; and being certain that there remained no chance of their eſcape, they gave a freſh proof of the moſt undaunted courage, by acknowledging every part of the crime with which they were charged, and juſtified it in all its circumſtances. This they did with aſtoniſhing compoſure and reſolution of mind and behaviour; and produced the daggers with which they intended to have deſtroyed the king. They ſaid "We do not conceive ourſelves as having engaged in a "criminal aſſociation, for the promotion of our intereſt, or the gratification "of our paſſions, but as having leagued together in a ſacred combination "for the public welfare, and the preſervation of the laws, which it is the "duty of all worthy citizens, and true patriots, to ſupport at the hazard "of their lives."

Having made this free and generous declaration, they were immediately taken from the royal preſence, and put to death with every circumſtance of

exceſſive

[illegible] cruelty. However, the miſerable wretch who had given the information againſt them, lived but a very little time after them; for he was immediately attacked by ſeveral perſons, who tore him to pieces, and threw his mangled body to the dogs: this was done in the ſight of a great number of people, yet, for a conſiderable time, not a ſingle man was detected who had a hand in this ſcene of vengeance: but at length, ſome women who happened to be preſent when the fact was committed, being taken into cuſtody, and put to the torture, they made a diſcovery who it was that had been concerned in the tranſaction. Hereupon all thoſe who had a hand in the baſineſs were apprehended, and themſelves and every perſon of their families immediately put to death: in the mean time the common people remained firm in the ſupport and vindication of their old laws, cuſtoms, and privileges.

Herod ſeriouſly reflecting on the miſchievous conſequences which he feared might ariſe from this mutinous diſpoſition among the people, who, he found, were not to be kept in ſubjection but by an abſolute force, he thought it would be a point of prudence to do every thing that lay in his power, and without loſs of time, toward the preventing of an abſolute revolt. At this time the king had two fortreſſes in the city, in one of which his palace was ſituated, and the other, named Antonia, ſerved as a proper guard upon the temple. Excluſive of theſe he likewiſe fortified Samaria, (which is otherwiſe named Sebaſte) which was advantageouſly ſituated for keeping the country in ſubjection: nor was it leſs properly ſtationed for preventing the effects of inſurrections in the city; as it was only about a days journey diſtant from Jeruſalem. Another ſtrong fortreſs lay likewiſe in a good ſituation for the furtherance of Herod's deſigns, which had been formerly called Straton's Tower, but was now known by the name of Cæſarea. He alſo erected the fort of Gabala in Galilee, and that of Eſthonitis in Peræa, and built a caſtle in the great plain, which was deſtined for the quarters of the cavalry.

So advantageous were the ſituations of theſe various fortifications throughout the different parts of the country, that if the people ſhould attempt to carry into execution any plot or contrivance againſt the ſtate, there was a ſufficient force in every neighbourhood, and always holding themſelves in readineſs, either to prevent the miſchief growing to any conſiderable head, or to cruſh the inſurgents. Herod, in the firſt inſtance ſet about adjuſting the affairs of Samaria, as a place of great natural ſtrength, and admirably adapted to the ſcheme he had in view. For this purpoſe he ordered a large number of troops, both foreign and domeſtic, to march into the city, partly to aſſiſt in guarding a temple which he propoſed to build there, and partly to give a degree of ſplendor to the proceedings; but principally with a view to his perſonal ſafety, which was amply provided for under theſe appearances of magnificence. From Samaria he changed the name of the city to that of Sebaſte, as hath been heretofore noticed; and ſeparated the country around it into lots, which he diſtributed among the inhabitants, who ſoon grew into eaſy circumſtances, as the ſoil was naturally fruitful. This place he encompaſſed with a ſtrong and thick wall, and enlarged its original ſize

to

to such a degree, that it was thereafter deemed one of the first among the cities of eminence. The circumference of the city was twenty-five furlongs, and in the center of it was a furlong and a half of ground set apart for the erection of a temple; and on this spot Herod caused the said temple to be built; which, for the magnificence of the structure itself, the expence that attended it, the extent of its dimensions, and the abundant variety of ornamental and curious articles with which it was embellished, was by no means inferior to any other building of the kind. Herod likewise proceeded regularly, without the least loss of time, in improving all the other parts of the city, so as to be answerable to the temple; for exclusive of his relying for security on the strength of this place; his ambition was gratified in the hope of transmitting to posterity so splendid a monument of his own dignity and greatness.

CHAP. XII.

The country of Judæa afflicted with a blasting drought, famine, plague, and other terrible judgments. The singular wisdom of Herod in making provision for the necessities of the people. Herod builds a most sumptuous palace. Jesus, the son of Phabes, deposed from the office of high-priest, and Simon, the son of Boethus, promoted in his stead. Herod erects a castle. The building described. Herod's general character. He causes several cities and temples to be built.

WHEN Herod had reigned something more than twelve years, the country of Judæa was afflicted with a variety of severe calamities; but whether these arose from the immediate interposition of the divine wrath, or were the consequence of the general course of providence, it does not become me to determine. A tedious and blasting drought was the forerunner of these calamities, and this was followed by such a barrenness, that the earth could no longer produce the necessaries of life. This, of course was succeeded by a famine; and partly, at the first, through the change of diet, and partly through the want of food, the people were tormented with the plague, and afflicted with a variety of other disorders, succeeding in the most rapid course after each other. Nor was it a small aggravation of their singular distress, that there were no persons to attend those who were sick, who were, of consequence, left without assistance, food or medicines. Death now made such ravages among them, that the survivors despaired of ever seeing each other again, and neglecting to afford any relief to the diseased, permitted them to die without so much as an attempt to alleviate their miseries. By this time the provisions of the preceeding year being all expended, and no prospect appearing of any supply, their condition grew almost hopeless, as they were every day more pinched by the extremity of want than on the proceeding one; and their misfortunes were greatly aggravated by the reflection that after the expiration of one season, the earth continued barren, and promised nothing for a future supply. Distress so exquisite

quiſite as this naturally put every one on contriving how he might keep himſelf from abſolute ſtarving.

The calamity at length encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that even the ample revenues of Herod, great as they were, afforded not reſources equal to his ſupport; for his receipt of rents and cuſtomary duties all failed; his former maſs of treaſure had been expended on buildings and fortifications; and there was an univerſal deficiency in all the public accounts. Add to all this, that the people grew outrageouſly violent and clamorous; and, as is uſual in all inſtances of popular diſcontent, the blame of every miſcarriage was attributed to the government. All this time, however, Herod was extremely anxious how to obviate the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded; but the method of doing it preſented a ſcene of no ſmall embarraſsment. As his neighbours were no better ſupplied with proviſions than himſelf, there was no great reaſon to expect relief from that quarter; and with regard to money, for the procurement of the neceſſaries of life from more diſtant parts, he had ſo little left, that it was by no means equal to the payment of the neceſſary expence. It was, however, abſolutely requiſite that ſomething ſhould be done towards the alleviation of the general diſtreſs. After mature conſideration on the affair, the king gave orders for the melting down all his plate, veſſels, curioſities, and other articles of gold and ſilver, which had been heretofore employed in the ſervice of his own table; and this being all collected together, he cauſed it to be ſent into Ægypt, which was at that time governed by Petronius, under a deputation from Cæſar.

The great number of applications that had been made to Petronius, on the ſame account, and the importunity with which they had been urged, had produced him great diſtreſs: but from a ſingular regard and eſteem that he had conceived for Herod, he had of courſe a wiſh to promote the happineſs of him and his ſubjects: he therefore, in preference to all others, granted him a permiſſion to export corn; and even aſſiſted him, to the utmoſt of his power, in the purchaſe of it, and in the carriage. This circumſtance proved highly advantageous to Herod, and tended to the promotion of what he had in view: for no ſooner was this ſeaſonable relief imported, than his reputation and credit were reſtored among thoſe who had heretofore ſpoken the moſt unfavourably of him: his conduct and good management were extolled in the higheſt degree, and his wiſdom and virtue were univerſally ſpoken of in terms of admiration.

On the happy receipt of this ſupply, the firſt care of Herod was to diſtribute it to thoſe who were diſtreſſed, with proper regard to the number and ſituation of thoſe who were to partake of it. He iſſued orders for the carrying proviſions to ſuch as were not able to fetch them: and with regard to thoſe whom age, ſickneſs, or other impediments prevented from making their own bread, he directed proper bakers to make it for them. He likewiſe took particular care that his ſubjects ſhould be ſupplied with proper cloathing, as well as food abſolutely neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of life. On this principle he ſent them variety of garments, ſince ſheep for the furniſhing of wool had been as ſcarce as corn for the making of bread. Having provided

for his own ſubjects in the moſt ample manner, he was excited by the common feelings of humanity, to extend his benevolence, in the next place, to the relief of the Syrians, his near neighbours, whom he ſupplied with a large quantity of ſeed-corn, to be ſown againſt the following ſeaſon. This happening to arrive at the preciſe time when it was moſt wanted, they ſowed it immediately, and the produce was ſo unuſually great, that, when the harveſt came on, Herod ſent fifty thouſand men, to aſſiſt in gathering in the fruits of the earth; and theſe fifty thouſand Herod had himſelf prevented from ſtarving during the famine. By the abovementioned prudent conduct and good management on the part of Herod, affairs that had been given up as hopeleſs were abſolutely re-eſtabliſhed; every thing that he undertook ſucceeded to the extent of his wiſhes, whether in his own dominions or among thoſe of his friends. Not a ſingle perſon applied to him but what was relieved: the rich, the poor, the citizens, the ſoldiers, and even ſtrangers, experienced the extent of his bounty. It was calculated that he diſtributed among his own people eighty thouſand cori of wheat, each cori reckoned at ten Attic medimni, (which was a meaſure containing ſix buſhels) and it was computed that he gave away ten thouſand cori to ſtrangers.

The well-timed exertion of Herod's humane plan, in behalf of the public, operated ſo forcibly on the minds of the people in general, that they ſeemed univerſally to have forgotten all his former negligence and miſmanagement, and ſaid not a ſingle word reſpecting his encroachments on their laws, and violation of their diſcipline: as they conceived that his late provident care of, and liberal proviſion for them, ought to be deemed an ample atonement for all his miſconduct in preceeding times. Neither was his character become more eſtimable at home than abroad; ſince, in the event of things, it ſo happened that his reputation had been advanced in one place in proportion as his misfortunes had encreaſed in the other; and, from the benevolent exertion of his humanity towards ſtrangers, a general judgment was formed of him, not from what he had been in former times, but from the feelings it appeared that he had been capable of in caſes of extreme diſtreſs.

About the time of theſe tranſactions Herod ſelected, out of his own guards, five hundred men, who had ſerved, with the greateſt degree of reputation, under Ælius Gallus, in the Arabian war; and theſe he preſented to Auguſtus. A ſtate of compoſure having now ſucceeded the late diſtreſsful poſture of affairs in Judæa, Herod conceived a deſign of building a ſpacious and elegant palace on the high grounds of Jeruſalem. The rooms of this building were large enough to contain great numbers of people; and in them were ſeats and other ornaments compoſed of gold and marble moſt curiouſly carved, and bearing the names of the perſons for whoſe accommodation they were intended: one of them being inſcribed the apartment of Cæſar, another that of Agrippa, and ſo on.

While Herod was giving the neceſſary directions for the raiſing of this edifice, he formed a deſign of marrying a ſecond wife, as the moſt probable means of diverting his attention from illicit amours. Now it happened that at this time there was in Jeruſalem a citizen named Simon, (the ſon of of Boethus an Alexandrian,) who was a prieſt that had his origin from a noble

noble family. This Simon had a daughter whoſe beauty was ſo abundantly celebrated that no other woman was deemed to bear any compariſon with her. The reputation of the beauty of this lady had ſtruck Herod in an uncommon degree; but when he came to ſee her, he was perfectly enamoured: yet he determined not to make a tyrannical uſe of the power that his rank and ſtation gave him, but to demand her hand in the honourable way of marriage, and take her legally to his bed. It is true that a match of this kind was greatly beneath his dignity; yet not ſo much ſo as to have any thing mean or contemptible in it: to balance, however, in ſome degree, the inequality of his own rank, and that of the family of his intended bride, and to gratify his paſſion without derogating from the reſpect due to his ſtation, he could think of no method more rational than to beſtow ſome great and diſtinguiſhed dignity on Simon, preparatory to the honour he propoſed to confer on his family: and for this purpoſe he diveſted Jeſus, the ſon of Phabes, of the office of high-prieſt, and elevated Simon to that ſtation; ſoon after which the marriage took place.

Not long after the celebration of the nuptial ceremonies, Herod cauſed a moſt magnificent caſtle to be erected on the ſpot where, in his former wars with Antigonus, he had overturned the Jews in battle. The diſtance of this fortreſs from Jeruſalem was about ſixty furlongs; its ſituation was extremely ſtrong by nature, and capable of being rendered altogether impregnable. The figure of the hill on which it ſtood was circular, riſing with a gradual aſcent, and ſo regularly that it appeared to have been the work of art. The caſtle was ſurrounded by a number of towers, and was entered by a flight of two hundred ſtone ſteps: the apartments within it were very ſuperb and magnificent, and the whole edifice at once ſtrong and elegant. At the foot of the mountain were ſituated a number of buildings well worthy the inſpection of the curious; and particularly ſeveral fine aqueducts, by means of which the water was brought from a very great diſtance, with incredible labour and expence. The plain which ſurrounded the hill was covered with ſuch a number of houſes, that they might well be deemed to form a city of no inconſiderable magnitude; over which the caſtle had the appearance of a citadel, equally adapted to command and protect all the adjacent buildings.

By this time Herod had adjuſted his affairs ſo much to his own ſatisfaction, that he had no preſent apprehenſion of any danger from farther tumults or inſurrections. His ſubjects were held to their obedience, partly from motives of fear, and partly from thoſe of intereſt and affection: for in caſes that demanded the puniſhment of an offender he paid the moſt rigid and inflexible regard to juſtice; yet the benevolence of his diſpoſition was equally remarkable, in inſtances where the general welfare of the ſubject could be promoted by it. He conſtantly kept ſuch a guard on himſelf, and every thing around him in ſuch a poſture of ſecurity, as if he meant to inſinuate that the ſafety of the prince and people were mutually involved in that of each other. He was equally polite and eaſy in his addreſs to all men, whether ſtrangers or his own ſubjects; and, on particular occaſions, moſt ſingularly generous to perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank; for he was truly of a

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moſt princely diſpoſition. By this kind of conduct he obtained an univerſal regard and eſteem, which tended greatly to promote his deſigns, and forward all his views. But ſo great was his ambition to obtain the favourable regard of Auguſtus, and other diſtinguiſhed Romans, that he was imperceptibly tempted to depart from the cuſtom and diſcipline of our anceſtors, by the vanity of erecting cities and temples in honour of his illuſtrious patrons. It is true that theſe erections were not made in the interior parts of Judæa; for the Jews would not have ſubmitted to the gratification of an ambition ſo contrary to their laws; ſince it tended to promote the worſhip of idols and images, according to the idolatry of the Greeks: for which reaſon Herod cauſed theſe cities to be built on the confines of the province, and not within its immediate juriſdiction: and his excuſe for the whole of this proceeding was, that it was not ſo much in conſequence of any will of his own, as the reſult of the orders of thoſe who had a right to command him. By this proceeding, however, he obtained the favour of Cæſar and the Romans, as he appeared to have renounced the principles and diſcipline in which he was educated, in compliment to them; but of this I will take no farther notice than to obſerve, that his ultimate view was the promotion of his own intereſt, and the rendering himſelf diſtinguiſhed in the opinion of poſterity, by theſe laſting monuments of his ſplendor and benevolence.

CHAP. XIII.

An account of Straton's tower, or Cæſarea, a port of equal ſize with the Pyræum between Dora and Joppa. The model of a mole which Herod built there. A temple erected to Cæſar, which ſerves as a ſea-mark. Herod builds a ſtone theatre and an amphitheatre, and compleats the whole work in twelve years. Herod ſends his ſons Alexander and Ariſtobulus to Cæſar, who grants him three provinces, and the right of chooſing either ſon to ſucceed him. Zenodorus goes ſhares with the free-booters of Trachon. Their dens and their manner of living deſcribed. Herod drives them from their retreats. Zenodorus complains of Herod to Cæſar, but in vain. The Gadarenes complain againſt Herod: he defends himſelf. Zenodorus dies at Antioch. Cæſar's generoſity to Herod. Pheroras made a Tetrarch in Judæa. Herod erects a temple to Cæſar. Herod makes himſelf popular. Herod's civility to the Phariſees and Eſſenes. A prediction of an Eſſene, named Manahem.

ADJACENT to the ſea coaſt was ſituated a place which had been heretofore denominated Straton's tower; and this Herod deemed to be a ſpot moſt admirably adapted for the building of a city. Having drawn the model of the intended erections, he employed a number of hands, to conſtruct it, and compleated the whole. The private houſes, as well as the palaces of this city were all built with marble; but the moſt diſtinguiſhed part of the whole was the port, which was erected on the ſame ſcale as the Pyræum, and, excluſive of all the other conveniences that attended it, was protected from all danger from wind or weather. The completion of this work was the more extraordinary, as every article of the materials for finiſhing it was conveyed thither from diſtant parts, at an expence almoſt incredible.

The ſituation of this city is in Phœnicia, near the paſſage into Ægypt, between Joppa and Dora, two moſt miſerable ſea port towns, in the harbours of which there is no riding with any degree of ſafety, if the wind blows from the ſouth-weſt; for it beats upon the coaſt with ſuch fury, that the merchant-men are often obliged to keep out at ſea for a conſiderable time, leaſt they ſhould be driven on ſhore. To obviate theſe dangers ariſing from the ſituation he had choſen, Herod gave directions that a mole ſhould be formed in the ſhape of a half-moon, and of ſize ſufficient to contain a compleat royal navy. In this place he gave orders for the ſinking of ſtones of immenſe ſize, in twenty fathom of water. Some of theſe ſtones were fifty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and nine feet thick, and many others of them of various dimenſions, ſome being even more than this ſize. The extent of the mole was no leſs than two hundred feet, one half of which was deſtined to the breaking of the ſurf of the ſea, and the other was appropriated to form the foundation of a ſtone wall on which a number of fortified turrets were erected: and the largeſt and moſt beautiful of theſe Herod called by the name of the tower of Druſus, in honour of the memory of Druſus, the ſon in law of Cæſar, who had died in his youth. Adjacent hereto were ſeveral arched vaults, which ſerved as cabins for the ſailors. There was alſo a quay, or landing place, with a broad walk around the port, proper to retreat for the benefit of the air, and as a place of recreation. The opening of this port was to the northward, whence the wind blows with its mildeſt influence. On the entrance of the port to the left hand, a turret was built with a large platform, and beneath it was a deſcending bank to prevent the ſea from waſhing it: on the right hand, and oppoſite to the tower, were erected two pillars of ſtone, and of an equal height. The houſes adjacent to the port were all built with the fineſt kind of marble, and with the moſt exact uniformity to each other. A temple dedicated to Cæſar, was erected on a mount in the middle, which became a famous ſea-mark, and proved of the utmoſt uſe to mariners. In this temple were placed a repreſentation of the city of Rome, and a ſtatue of Cæſar, which were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the beauty of the materials they were made of, than for the elegance of the workmanſhip; and thence the city obtained the name of Cæſarea. Nor was leſs ingenuity exerted in the contrivance of the vaults, and common ſewers, which were placed at equal degrees of diſtance from each other, and diſcharged their contents into the ſea: but there was one conveyance, which interſected all the reſt, which, while it carried off all the filth from the various parts of the city, was ſo diſpoſed that the tides entered by it, and waſhed the paſſages, by which the whole was kept in a uncommon ſtate of cleanlineſs. Excluſive of all the erections above mentioned, Herod built a theatre of ſtone; and on the ſouth ſide of the harbour conſtructed a very large amphitheatre, which afforded an elegant proſpect towards the ſea. In fact, nothing that money could procure, or diligence effect, was wanting; and the whole of this magnificent work was compleated in about twelve years.

Herod having now totally finiſhed the two cities of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, ſent his two ſons, Alexander and Ariſtobulus, on an embaſſy, to pay his reſpects to Cæſar. Pollio, who was the particular friend of Herod, had ordered

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dered lodgings for the reception of the viſitors: but this was more than was neceſſary; for Cæſar had previouſly given directions that they ſhould be entertained and accommodated in the royal palace. His reception of them was conſiſtent with the utmoſt rules of politeneſs and friendſhip; and having, in addition to all his former favours to Herod, conferred on him the government of the three provinces of Trachon, Batanæa, and Auranitis, he likewiſe ſubmitted to his own choice which of his ſons ſhould ſucceed him in the government of Judæa. But of theſe maters we will ſpeak farther.

The lands of Lyſanius having been rented by one Zenodorus, he could not reſt ſatisfied with the lawful profits of his farm, but went ſhares with the free-booters of Trachon, a kind of people that, in a great meaſure, ſubſiſted on the pillage that they obtained from the inhabitants of Damaſcus. Now Zenodorus, whoſe buſineſs it was to have puniſhed theſe invaders of their neighbours property, made no ſcruple of accepting his proportion of the ſtolen effects. Hereupon thoſe people who had been the principal ſufferers by their violent proceedings, made application to Varro, who governed the province at that time, requeſting he would grant a letter to Cæſar, againſt Zenodorus. This being done, Cæſar ſignified his royal pleaſure that the "Thieves ſhould be ſmoked out of their holes like hornets;" and he likewiſe conferred on Herod the government of that province, in expectation that, for the future, the Trachonites might be kept in ſubjection. Theſe diſorderly people poſſeſſed neither towns, houſes nor lands, but inhabited caves and dens like beaſts; but in theſe they were provided with ſuch ſtores of food, and plenty of water, that it could not but be very difficult to drive them out; nor was it an eaſy matter to explore their receſſes: beſides, as they lived by their unlawful depredations, they would be very unwilling to quit their irregular courſe of life. It was not poſſible for more than one perſon at a time to enter into their hiding-places, as the paſſage was ſo extremely narrow; but the apartments in the inſide were more ſpacious than can be imagined, and the whole were covered with flat and plain roofs. Upon the whole, their retreat conſiſted of one immenſe rock, that was almoſt impaſſable; the turnings and different paſſes in it were innumerable, and it was neceſſary to have a guide to find the right way into it. The abandoned inhabitants of this place were deſperate beyond the power of deſcription; and would rob each other, rather than not gratify their natural propenſity to theft.

Herod had no ſooner entered on the poſſeſſion of the government of his new province, than taking with him a number of guides and agents, he explored the receſſes of the thieves, drove them from their retreats, and re-eſtabliſhed peace and ſecurity in the country. Zenodorus was ſo enraged at the late events, partly, perhaps, through mortification on account of having loſt his government, and partly through its being given to Herod, that he loſt no time in complaining of the latter, for which purpoſe he made a journey to Rome; but all his accuſations produced not the effect he deſired.

During this ſituation of public affairs Agrippa was commiſſioned by Cæſar to go into Aſia, to aſſume the command of the tranſmarine provinces in that country. Now Agrippa being a particular friend and old acquaintance of Herod,

Herod, he went as far as Mytilene, to meet him on his journey, and then returned into Judæa. No ſooner was he arrived, than the Gadarenes inſtantly repaired to him, exhibiting very extraordinary complaints againſt Herod: but they were immediately confined in chains, and ſent away to Herod, without ſo much as being admitted to a hearing.

About this time the Arabians began to exhibit tokens of their enmity againſt Herod, on the foundation of an ancient animoſity that had ſubſiſted between them; and in fact this affair was not without ſome plauſible appearance of reaſon. Zenodorus, of whom mention has been already made, finding his influence and authority began to decay, came to an agreement with theſe Arabians, that they ſhould pay him a rent of fifty talents annually, for a certain diſtrict of his eſtate in the province of Auranitis. Now this being within the limits of the government which Cæſar had granted to Herod, the Arabians expreſſed great unwillingneſs to ſubmit to the payment. They at one time diſputed the matter in a legal way, and at length entertained thoughts of taking up arms, having engaged in their ſervice a conſiderable number of indigent ſoldiers, who, copying the example of other perſons in diſtreſſed circumſtances, were not unwilling to promote their own intereſt by what might tend to the ruin of others. Herod was by no means unacquainted with the nature of theſe proceedings; but thought it would be more prudent to conciliate the affections of theſe people by gentle methods, than to irritate them by harſh proceedings, leſt new troubles ſhould be the conſequence of the procedure.

During the ſeventeenth year of the reign of Herod, Cæſar made a journey into Syria, where he was no ſooner arrived than the Gadarenes approached him, with the bittereſt complaints againſt Herod, whom they repreſented as an oppreſſive and moſt inſupportable tyrant. Theſe complaints and accuſations againſt him, aroſe, however, principally from the inſtigations of Zenodorus who, as hiſtory informs us, had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath, never to leave the perſecution of Herod, till they (the Gadarenes) ſhould be releaſed from all ſubjection to him, and once again under the immediate authority of Cæſar. This extravagant promiſe of Zenodorus inſtigated the Gadarenes to be ſtill the more preſumptuous in their behaviour, eſpecially on their reflecting that thoſe priſoners whom Agrippa had heretofore delivered to Herod ſtill remained free from thoſe puniſhments which it was expected would have been inflicted on them.

Now though Herod had in many inſtances diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſeverity towards the Jewiſh offenders, yet no man could be more backward in the puniſhment of ſuch injuries as he received from thoſe of other countries. He was now charged by the Gadarenes with a variety of crimes, ſuch as plundering and oppreſſing the people, and violating and demoliſhing of their temples. Notwithſtanding the violent importunities of the multitude, Cæſar did not treat Herod with the leaſt degree of reſpect leſs than uſual; though there was a kind of examination into the nature and cauſe of their complaints for one day, after which nothing more was done in the affair: for the Gadarenes, by this time, obſerving how glaring the partiality of Cæſar was to Herod, ſeemed to entertain well-grounded fears that when the

buſineſs ſhould be brought to an iſſue, it would be their fate to be delivered up into the hands of their enemy; therefore ſome of them, on the very night following, cut their own throats, ſome of them drowned themſelves, and others again threw themſelves from rocks and precipices, and broke their necks, fearing that they ſhould be puniſhed by methods of torture; and Cæſar concluding them ſelf-condemned by theſe acts of ſuicide, acquitted Herod without any farther ceremony. In his favour there now likewiſe appeared another very ſingular providential circumſtance; and this was nothing leſs than the death of Zenodorus, which happened at Antioch, in Syria, in conſequence of a violent dyſentery. Hereupon Cæſar immediately put Herod in poſſeſſion of a very conſiderable eſtate, which had been the property of Zenodorus, and which was ſituated between Galilee and Trachonitis, comprehending Ulatha, Panium, and the adjacent country. He likewiſe conferred on him a ſupreme authority over the governors of Syria, and directed that his orders and commands ſhould be obeyed in every particular.

By this time the good fortune of Herod was advanced to ſo great a height, that as Cæſar and Agrippa were the two ſupreme governors of the empire, ſo he was equally a favourite with them both; for Agrippa loved him better than any other man except Cæſar; while the affection that Cæſar entertained for him was next to that eſteem which he had for Agrippa.

In conſequence of this weight of intereſt, Herod prevailed on Cæſar to grant the commiſſion of a tetrarch of Judæa to his brother Pheroras, to whom he likewiſe allowed a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own private fortune, that he might not be deſtitute of a reſourſe in caſe of a change in his affairs; nor obliged to apply to his children for ſupport.

This matter being adjuſted, Herod paid a conſtant court to Cæſar, whom he attended till he ſaw him embarked, and then he returned to his own abode. On the eſtate which had belonged to Zenodorus, Herod now ſet about erecting a magnificent temple of white marble, in honour of Cæſar, and in grateful remembrance of his benefactions. This building was erected near the cave which is called Panias, ſituated at the bottom of a mountain which is celebrated for the river Jordan taking its riſe there. At the bottom of this mountain is a cavern of prodigious depth, in which are ſprings of water that are continually bubbling. The proſpect from this mountain is remarkably delightful; but the mountain itſelf is ſtill more remarkable for this temple in honour of Cæſar, than for any other circumſtance.

On this occaſion Herod ſought the means of ingratiating himſelf with his ſubjects; and to this end he releaſed them from a payment of a third of their taxes, under pretence of relieving them from the diſtreſs occaſioned by the famine: but his true motive was to conciliate their affections: for he had done ſo many things ſcandalous to religion, and in violation of the laws of good manners, that the people in general were extremely diſguſted with him; nor did they ſcruple to ſpeak againſt his conduct in the moſt public manner. This laid him under a neceſſity of taking yet other methods to keep his people in ſubjection; the principal of which were, the commanding that every man ſhould attend only to his own buſineſs, and that there

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ſhould be no private cabals or clubs, or public meetings. He likewiſe appointed ſpies to watch the motions of all companies, and commiſſioned officers to take into cuſtody all thoſe who ſhould act in diſobedience to theſe orders: in conſequence of which many perſons were publickly committed, and others privately conveyed to fort Hyrcania, where they were puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner. The ſtreets, lanes, avenues, and even roads, were all beſet with ſpies; and not a meeting was held on which there was not the cloſeſt guard and obſervance: nay, ſo jealous was Herod in his fears, that he would frequently diſguiſe himſelf, and go out alone in the night among the people, to ſound their inclinations, and learn what was the general opinion concerning him. When he encountered any man that was violent in cenſures of his conduct, he took care that the party ſhould find the moſt ſerious effects of his reſentment; but for thoſe who were the more cautious in the expreſſing of their ſentiments, it was his cuſtom to diſmiſs them, after having adminiſtered to them an oath of allegiance. By this mode of conduct the greater part of the people were ſoon reduced to ſubmiſſion, from motives of fear; and with regard to ſuch as had the reſolution to juſtify their own conduct, and to deny his right to act as he had done, ſome mode was ſtill deviſed to remove them out of the way, and thereby prevent all cauſe of future complaint. The oath of allegiance abovementioned was offered to Pollio, the Phariſee, and to Sameas, as likewiſe to their reſpective diſciples, as well as to other people; but on their refuſing to make the depoſition, Herod declined to urge them any farther on the ſubject, owing to the ſincere regard that he entertained for Pollio. Nor was he leſs generous in his conduct towards the eſſenes, a ſect that bore a great reſemblance to the Pythagoreans among the Greeks. In ſeveral other parts of this work, much will be found reſpecting the Eſſenes; but there can be no impropriety in our ſpeaking of them in this place; eſpecially as it will account for the predilection that Herod had in their favour, and tend to elucidate the motives of his preſent conduct.

At the time that Herod was a boy, there lived one Manahem, an Eſſene, who was not only remarkable, beyond other men, for the regularity of his life, and all the virtues of his moral character, but was likewiſe happy in the poſſeſſion of the ſpirit of prophecy. Now this perſon obſerving Herod playing about with his ſchool-fellows, approached him, and ſaluted him with theſe words, "Hail king of the Jews!" Hereupon the youth ſaid that he was not deſcended from a family from whom he might hope to inherit any of the honours attendant on royalty; and told Manahem either that he did not know him, or that he meant to make a ridicule of him. To this Manahem, ſmiling, and laying his hands on the boy's ſhoulder, ſaid, "Yes, "yes, it is determined beyond a doubt that you ſhall be a king, and that "you may govern your people happily; for that you ſhould do ſo is the will "and pleaſure of Almighty God: but I beſeech you to remember theſe "words of Manahem, and to reflect on the uncertainty of that ſtation to "which you will be elevated. It will become your dignity, and be a part "of your duty, to diſtribute equal juſtice to all men, and to govern accord-

" ing to the laws of conſcience, and the rules of equity; but I am ſecretly " impelled to tell you, that I fear theſe maxims will not be the rule of your " conduct. I foreſee that you will neither obey God, nor ſerve your fel- " low-creatures as you ought: though, in other reſpects, you will be re- " markably fortunate, and acquire an unuſual degree of renown. Rely on " it, however, that none of your tranſactions will be hid from the Moſt " High, but that a moſt deplorable judgment will bring you to your end."

This prediction was paid but little attention to by Herod, nor for a conſiderable time did it again enter into his mind; but in proceſs of time, when he came to be advanced to the throne, and was in the utmoſt ſplendor of his circumſtances, he cauſed Manahem to be brought to him, and queſtioned him how long he thought his reign would continue. To this Manahem returning a dubious reply, Herod again cloſely queſtioned him whether it was his opinion that he would reign ten years; " Yes (replied the other) twenty, " and even thirty;" on ſaying which words he ſtopped, and declined to mention the preciſe period. Herod, however, appeared to be ſatisfied with what he had ſaid, diſmiſſed him in the moſt affectionate manner, and, ever after that period, held the Eſſenes in the higheſt degree of eſteem. If any part of this narrative ſhould ſeem to exceed the juſt bounds of credibility, the reader will recollect that there are innumerable inſtances of righteous men having been favoured with particular revelations of the ſecret counſels and purpoſes of the Divine Will.

CHAP. XIV.

A reſolution being formed by Herod to build a new temple, he harangues the people on that ſubject, and promiſes not to diſturb the old temple, till the materials for the new one are provided. The commencement of the work. Deſcription of the front of the temple, its galleries, and walls. Account of the tower, and the fort Antonio. Deſcription of the firſt, ſecond, and middle encloſure of the temple. The work finiſhed in eighteen months. The temple dedicated. Account of a private paſſage of communication from one fort to another.

HEROD having now ſignalized himſelf by a great number of very diſtinguiſhed actions, and compleated many buildings of uncommon pomp and magnificence, conceived an idea, in the eighteenth year of his reign, of erecting a temple to the honour of God, which he propoſed ſhould be a much larger and more ſplendid building than the former. This work he intended ſhould redound more to the credit of his own name, and tend more effectually to perpetuate his memory, than all he had ever done before; which proved to be actually the caſe: but leaſt the people ſhould conceive that he propoſed a plan which would be too difficult in its execution, he cauſed them to be ſummoned together, to try what the force of reaſon would do towards the removing of that objection: and when they were met, he addreſſed them to the following purport:

" Friends and countrymen! It would be ſuperfluous in me to attempt to " lay before you the particulars of all my proceedings ſince I was elevated

" to

" to the throne; wherefore let me aſſure you that, on the whole, I have " been abundantly more anxious for your advantage and ſecurity, than for " the advancement of my own honour. You are no ſtrangers to the care I " have taken of you in the utmoſt extremities, evermore preferring your hap- " pineſs to my emolument. I need not tell you that of the important works " which, by the bleſſing and aſſiſtance of Almighty God, I have brought " to perfection, the principal advantages have reſulted to you: ſo that Ju- " dæa is, at this time, in a better ſtate than it has been at any former " period. For theſe reaſons it will be wholly unneceſſary to recite the " particulars of all the cities, caſtles, palaces, and other places, that I have " either built, fortified, or repaired, in Judæa, or the provinces thereon " dependant. My preſent buſineſs with you, however, is of a different " kind: it relates to the promotion of the true worſhip and religion, and " the reputation of our country is concerned in it. It may not be un- " worthy your obſervation that this temple, which our anceſtors erected on " their return out of Babylon, is ſixty feet lower than that of Solomon: " yet are not our anceſtors to be cenſured on account of this circumſtance; " for it was no fault of theirs that it was not built in proportion to the ori- " ginal: as it was erected according to a particular model given by Cyrus, " and Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, under whoſe government our forefathers " then lived, as they did afterwards under that of the Macedonians: ſo " that it was altogether out of their power to make this modern inſtance of " their piety and zeal of equal extent with the original. But now, ſince " the gracious providence of Almighty God hath ſo directed affairs, that " the government hath fallen into my hands, and at the ſame time ſupplied " me with proper means of carrying my plan into execution; ſuch as peace, " leiſure, an ample ſupply of ready caſh, a large revenue, and, what is " more valuable than all the reſt, the ſacred and inviolable friendſhip of the " Romans, who are the maſters of the world; I will therefore be particu- " larly careful to ſupply thoſe defects, which our predeceſſors, in conſe- " quence of the peculiar circumſtances they laboured under, were unable " to prevent: and it ſhall be my buſineſs to advance the glory of that God " of whom we have hitherto taken too little notice: all proper reſpect ſhall " be paid to his holy name, and we will ſhew our gratitude for the mercies " he has beſtowed, by the obedience of our future lives."

There was ſomething in this addreſs and declaration ſo totally unexpected by the people, that they were aſtoniſhed at the hearing of it, and filled with apprehenſion what would be the conſequence. Excluſive of this they were extremely afraid that the old temple would be pulled down before they were certain of having another to ſupply its place; nay, the having any other at all, was rather the object of their hopes than of their expectations: for they thought it almoſt impoſſible that ſuch a work ſhould be compleated. While they were revolving this buſineſs in their minds, the king finding what it was that gave them uneaſineſs, deſired that they would not indulge their anxiety any longer, for they might reſt aſſured that the old temple ſhould remain altogether in its preſent ſituation, till the materials for the new one ſhould be provided

provided; and in this circumſtance his performance kept pace with his promiſe.

For the completion of this work a hundred carriages were provided to remove ſtones and other materials: of handicraftſmen of all ſorts there were ten thouſand artiſts, and of theſe the beſt in each kind that could poſſibly be procured; and for the ſuperintendance of them, a thouſand prieſts that underſtood the buſineſs of maſonry and carpentry; and theſe prieſts were ſupplied with robes and veſtments at the king's expence. When the workmen were engaged, and the ſtones, timber, and other materials all provided, the firſt work they began upon was to clear the old foundation, and lay a new one in its ſtead: and on this they elevated a ſuperſtructure of a temple, the length of which was a hundred cubits, and the heighth one hundred and twenty; but as it afterwards happened that the odd twenty cubits ſunk, it fell ſo much ſhort of the original deſign; and our fore fathers, in the time of Nero, had an intention of ſupplying the defect. The whole building was a compoſition of durable white ſtone, each ſtone being eight cubits high, twelve broad, and twenty-five in length.

The principal front of this extraordinary building had very much the appearance of a palace, the center part of which was much higher than the ſides. The proſpect it afforded towards the fields was extremely agreeable, and this proſpect extended into the country ſeveral furlongs: nor was the view of the building itſelf leſs pleaſing to thoſe who had their reſidence oppoſite to it, or ſuch as were travelling towards it. The porch of the temple was a curioſity no leſs ſingular than the reſt of the building; the upper part of it being adorned with an abundance of the richeſt tapeſtry hanging, variety of beautiful purple flowers, and pillars appearing to be interwoven; round the pillars a golden vine crept and entwined itſelf, the branches of which ſuſpended cluſters of grapes that deſcended in elegant negligence from the cornices of the room; the whole exhibiting a piece of workmanſhip no leſs valuable for the materials with which it was formed, than the admirable ſkill with which it was executed.

Large galleries extended round about the temple, which were equally ſuperb and magnificent with the reſt of the work; but, for the elegance and beauty of their ſtructure, greatly ſurpaſſing any thing that had been ſeen before of that kind. Two ſtrong walls formed the ſupport for two of theſe galleries, and were of themſelves deemed pieces of work of a very remarkable degree of excellence.

Near this city nature had placed a ſteep rocky hillock, but on the eaſtward ſide of it the deſcent was gently ſloping. Now Solomon, in former ages, had, by the particular command of God, ſurrounded this hillock with a wall, and the lower extremity of it was encompaſſed by another wall, under which, towards the ſouth, was a deep valley. This was compoſed of ſtones of immenſe ſize, cramped together with irons round the whole work, and extending down to the bottom of the hill. This work was built in a ſquare form, and was deemed a moſt extraordinary piece of architecture, allowance being made for its depth and magnitude. The beſt opinion could

be

be formed of the ſize of the ſtones wherewith it was built, by viewing it on the outſide, ſince, on the inſide, they were jointed together, one within another, to prevent the inclemency of the weather from ſeperating them.

When this wall was built up to its proper height, the ſpace between that and the hill was filled up with earth ſo as to bring the ground to a level with the wall; and then were erected four galleries, each gallery being deemed a furlong in extent. Within the ſquare, likewiſe, there was another ſtone wall, which extended round the top of the hill, and was ornamented with a double porch, on the eaſt ſide, which was oppoſite the portal of the temple which ſtood in the middle. Several princes contributed to adorn this portal, by many tokens of their royal bounty; and round about various parts of the temple were hung the ſpoils and trophies which had been acquired in battles with the barbarians: theſe Herod cauſed to be again dedicated, and added to them many others of a later date, which, in his battle with the Arabians, he had brought off as proofs of his own victories.

A ſtrong and well fortified building ſtood on one of the angles of the north ſide, which had been erected by ſome of the line of the Aſmonæans, a family that had executed the joint authority of prince and high-prieſt, for a long ſucceſſion of years. To this place they gave the name of Baris, or the Tower; and herein they depoſited the pontifical habits, which, agreeable to ancient cuſtom, were never to be brought forth but when the high-prieſt wanted them for his immediate uſe, in the exerciſe of his office. To this purpoſe Herod likewiſe deſtined the building; but on his deceaſe it fell into the hands of the Romans, with whom it remained till the time of Tiberius; and during his reign the government of Syria was given to Vitellius. Now this Vitellius, on going to take poſſeſſion of his government, was received in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner at Jeruſalem, that in grateful return for the reſpect and eſteem ſhewn him by the Jews, he ſolicited that Cæſar would ſubmit to their earneſt entreaties that they themſelves might take poſſeſſion, and have the keeping of the ſacred veſtments. Now Cæſar having graciouſly complied with their requeſt, theſe valuable effects remained in their cuſtody till king Agrippa had paid the debt of nature: but, upon his deceaſe, Caſſius Longinus, the governor of Syria, and Cuſpius Fadus, the lieutenant of Judæa, iſſued immediate orders that theſe ſacred veſtments ſhould be depoſited in the fort Antonia, aſſigning for a reaſon, that as they had formerly been in the keeping of the Romans, they ought to be reſtored to their cuſtody again.

Upon this proceeding the Jews immediately diſpatched away meſſengers to Claudius Cæſar, to entreat his authority on their behalf. The young king Agrippa, who had ſucceeded his father, being caſually at Rome at this time, ſolicited the favour of Cæſar that theſe Veſtments might be committed to his care, which Cæſar complied with, and ſent orders that Vitellius ſhould deliver up the charge of them. In former times theſe holy robes were kept under the ſeal of the high-prieſt, and the treaſurer of the temple: and on the day preceding any ſolemn feſtival, theſe officers uſed to apply themſelves

to the perſon who held the chief command of the Roman fort, producing their ſeal, and taking out the veſtments: and when the ſacred ſervices of the day were ended, they uſed to carry them back to the place from whence they had taken them, and there leave them, having firſt ſealed them up, in the preſence of the governor. It would not have been neceſſary for me to have been ſo particular in the deſcription of this ceremony, but that there have been many alterations from time to time in the mode of proceeding. The fort abovementioned was already a place of no ſmall degree of ſtrength, but very conſiderable additions were made to its fortifications by Herod, who while he was engaged in this work, likewiſe fortified the temple, on which he afterwards beſtowed the name of Antonia, in teſtimony of reſpect to Anthony, heretofore emperor of the Romans, who had honoured him with very diſtinguiſhed marks of his friendſhip.

The following is a deſcription of the temple, which was called the firſt enclоſure. There were four gates on the weſt ſide of the wall, one of which led acroſs a valley to the court that lay on the oppoſite ſide. Another of theſe gates led to the city, and two to the ſuburbs: from each gate was a large flight of ſteps down into the valley, and there was an equal number by which to aſcend on the oppoſite ſide. There was another gate in the middle of the ſquare, preciſely at an equal diſtance from the two angles: a magnificent triple gallery extended from the eaſt ſide of the gallery to the weſt, which was the greateſt extent of length that the place would admit. It is impoſſible to conceive an idea of any thing more aſtoniſhing than this view afforded: for ſo very great was the depth of the valley, and ſo great the height of the building that was erected immediately on the borders of it, that it was almoſt impoſſible for a perſon to look from the top to the bottom, without his head ſwimming ſo that he would imagine his brain was turned. The galleries were ſupported by four rows of pillars, equally diſtant each from the other; and between thoſe of the fourth rank a ſtone wall was built up. The pillars themſelves were built on a double baſe, were twenty-ſeven feet in length, and ſo large that three men could but juſt encompaſs them. The whole number of theſe pillars was no leſs than one hundred and ſixty two, the chapiters of which were beautiful and elegant beyond deſcription; and the carved work was of the corinthian order. There were three galleries between theſe four rows of pillars, two of which bore an exact reſemblance to each other, being each of them thirty feet wide, above fifty in height, and in length no leſs than a furlong; but the middle gallery was double the height of the other two, and forty five feet in width. An abundant variety of curious figures were wrought in the wainſcotting. A piece of ſtone-work ſo admirably formed, cemented, and compacted together, as to have the appearance of one entire ſtone, ſupported the roof of the middle gallery.

Having ſaid thus much by way of deſcribing the firſt encloſure, we muſt now remark that not far from it was another, formed by the erection of a ſtone wall, towards which the aſcent was by two ſteps; and there was a partition of ſtone, on which was an inſcription, intimating that if any ſtrangers

preſumed to enter there, they would be puniſhed with death: this diviſion formed an inward encloſure, to which were three gates, towards the north and ſouth, at equal diſtances each from the other. To the eaſtward there was another gate, conſiderably larger than the former, at which ſuch men as had been purified were permitted to enter, if they came in company with their wives; but it was not lawful for the women to proceed any farther.

Between the two encloſures abovementioned there was a third place, where it was lawful only for the prieſts to enter; and this was called the middle encloſure. In this place the temple was erected, before which was placed the altar where the prieſts offered up their ſacrifices. This place was ſo ſacred that even Herod himſelf durſt not enter into it, ſince the law prohibited him from ſo doing, as he was not a prieſt. For this reaſon Herod committed the care of this part of the ſacred work to the prieſts; and they compleated it in the ſpace of eighteen months; whereas Herod himſelf, in ſuperintending the completion of the reſt, employed no leſs a time than eight years.

The finiſhing of the ſacred part of the work in ſo ſhort a time, afforded matter of ſuch extreme joy to the people, that they united in returning thanks to the Almighty for the bleſſing he had beſtowed on their endeavours, and likewiſe ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the king, for the laudable zeal he had ſhewn in the promotion of the worſhip of God.

The temple being thus reſtored, the circumſtance was celebrated by every demonſtration of the ſincereſt joy. On this occaſion three hundred oxen were ſacrificed for the king's account, and a proportionable number for perſons of all ranks and degrees; ſo that the whole of the ſacrifices exceeded in number what could poſſibly be imagined. There was a very great degree of ſolemnity in this dedication of the temple, beyond, indeed, what any perſon could have formed an idea of; and this ſolemnity was doubled by its happening on the very day of Herod's acceſſion to the throne.

While we are reciting an account of Herod's building theſe works, it may not be improper to take notice of a vault which he conſtructed underground, from the fort of Antonia to that gate of the temple which led to the eaſt, near which gate he cauſed another fort to be erected: this vault was built with a view, that in caſe of any treaſonable proceeding againſt the government, himſelf or his ſucceſſors might have an opportunity of making a ſecure and private retreat. A tradition is prevalent amongſt us, that during the whole time of the building the abovementioned temple no rain fell in the day, but only in the night; which was deemed to be owing to the peculiar interpoſition of Providence, that the progreſs of the work might not be impeded. Be this as it may, the ſtory hath been communicated among us from father to ſon; and we conceive that in inſtances where the worſhip of God is concerned, ſuch an interpoſition is by no means inconſiſtent with the laws of divine Providence.

End of the Fifteenth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XVI.

Containing the tranſactions from the year of the World 3955 to 3961.

CHAP. I.

A law is eſtabliſhed for the puniſhment of houſe-breakers, which proves offenſive to the people. Herod goes to Rome, whence, after being entertained by Cæſar, he is accompanied to Jeruſalem by his two ſons. The malevolence of Salome towards the princes.

HEROD conſidering it a principal branch of his duty to provide for a due adminiſtration of juſtice, both in the city and country, enacted a law, purporting that offenders convicted of houſe-breaking ſhould be ſold into ſlavery, either to natives or foreigners, without exception. The people judged this law to be an inſult upon the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of their nation rather than as proceeding from a regard to public juſtice, and that the ſubjecting men to the juriſdiction of people living under different laws and regulations was not meant ſo much as a puniſhment to the criminal as an affront and injury to religion. It is enacted by our ancient laws that a felon be condemned to four-fold reſtitution, provided he be poſſeſſed of property; that,

that, in caſe of being inſolvent, he be ſold into ſlavery, but not to ſtrangers; and that he be releaſed on the expiration of ſeven years. The new law was conſidered as a deliberate act of injuſtice and oppreſſion, eſtabliſhed in contempt of the ancient practice.

About this time the king made a voyage to Italy, in order to viſit his two ſons whom he had ſent to be educated in that country, and to pay his reſpects to the emperor. He found that his ſons had acquired a great proficiency in the knowledge both of literature and buſineſs; and they were delivered into his care by Cæſar. The youths were tall and well proportioned; and their converſation proved the excellency of their minds to be equal to the gracefulneſs of their perſons; and all their actions were accompanied with a peculiar dignity which ſeemed to ſpeak them of the royal line. Herod having paid his compliments to Cæſar, returned with his ſons to Jeruſalem, where they were received with great joy by the Jews, who were ſtruck with admiration upon obſerving the eminent accompliſhments which the princes had acquired. The favourable reception which the young princes experienced from the people proved a circumſtance extremely diſagreeable to Salome, the ſiſter of Herod, and to the ſeveral perſons who had united with her in effecting the deſtruction of Mariamne; and they conſidered theſe youths as the inſtruments preſerved by Providence by which they were to be puniſhed for having cauſed the death of their mother. Influenced by theſe ſuggeſtions, they determined to endeavour to alienate the affection of the king from his ſons by ſlanderous inſinuations: they propagated a rumour among the multitude that the ſons muſt neceſſarily entertain an implacable averſion to the father who had bathed his hands in the blood of their innocent mother. Though they ventured not to addreſs theſe and other calumnies immediately to Herod, they doubted not of their reaching him in the end, and of giving birth to an irreconcileable hatred againſt his ſons.

CHAP. II.

Through the negociation of Herod, Ariſtobulus is married to Berenice, and Alexander to Glaphyra. Herod is viſited by Agrippa.

HITHERTO the conſpiracy of Salome and her adherents had proved ineffectual; and Herod continued unreſerved and tenderly affectionate to his ſons. He applied himſelf to negociate matrimonial alliances between them and princely families; and effected an union between Ariſtobulus and Berenice, daughter of Salome, and between Alexander and Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, ſovereign of Cappadocia.

Being informed that Marcus Agrippa was now returned from Italy into Aſia, Herod repaired to him, and with great earneſtneſs entreated that he would confer upon him the honour of a viſit. Agrippa accepted the invitation, and Herod exerted his utmoſt power to give a generous reception to, and contribute to the ſatisfaction of, his gueſt. He conducted him to the ſeveral magnificent cities and palaces, which he had built or repaired, ſhewing

ſhewing him Sebaſte, the port of Cæſaria, the forts of Alexandrion, Herodian, Hyrcania, &c. at which places he entertained Agrippa and his friends with the greateſt ſplendor that can be conceived. Having made this expedition, Herod conducted Agrippa to Jeruſalem, where the people received him with expreſſions of joy, and the acclamations and other ceremonies uſual on a ſolemn feſtival. On this occaſion Agrippa dedicated to the Lord an hecatomb, which is a ſacrifice of an hundred victims, and feaſted the multitude. The behaviour of Herod proved ſo agreeable, that Agrippa was deſirous of prolonging his viſit: but as the winter approached, and the ſeas were dangerous in that ſeaſon, he embarked, after having received many honours and valuable preſents, and returned with his troops to Ionia.

CHAP. III.

Herod embarks for Leſbos, and is driven by adverſe winds to the iſle of Chios. He directs his courſe to Pontus, and meets Agrippa at a city called Sinope. The friendly interview of theſe ſovereigns, who go in company to Samos.

HEROD having paſſed the winter in his own dominions, embarked on the opening of ſpring for Leſbos, where he expected to join his friend Agrippa, who he was adviſed had led an army towards the Boſphorus. Having paſſed Rhodes and Coas, he was forced by the northern winds upon the iſle of Chios, and detained there ſeveral days. During his reſidence in this place, he received viſits from many perſons of diſtinction, whom he complimented with magnificent preſents: and obſerving that, from a ſcarcity of money, the public edifices which had been deſtroyed in the Mithridatic war ſtill remained in ruins, he gave the inhabitants credit for a ſum ſufficient to defray the expence of the neceſſary reparations, expreſſly charging them to compleat the work with all poſſible expedition.

Upon the wind changing to a favourable point, Herod embarked, and ſailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium. Having received intelligence that Agrippa had paſſed the Cyanean rocks, he made all poſſible ſpeed in purſuit of him, and at length joined him at a city of Pontus called Sinope. Agrippa was no leſs rejoiced than ſurpriſed at the unexpected arrival of Herod; and on the meeting of theſe princes, they gave every poſſible demonſtration of an honourable and reciprocal friendſhip. Agrippa made grateful acknowledgments to Herod for the ſingular inſtance of kindneſs he had ſhewn in poſtponing the concerns of his own government, and joining him with a powerful fleet at a point of time when his affairs were in the moſt preſſing exigency. Agrippa repoſed an unlimited confidence in Herod, to whoſe advice in council he paid the greateſt deference; and theſe princes were ſo ſtrongly united, that they jointly partook of labours, dangers and difficulties, as well as the pleaſurable relaxations from the arduous concerns annexed to their ſituation.

Having

Having diſpatched the buſineſs which had called him to Pontus, Agrippa, accompanied by Herod, returned over land. They directed their courſe through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the greater Phrygia, and having arrived at Epheſus, they took ſhipping for Samos. During their progreſs, the generoſity of Herod was diſplayed on a variety of occaſions, both by liberal donations on his own account, and by ſoliciting Agrippa in favour of the inhabitants of the places through which they paſſed. Agrippa was naturally of a humane diſpoſition, and was never backward to perform acts of kindneſs, except when rendering ſervice to one man would be attended with injury to another. This benevolent temper operated more extenſively through the mediation of Herod, to which nothing was refuſed by Agrippa, who ſtudied to anticipate him in offices of kindneſs and generoſity. On the interceſſion of his friend, Agrippa granted a pardon to the Ilienſians, whoſe conduct had given him great offence. He diſcharged an arrear which the people of Chios had incurred to the emperor, and put them in poſſeſſion of divers privileges: and he was diſtinguiſhed by many other inſtances of virtue.

CHAP. IV.

At the inſtance of Herod, Agrippa grants a hearing to the Jews of Ionia, who complain of the tyranny of the natives. Nicolaus being entertained as counſel for the plaintiffs, enumerates their grievances. Decrees of the ſenate of Rome in behalf of the Jews. The conduct of Cæſar applauded. Agrippa eſpouſes the cauſe of the Jews.

UPON the arrival of Herod and Agrippa in the province of Ionia, they found a great concourſe of Jews aſſembled, who vented the moſt bitter complaints againſt the natives for interrupting their religious worſhip and the exerciſe of their laws. They repreſented that the officers broke in upon their public meetings, and forcibly hurried them to the courts of juſtice; prevented the holy treaſure being conveyed to Jeruſalem; compelled them to take up arms, and exacted duties out of their ſubſiſtence money; urging that theſe oppreſſions were inflicted upon them in direct violation of the privileges granted to them by the Romans. Herod availed himſelf of this favourable opportunity to render ſervice to the Jews, and interceded with Agrippa to allow them to ſubmit their complaints to him. Agrippa conſented to grant the Jews a hearing, and Herod retained his friend Nicolaus as counſel to plead their cauſe. On this occaſion a court was ſummoned to meet, at which were preſent Agrippa, a bench of honourable Romans, ſeveral princes, and other perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank. The advocate in behalf of the Jews pleaded their cauſe in the following manner:

"To whom, moſt illuſtrious Agrippa, ſhould thoſe who labour under "the heavy hand of oppreſſion apply for redreſs but to the princes who have "power to afford them relief? We entertain a full confidence of your impar- "tial adminiſtration of public juſtice, and to that we preſume to appeal;

"the

" the royal goodneſs which we have already experienced inſpires us with " the pleaſing hope of ſucceſs in the cauſe now ſubmitted to your determi- " nation. We have nothing further to ſupplicate than that we may be con- " firmed in thoſe privileges which you have yourſelf granted, and which we " are in danger of having wreſted from us by our fellow-ſubjects. We doubt " not your judging us as worthy to retain the advantages we enjoy as we were " to have them conferred upon us. We are not more injured than you are " inſulted by the ſubject of our preſent appeal; for your judgment is ar- " raigned, and your pious intentions are diſappointed. It is with a due " ſubmiſſion I ſay, there is good reaſon to believe that the complainants " would with greater willingneſs loſe their lives than part with their laws, " cuſtoms, diſcipline, ſacrifices, feſtivals and other inſtitutions eſtabliſhed " in honour of their religion. It frequently happens that wars are com- " menced in ſupport of religion: but does not the great bleſſing which man- " kind at preſent enjoy under the protection of the Roman empire conſiſt in " the happy circumſtance of every individual being allowed the liberty of " worſhip according to the dictates of his own conſcience? Can any juſtifi- " cation be offered for thoſe who confine others within limits which they ob- " ſerve not themſelves? And is not the guilt equal, whether we impede " other men in the exerciſe of their duty, or neglect that which we are our- " ſelves bound to perform? It is to be held in recollection that there is no " city, nation, or ſociety of people whatever, whoſe happineſs does not de- " pend on the power of the Roman ſenate. Will any man, then, who is " under the government of reaſon, conſider it as his intereſt to fruſtrate " your bounties, when every individual muſt ſhare in the common loſs? " Our enemies do not foreſee, that while they ſtudy to effect the deſtruction " of our privileges, their machinations muſt, of neceſſity, equally operate to " invalidate their own; for there is no reaſon to pretend that we ſhould be " abridged of thoſe liberties, of which they are allowed the full enjoyment; " and that, among other ineſtimable privileges, we have not an equal right " with them to congratulate ourſelves on the advantage of being allowed the " protection of the Roman emperors, and to are in the poſſeſſion of liberty " and eaſe, while many other nations live in a ſtate of intolerable ſlavery to " tyrannical ſovereigns. We have at preſent nothing further to ſolicit than " that we may be permitted to continue in the mode of religious worſhip " eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors, and to ſhare in common with our fellow- " ſubjects in thoſe benefits which are granted to our nation. On one hand " this worſhip is, in the nature of its inſtitution and practice, perfectly in- " nocent; and on the other it argues a merit in thoſe who afford it counte- " nance; for the Almighty looks with pleaſure on thoſe who encourage the " worſhip of him in others as well as thoſe who in their own perſons pay a due " regard to his holy name. In the exerciſe of our religion there is nothing " that can prove offenſive to ſedate and ſober people, or that it is not in every " inſtance perfectly conſiſtent with juſtice and piety. We make no ſcruple " publicly to profeſs the rules and precepts in conformity to which we regu- " late our lives. On the ſeventh day we deſiſt from every kind of labour; " and it is a day on which we apply ourſelves to the ſtudy of the law, whereby

" it is conſidered that a great reformation is effected in our lives and manners. " Upon the moſt minute inquiry into the cuſtoms to which we adhere, it " will be found that no part of them can be reaſonably ſubject to reproach; " and that in conſideration of their antiquity they are entitled to veneration " and reſpect. The laws which have ſtood the teſt, and received the ſanction " of ſo many ages will indiſputably ſupercede every objection advanced in " contempt of their authority. The grievances on the ſcore of which we " now ſupplicate redreſs, are theſe: We are exempted from the payment of " taxes, and yet they are injuriouſly exacted from us; we are violently and " ſacrilegiouſly deſpoiled of the money dedicated to holy uſes; on the days " ſet apart for the ſolemnities of our religion, we are compelled to attendance " upon the courts of juſtice and at other places, from no other motive than " that of ſhewing contempt to our religion: thus are we harraſſed by people " who are conſcious that their oppreſſion is unjuſtifiable and without cauſe. " To prevent feuds, eſtabliſh peace, and promote the common happineſs of " your people, are the great objects, moſt illuſtrious ſovereign, to which " your attention is directed. We earneſtly petition for a redreſs of the " grievances already enumerated; that we may be continued in poſſeſſion of " the rights heretofore granted us, and that we may remain on terms of " equality with our adverſaries. Our claim is founded on the principles of " juſtice, and your compliance will be but a confirmation of the rights which " have been already beſtowed upon us, as will appear from the tables of " braſs which remain in the capitol, whereon are engraven the ſeveral de- " crees paſſed in our favour by the ſenate; theſe tables being intended to " tranſmit to poſterity a perpetual memory of the privileges we have a right " to enjoy. It was undoubtedly on proof of our loyalty, faith, and ſteady " attachment to the government, that the records in our behalf received the " ſanction of the ſenate. Had we been unworthy the bounty extended to " us, yet our privileges would be inviolable; for, to have once enjoyed " them is ample ſecurity for their being held ſacred, ſince ſo far from re- " voking the obligations you have conferred, the natural generoſity of your " diſpoſition prompts you to additional acts of benevolence towards our na- " tion and mankind in general. That I may not appear to be influenced by " vanity ariſing from the recollection of the ſervices rendered by our nation " to the people, I ſhall not recur to former times, but content myſelf with " adverting to the friendly offices which you have experienced from our " royal maſter, now preſent, conſcious that they will bear teſtimony in our " favour. Has he not afforded repeated proofs of his zealous attachment to " your intereſts, and made the honour of your nation one of the firſt con- " cerns of his life? In the moſt diſtreſsful ſtate of your affairs has he not " been the firſt to ſupport your cauſe? And has he not ſhewn an unremitting " aſſiduity to ſupport your dignity? We conceive that, on account of the " approved friendſhip of our ſovereign, we may reaſonably lay claim to " ſome conſideration. Beſides the ſervices of our preſent ſovereign, we " may plead thoſe of his father Antipater, who, when Cæſar was engaged " in proſecuting the war in Ægypt, led to his aſſiſtance an army of two

" thouſand auxiliaries, and manifeſted a conduct by which he obtained the " reputation of being equal to the moſt celebrated of his cotemporaries, " either in the naval or military command.

" On this occaſion, Cæſar preſented him with magnificent gifts, and diſ- " patched letters powerfully recommending him to the ſenate, in conſe- " quence of which he obtained the privileges of a citizen of Rome, and " other honourable marks of diſtinction. That the bounties of which, we " preſume, illuſtrious prince, to ſolicit a confirmation, were not unworthily " beſtowed, the laſt argument alone may be underſtood as a ſufficient proof. " The league of amity ſubſiſting between yourſelf and our royal ſovereign, " induces me to hope for an increaſe, rather than fear a diminution of your " favour. I might avail myſelf of this opportunity to expatiate on the holy " vows and ſacrifices you made at Jeruſalem, the magnificence with which " you entertained the multitude, and the ſatisfaction you were pleaſed to " expreſs on the interchange of acts of hoſpitality, in proof of the recipro- " cal friendſhip between the Romans and the Jews. The object of our peti- " tion is, that the good and powerful king Agrippa will interpoſe his royal " authority in our behalf, that our adverſaries may not diveſt us of the " proper effects of his benevolence and generoſity."

The Greeks made no attempt to invalidate what had been advanced by Nicolaus; for the matter in agitation was not a judicial trial of right, but a petition for redreſs of grievances. They urged, however, that the Jews were foreigners, and a burthen upon the natives. On the other hand, it was contended that being entitled to the privileges of citizens, the Jews could not come under the deſcription of foreigners; that they were a people under the regulation of their own laws, living in conformity to the will of the Almighty, and at peace with mankind.

Convinced of the juſtice of their cauſe, Agrippa declared himſelf in favour of the Jews, and ſignified, that if their deſires had not been confined within ſuch moderate bounds, he ſhould have complied with them, provided he could have done it conſiſtent with a due regard to the dignity of the ſtate of Rome. " Since the requiſitions of the Jews (ſaid Agrippa) are ſo rea- " ſonable, from a regard to common juſtice, and a reſpect to their ſovereign, " I pronounce a full ratification of the privileges, which, by a previous " grant, they have an undoubted right to claim; and I promiſe that as long " as they continue within the limits of good order, the neceſſary meaſures " ſhall be taken for guarding them againſt future vexations of this kind." Having delivered this ſpeech, Agrippa diſſolved the aſſembly; and, in the name of the whole nation, Herod expreſſed the warmeſt acknowledgments to him for his generous conduct. After a mutual profeſſion of friendſhip, theſe princes departed from Leſbos.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Herod returns to Jeruſalem, where he gives public information of the privileges confirmed to the Jews reſident in Aſia.

HEROD embarked for Cæſarea, and having the advantage of a favourable wind, he ſoon reached that place; and in a few days afterwards he arrived at Jeruſalem. He iſſued a proclamation for an aſſembly of the people, at which the ſtrangers as well as citizens were to attend. He related to the multitude the principal incidents which had occurred during his late expedition, repreſenting the reſolutions whereby Agrippa had ſecured the perſonal liberty of, and the free exerciſe of religion to the Jews inhabiting Aſia. He obſerved that during his government, the people had been in a ſtate of proſperity, and that their future welfare ſuperceded every other conſideration. As a proof of his regard, he excuſed them from one fourth part of the tribute which they had been uſed to pay. The loud and unanimous acclamations of the multitude proved that they were gratefully ſenſible of their ſovereign's generoſity.

CHAP. VI.

The conſpiracy of Salome againſt the princes Alexander and Ariſtobulus. In conjunction with Pheroras ſhe raiſes the indignation of Herod againſt them by ſlanderous inſinuations, in conſequence of which he reſolves that his ſon Antipater ſhall ſucceed him in the government. Antipater endeavours to poſſeſs his father with an enmity againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and ſucceeds. Herod ſends for the mother of Antipater to court. Antipater accompanies Herod on a viſit to Agrippa at Rome.

SALOME, the ſiſter of Herod, entertained an irreconcileable enmity towards Alexander and Ariſtobulus, the ſons of Herod by his wife Mariamne, and inſpired with confidence by the ſucceſsful manner in which her injurious repreſentations had operated with regard to their mother, ſhe determined to proſecute a deſign ſhe had conceived for effecting the deſtruction of the princes, leſt they ſhould revenge the death of the queen. The conſpiracy was carried on againſt the young princes with the greater appearance of juſtice as they had ſhewn many inſtances of diſreſpect towards their father, being induced thereto partly by an abhorrence of the cruelty exerciſed upon their mother, and partly by the ambitious deſire of ſupplanting their father in the government.

The ſons openly vented the moſt bitter reproaches upon Salome and her brother Pheroras; and, on the other hand, they uttered reflections equally rancourous, but conveyed in a more artful and cautious manner. The princes being inflamed with paſſion, in the natural ſimplicity of their hearts, declared their ſentiments without reſerve: but the others exerciſed their malice

lice with more circumſpection, employing every ſtratagem they could ſuggeſt for betraying their adverſaries into ſuch extravagance of expreſſion as they might take advantage of. The princes declared that they conſidered it an honour to have derived their exiſtence from ſo excellent a queen as Mariamne, whom, they inſiſted had been barbarouſly murdered. This declaration was taken advantage of by their enemies, who propagated it ſo aſſiduouſly, that it ſoon became the prevailing ſubject of converſation among the people, the generality of whom, however, lamented the indiſcretion of the young men, in ſuffering their paſſions to precipitate them into ſuch deſperate liberties of ſpeech. The youths were frequently heard to lament their own fate as only inferior in miſery to that of their deceaſed mother; for that they were compelled to live with thoſe who had embrued their hands in her blood, and that they were, therefore, partakers, in ſome meaſure, of their iniquity.

The abſence of Herod was a circumſtance exceedingly favourable to the conſpiracy. A ſhort time having elapſed after the return of the king, Salome and Pheroras, with a well affected plauſibility, inſinuated to him, that it was neceſſary he ſhould guard againſt the danger which threatened him in the perſons of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, who had publickly denounced vengeance againſt the murderers of their mother; and they falſely repreſented, that through the intereſt of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, they expected to compel Herod to abide the event of a judicial enquiry before the emperor. Herod was induced to place more confidence in theſe inſinuations as they were frequently repeated, and communicated to him through a variety of channels. He reflected on the unhappy ſituation to which he had already been reduced by diſſentions in his family, and lamented that theſe diſagreements had proved deſtructive to his moſt valuable friendſhips, and deprived him of a wife towards whom he entertained the moſt tender affection. He recalled to his imagination the events which had occurred, and thence pictured in idea what might probably enſue in the preſent inſtance; and the proſpect was ſo alarming as nearly to drive him to a ſtate of diſtraction. His foreign concerns proved ſucceſsful to the utmoſt extent of his moſt ſanguine hopes, while thoſe of a domeſtic nature were involved in all the difficulties which could unite to render him completely miſerable. It is to be queſtioned whether his ſplendid ſtation in the world was a ſufficient counterbalance to the diſorders which prevailed in his family, and whether he would not have enjoyed a greater ſhare of happineſs in a private ſtation, than he experienced while ſurrounded with all the magnificence annexed to the regal character.

Herod remained ſome time under great embarraſsment, not knowing what courſe it would be moſt eligible to purſue in the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs; but at length he reſolved to receive into his family a ſon, named Antipater, who he had cauſed to be privately educated, and to entertain the youth with particular reſpect; judging that ſuch conduct would prove a check to the ambition of his other ſons. Agreeable to this intention he inveſted Antipater with conſiderable authority, and repoſed great truſt in him, ſignifying by his whole behaviour towards him, that he meant the

youth to be his ſucceſſor in the government. In the particular diſtinction which Herod ſhewed to Antipater, his whole view was to reduce the inſolence of Mariamne's ſons, who he imagined would, when they were convinced that there was no want of a ſucceſſor to the government, be more obſervant of their duty: but, contrary to his original deſign, he afterwards conferred upon him the regal dignity. The reſpect which was ſhewn to Antipater ſerved to inflame rather than appeaſe the paſſions of the brothers, who conſidered the deference paid to him as an affront offered to themſelves.

Antipater determined to preſerve the conſequence he had ſo unexpectedly attained; and for effecting this purpoſe he had recourse to malevolent inſinuations, expecting thereby to alienate from his brothers the ſtill remaining affection of Herod. He aſſumed the utmoſt appearance of candour and goodwill, but at the ſame time laboured to effect the ruin of the brothers, by means of agents who were eſteemed by the king, and who he was convinced would eaſily prevail upon his credulous temper to put full confidence in their miſrepreſentations: and this deſign was attended with the deſired ſucceſs; for Herod was inſpired with an averſion which ſoon encreaſed to an implacable degree. Alexander and Ariſtobulus being greatly affected by the indignities they endured, with tears lamented their unhappy fate; at other times, in the anguiſh of their hearts, they appealed to the manes of their innocent mother, and bitterly reflected upon their father as the author of the grievances they ſuſtained. The adherents of Antipater availed themſelves of the advantage which the ungovernable paſſions of the princes afforded, and, with every poſſible aggravation, repreſented their intemperate behaviour to Herod, who being ſtill more violently inflamed againſt them, reſolved to convince them of his indignation by heaping additional honours upon Antipater. The artifices which Antipater employed, prevailed upon Herod to ſend for his mother to court, and to write letters on behalf of himſelf, recommending him to Cæſar in terms of the greateſt reſpect.

Agrippa, after having held the adminiſtration for the ſpace of ten years in Aſia, ſet out on his return to Rome; and Herod embarked in order to meet and compliment him on the way, taking with him many valuable preſents; and being accompanied by Antipater; the other ſons being denied the honour of engaging with him in this voyage. Herod requeſted Agrippa that Antipater might be permitted to accompany him to Rome, and that he would preſent him to Cæſar, to whom he ſent rich preſents for the purpoſe of obtaining for his ſon a favourable reception. Herod's conduct on this occaſion was with a view to give Antipater a diſtinction above his brothers.

CHAP. VII.

Herod repairs to Cæsar at Aquileia, and exhibits accusations against his sons Alexander and Aristobulus.

HEROD having furnished him with recommendatory letters to his friends at Rome, Antipater derived additional consequence from his voyage to that capital. In his present situation, however, he was unhappy in having no longer the opportunity of gratifying his rancour against the sons of Mariamne by injurious representations to Herod, who he apprehended might be prevailed upon to treat them with less rigour. He was determined to omit no measures which he supposed would operate to the disadvantage of Alexander and Aristobulus; and, therefore, under the pretext of an extreme solicitude for his father's safety, he wrote letters containing such malicious charges, as induced Herod to consider the unfortunate brothers as his most inveterate enemies: and the ultimate view of his iniquitous proceedings was to obtain possession of the government.

Herod determined, lest the violence of his displeasure should transport him into any rash or unjust proceedings against his sons, to repair to Rome, and exhibit complaints against them before Cæsar. Upon his arrival at Rome, he found that Cæsar was not in that city; he therefore proceeded to Aquileia, and having obtained permission to submit his unhappy cause to the decision of the emperor, he produced his two sons, and accused them of disobedience, and an attempt to deprive him of life by poison, urging that the ambition of obtaining possession of the government had inspired them with the horrid and unnatural design of putting their father to death. He said their malice was so inveterate that, though defeated in their rebellious attempt upon the crown, they would still enjoy a cruel satisfaction in the inhuman murder of their father. He mentioned the space of time he had endured the disobedience of his sons, saying that now, in the last extremity, he was compelled to the cruel necessity of submitting his cause to the determination of Cæsar. "What act of my life (said he) has rendered me deserving the treatment I have experienced from these young men? Towards whom have I been guilty of injustice? On what pretext can any man presume to dispossess a prince of the authority in the due exercise of which he has been so long established, and which he has obtained by such unwearied assiduity, and imminent hazards? Is it reasonable that I should be denied the liberty of nominating my successor? Especially since Cæsar has been pleased to grant me the right of bestowing the crown upon such of my issue as shall approve himself most worthy the regal dignity? The power which I have an undoubted right to exercise of exalting the fortunes of that son who shall distinguish himself by a pious regard to his duty, must surely be considered as a motive to a generous emulation in worthy deeds. But whoever desires to obtain the authority of his father, must wish that father dead, because while he survives he cannot succeed to his station. They cannot pretend that I have been deficient in my duty towards

" towards them, either as a gracious prince, or an indulgent parent. Can " they aſſert that I have not been liberal in my allowance of every gratifi- " cation they could reaſonably require, either in point of magnificence " equal to their ſtation in life, amuſement, and every other matter that " might contribute to their happineſs? Have I not endeavoured to promote " their fortunes by eſpouſing them to princeſſes of the moſt diſtinguiſhed " rank? I have married Alexander to the daughter of Archelaus, king of " Cappadocia, and Ariſtobulus to the daughter of my own ſiſter. As a ſtill " more remarkable inſtance of kindneſs to theſe refractory youths, I have " waved my authority both as a king and father, and putting, myſelf on " terms of equality with my children and ſubjects, thus appeal to the im- " perial majeſty of Cæſar, requeſting that his wiſdom will award a due " puniſhment to ſuch enormous offenders, and thereby relieve me from the " apprehenſion of paſſing the remainder of my days in the dreadful anxiety " occaſioned by the reſtleſs ambition of theſe youths, who have merited to " be for ever ſecluded from beholding the light of the ſun, as an equitable re- " tribution of the daring violation of the rights of human nature and ſo- " ciety, of which they juſtly ſtand accuſed."

Herod delivered the above ſpeech with conſiderable warmth: and while he was ſpeaking the princes frequently wept; but upon the concluſion of his addreſs, their grief was expreſſed by a torrent of tears: it is not, however, to be underſtood that they were affected by a conſciouſneſs of guilt, but rather by an honourable ſenſe of filial piety upon being ſo heavily accuſed by their father, and by the conſideration that their afflicting ſituation compelled them to the neceſſity of oppoſing their father, or to the no leſs unhappy extreme of forfeiting every pretention to a rectitude of principle Thus grievouſly diſtreſſed and embarraſſed, they lamented their fate in ſighs and tears, but made no attempt to plead in their own defence. Cæſar put a juſt conſtruction upon their behaviour, attributing their diffidence not to a ſenſe of criminality but to their being unuſed to addreſs ſo formidable an aſſembly: and the ſame ſentiments were entertained by the auditors, who unanimouſly compaſſionated the young princes, and even Herod himſelf was greatly affected.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander pleads in behalf of Ariſtobulus and himſelf: and Cæſar pronounces them both innocent. Herod makes valuable preſents to Auguſtus, who liberally gratifies him in return. Herod, accompanied by his ſons, departs, and on his way to Judæa meets the king of Cappadocia at Elenſa. He aſſembles a council at Jeruſalem, and appoints Antipater to ſucceed him in the government.

WHEN the grief of the princes was ſomewhat moderated, they obſerved that Cæſar was greatly affected, that many of the auditors wept in pity of their calamities, and that even the heart of their father was ſoftened towards

towards them. Judging this to be a favourable opportunity, Alexander, who was the eldeſt, ſpoke to the following effect:

"You have afforded, Sir, a ſignal inſtance of kindneſs in diſpenſing with "the exerciſe of your authority as a king and father, and ſubmitting our "cauſe to the determination of ſo great a prince and ſo equitable a judge. "In calling us to Rome, and making a judicial appeal to Cæſar, it is evi- "dent that you ſeek not our deſtruction: for it is the glory of the prince "in whoſe hands the diſpoſal of our fate is entruſted to adminiſter impartial "juſtice. We are conſcious that we ſhould highly merit the ſentence of "death had our lives been ſtained by any action that could bear the inter- "pretation of diſloyalty or diſobedience to a father of ſuch exemplary virtue; "and be aſſured, Sir, that we would more willingly yield up our lives in "innocence than preſerve them under the imputation of ſuch enormous "guilt as that exhibited againſt us. If providence ſhall prove ſo favourable "as to enable us to eſtabliſh the proof of our innocence, that circumſtance "will afford us far greater ſatisfaction than a deliverance from the danger "by which we are now threatened; but we ſhall with infinitely leſs reluc- "tance ſubmit to death than to preſerve our lives under the load of infamy "which detraction has heaped upon us. We ſtand accuſed of treacherous "deſigns upon the crown; and we are aware that the enterprizing diſpoſitions "natural to young men are apt to give a degree of authenticity to charges "of this nature, and that the unhappy fate of our mother may afford ſome "confirmation to the ſuſpicion of our guilt. Are not all princes, Sir, cir- "cumſtanced as we were, liable to ſimilar imputations; and who among "them, I beſeech you, can be ſecure if ſuſpicion be admitted as proof of "guilt. In the preſent inſtance, a heavy accuſation is made, but to ſupport "it there appears neither preſumptive evidence nor the leaſt ſhadow of pro- "bability. Neither accomplices, poiſon, or other deadly inſtruments are "produced. Can it be proved that a conſpiracy has exiſted, or that letters "of a dangerous or even ſuſpicious import have been written? The accuſa- "tion, in ſhort, is the effect of calumnity, and deſtitute of correſponding "circumſtances to give it credibility. What you have been pleaſed to call "an incentive to a noble emulation is frequently productive of the worſt of "crimes: but with confidence we rely on the rectitude of our conduct and "defy the utmoſt malice of our enemies to prove us guilty. Injurious re- "ports cannot be diſproved while confidence is given to ſlander, and the "opportunity of defence refuſed. To have reflected upon you, Sir, would "have been an unpardonable offence; but if we have delivered our ſenti- "ments with freedom, our meaning was to reflect upon the miſchievous "propagaters of the falſhoods by which you have been deceived. In the "zeal of our hearts we may have paſſionately regrettted the death of our dear "mother, but it was from a tender regard to her memory, which has been "moſt cruelly traduced. Wherefore ſhould we aſpire to obtain poſſeſſion "of the government during the life of our father? Already enjoying the "honours and advantages annexed to the royal line, wherefore ſhould we "be diſſatisfied? If we are not in the actual poſſeſſion of our deſires, does

"not the hope remain of being fully gratified in future? Is it probable "that we ſhould conceive the idea of murdering him from whom we derived "our exiſtence, and then exalting ourſelves to his throne? In a caſe of ſo "flagitious a nature the earth and ſea would combine to extirpate the per- "petrators of ſuch enormous guilt. To acknowledge parricides for ſove- "reigns would be inconſiſtent with the piety of the people and the eſtabliſhed "religion of the country; nor would your ſubjects permit a profanation of "the temple, dedicated to the honour of the Almighty, by the moſt execrable "murderers. Excluſive of all other conſiderations, can it be ſuppoſed that "any man could effect the deſtruction of Herod, and yet hope to eſcape "the juſt vengeance of Cæſar? We are neither ſo abandoned nor ſo ſenſeleſs "as we are repreſented, but deſerve to be conſidered as the misfortune "rather than the diſgrace of our family. Why are we expoſed in the in- "famous ſituation of murderers, when there appears no reaſonable ground "for the cruel accuſation? The unhappy fate of our mother is an event "that ſhould teach us cautiouſly to moderate our conduct, rather than in- "flame us to outrage. It is unneceſſary to multiply arguments in extenu- "ation of a crime of which we are perfectly innocent, ſince no evidence ap- "pears to the contrary. We ſupplicate, moſt powerful and illuſtrious Cæſar, "that if you are perſuaded of our innocence, we may be permitted to live, "though in miſery: but if we are to remain under ſuſpicion of the moſt "horrible guilt, the torments of conſcience will ſoon put a period to our "lives, which we deſire not to preſerve to give unhappineſs to the author "of our exiſtence."

When the charge was exhibited againſt the princes, Cæſar judged it to be of too extraordinary a nature to be founded in juſtice, and this opinion was confirmed by Alexander's addreſs, during the delivery of which he obſerved Herod to be greatly affected. The auditors entertained very unfavourable ſentiments of Herod for proceeding to ſo violent an accuſation; and being greatly prejudiced in favour of the youths by their engaging perſons, the moderation of the reply, and the exact propriety of their whole deportment, they unanimouſly reſolved to render them every friendly office in their power. After a pauſe, during which the princes waited the iſſue of their cauſe with their eyes caſt down and other inſtances of a depreſſion of ſpirits, Cæſar addreſſed the aſſembly in a ſpeech purporting, that the ſons were deſerving ſome degree of cenſure for the intemperate expreſſions which had given riſe to their father's jealouſy; but that he pronounced them innocent of the offence alledged againſt them. He mentioned diſſentions between a father and his children as a misfortune of great magnitude, and recommended the parties to ſink all animoſities in oblivion, and manifeſt their entire reconciliation by mutual confidence and a conſtant interchange of friendly offices. Cæſar now intimated by a ſign that the ſons were to come forward; and, with features which expreſſed the anguiſh of their minds, and the utmoſt humility of deportment, they obeyed, and were preparing to throw themſelves at the feet of their father, but he prevented them, and taking them in his arms, embraced them with great tenderneſs and affection.

This inſtance of tenderneſs in Herod was equally unexpected and ſatisfactory to the whole court. Having made due acknowledgments to Cæſar, Herod departed, accompanied by Alexander, Ariſtobulus and Antipater, the latter affecting an exceſs of joy on occaſion of the happy agreement.

Some days ſubſequent to the reconciliation between Herod and his ſons, Auguſtus gave an entertainment to the people; and at this time Herod made the emperor a preſent of three hundred talents, in return for which Cæſar granted him a moiety of the profits ariſing from the mines of Cyprus, and full power of diſpoſing of the reſidue of the income: he alſo confirmed the right of appointing a ſucceſſor to the government in the ſon who he ſhould moſt approve, or dividing the government between them, at his own diſcretion: but theſe liberties were granted on the condition, that he ſhould maintain the natural authority of a father over his children, and the ſovereignty of his kingdom, during the period of his life.

Thus were matters circumſtanced when Herod and his three ſons proceeded on their return to Judæa. During the abſence of Herod, the people of Trachonitis, who formed a conſiderable part of his ſubjects, engaged in a rebellion: but the vigilant and ſpirited behaviour of the officers to whom the king had entruſted the management of public affairs, reſtored them to allegiance. At Eleuſa, a city in Cilicia, now called Sabaſte, Herod and his ſons met Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who expreſſed much ſatisfaction on the re-eſtabliſhment of a friendly underſtanding in the family of Herod, and the honourable acquittal which his ſon-in-law Alexander had experienced on his trial. The reception which Archelaus gave to Herod was truly hoſpitable and generous; and theſe kings parted after an exchange of preſents, and reciprocal profeſſions of friendſhip.

Upon the arrival of Herod at Jeruſalem, he ſummoned the people to aſſemble in the temple, and related to them an account of his late expedition, particularizing the ſeveral honours which had been conferred upon him by Cæſar, and dwelling upon other paſſages which he was deſirous to impreſs upon their minds: he then adverted to his ſons, and recommended unanimity and moderation to the court and his ſubjects in general. He then pronounced Antipater to be his ſucceſſor in the government, which was to devolve from him to Alexander, and then to Ariſtobulus. "During the "term of my life (ſaid he) you are to acknowledge myſelf only as your ſove- "reign. I make this declaration to the ſeveral perſons of my family, my "officers civil and military, and my ſubjects in general. Age produces ex- "perience, whereby men are inſtructed in wiſdom; my increaſe of years, "therefore, rather than proving an obſtacle, will render me more equal to "the important duties of adminiſtration." He concluded with exhorting his people ſteadily to preſerve their allegiance, as the moſt certain means of ſecurity and happineſs. He now diſmiſſed the aſſembly. The majority of the people were perfectly ſatisfied with his conduct, but many were apprehenſive that the deſire which they conceived the ſons would reſpectively entertain of being advanced to the throne would prove the ſource of future troubles.

CHAP. IX.

The city of Cæsarea finished. An account of the dedication of it. Caphareah and other places built by Herod. He rebuilds the temple of the Pythian Apollo. An annual allowance made out of his own revenue, for the support of the Olympic games. Herod's general character.

IN the tenth year after laying the foundation of Cæsarea that city was completely finished, which happened in the twenty eighth year of the reign of Herod, and in the Olympiad one hundred and ninety two. No degree of splendor or magnificence was omitted to celebrate the dedication of this city: persons who professed the several faculties and exercises of all kinds, and those too the most excellent in their various ways, were procured from different parts of the country. Among these were musicians, wrestlers, swordsmen, and others of like kinds; and these were appointed to play for prizes in their several arts and professions. There were likewise a number of horse-races, and exhibitions of various kinds of wild beasts, together with a great variety of other shews and entertainments, such as were then in fashion, either in Rome or other places. It was to the honour of Cæsar that this solemnity was instituted, and it obtained the name of *Certamen Quinquennale*, as the exhibition of the ceremony was to be renewed every fifth year. The expence that the king incurred, in the procuring of curiosities of all kinds and bringing them from places more or less distant, for the furnishing out of this splendid spectacle, was astonishingly great; exclusive of which, Julia, the wife of Cæsar, contributed very largely towards it on her own account, and caused a variety of curiosities to be brought out of Italy; so that the whole of her gifts on that occasion were reckoned at about five hundred talents. Motives of curiosity induced incredible numbers of people to flock thither on this occasion: many ambassadors came from distant places to pay their respects to Herod, all of whom were splendidly entertained, genteelly treated, and every way accommodated at the king's expence; their diversions consisting of public shews by day, and in the evening, of the most elegant feasting and exhibitions of mirth, all which was conducted in such a manner as to do the highest honour to the character of Herod, as a prince of splendid taste, and the most liberal disposition. In a word, he affected, on this occasion, to exceed all preceding instances of his liberality; and to eclipse the glory of all his former actions, by the singular splendor attendant upon the latter. In remark on this part of Herod's character, both Cæsar and Agrippa have frequently said to their surrounding friends, that it was to be lamented that both Syria and Ægypt were not under his jurisdiction; for that the ambition of his mind was too great to be gratified with the government of Judæa, and the limited revenues arising from the command of that province.

After the close of all the mirth, gaiety, and pomp attendant on this festival, Herod applied himself to the building of another city, on a plain named

ed Capharſaba, a ſituation moſt elegantly choſen; for it had all the advantages ariſing from the happy combination of wood and water: being almoſt ſurrounded by a delightful river, and having a fine grove with a plantation of the moſt curious trees, in its neighbourhood. To this city he gave the name of Antipatris in honour of his father Antipater: and not long afterwards he cauſed a caſtle to be erected beyond Jericho, on which he beſtowed the name of Cypron, in pious remembrance of his mother: this place was exceedingly well built and fortified, and was ſingularly pleaſant and agreeable in its ſituation. Nor did Herod forget to celebrate his regard for his beloved brother, ſince he erected ſeveral ſplendid and monumental ſtructures, which he dedicated to his memory; and among the reſt he cauſed a tower to be conſtructed within the city, to which he gave the name of Phaſael; and this was as ſtrong, and as extenſive a building as the Pharos of Alexandria: in the next place he built a town on the north ſide of the valley of Jericho, which likewiſe received the ſame name. Hitherto the adjacent country, which had been altogether abandoned, was ſoon ſtocked with a competent number of inhabitants, and received the name of the province of the Phaſaelites.

To recite the hiſtory of the bounties of Herod would be a moſt tedious taſk. He was, in every place, and on all occaſions, a pattern of liberality. In Syria, in Greece, and in fact, wherever his buſineſs or inclination led him, he uſed to furniſh aids to ſome perſons, to promote the advancement of public works for others; and to ſupply money where it was wanted, for the perfecting of ſuch ſchemes as had been begun, and could not otherwiſe be compleated.

One of the moſt ſuperb and magnificent of all his undertakings remains yet to be ſpoken of; which is the temple of the Pythian Apollo at Rhodes. This Herod rebuilt at his own particular expence, and preſented the people of Rhodes with a very conſiderable number of talents of gold, to be by them expended in the building of a number of ſhips. He gave likewiſe an immenſe ſum of money towards the repairing and beautifying ſeveral public buildings in the city of Nicopolis near Actium, which had been originally built by Cæſar. In Antioch, which is the largeſt city in all Syria, he cauſed two galleries to be erected, which had a walk between them, and extended the whole breadth of the city. Theſe galleries were ornamented in the moſt curious manner, and a pavement of ſmooth poliſhed ſtone covered the ſtreets. The convenience of the inhabitants, and the ſplendid appearance of the city were equally conſulted in theſe elegant improvements.

When the ſeveral works abovementioned were compleated, Herod allotted a conſiderable ſum annually, out of his own revenue, towards ſupporting the expences of the Olympic games, which for ſome time paſt had been evidently in a declining ſtate, as they had not been ſupplied with ſums equal to the defraying the charges of ſacrifices, and other expenſive ceremonies, proper on the meeting of ſuch numbers as uſed to aſſemble on occaſions of this kind: and Herod acquired the name of a perpetual maſter of the revels, on account of the liberality he exerted in this particular inſtance.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding this ſeeming greatneſs and dignity of Herod's conduct, his general character appears to be a compound of the moſt abſolute contradictions: perhaps no man ever was, in all reſpects, ſo perfect an oppoſite to himſelf. If his liberality in general caſes be conſidered, and the external appearance he made of an inclination to do good to all mankind, it would ſeem but reaſonable to conclude that he was one of the moſt generous men that ever exiſted. On the contrary, if we reflect but for a moment, on the extreme rigour, and even barbarity, of ſome of his proceedings, even towards his neareſt relations, as well as in reſpect to his ſubjects in general, it will ſcarcely be denied that he acted as if he was void of pity and ſhame, and loſt to all the finer feelings of humanity. Now conſidering Herod in theſe various lights, it ſeems but natural to conclude that he was a man actuated by different, and even oppoſite paſſions; but I own that I rather incline to the opinion that he had one uniform and ſteady principle, by which all his actions were regulated. As he was exceedingly ambitious of honour, a paſſion which ſeemed to abſorb all the other faculties of his ſoul, he had recourſe to every ſpecies of magnificence, in order to procure the end he ſought for, which was nothing leſs than the poſſeſſion of ſingular renown in this life, and the hope of leaving an immortal fame behind him.

The wiſh to be thus ſingularly diſtinguiſhed, made him extravagant beyond the bounds of his income, and, of courſe, he loaded his ſubjects with heavy burdens; for the equitable and legal mode of taxation was by no means equal to the ſupport of his extravagant and ſuperfluous expences. He ſoon became ſenſible that his oppreſſions were a ſource of perpetual ill-will to himſelf, and that it was not eaſy to allay the ſeditious diſcontents which rankled in the breaſts of his people: he plainly ſaw that in order to do this, he muſt either retrench his expences in a very conſiderable degree, or be contented with a much more limited revenue; neither of which was agreeable to his inclinations; ſo that the only method he now had left, was to improve the ill-will of his people to his own advantage; and this he effected, firſt by provoking them beyond all the bounds of patience, and then puniſhing them for complaining, as if they had been his moſt inveterate enemies: and he proceeded in this tyrannical manner, equally with regard to friends or foes, to relations or to ſtrangers: being firmly reſolved to ſupport and maintain his authority in every inſtance whatever. It is likewiſe remarkable in his conduct, that he intended to hint by the honours and diſtinctions he paid to others, what kind of treatment it was that he expected himſelf: to inſtance in the caſes of Cæſar and Agrippa, and the reſt of his friends of high rank; his view was to inſinuate that his behaviour towards them, ſhould furniſh an example of the adulation he wiſhed his own ſubjects to pay him. The turn and diſpoſition of his mind is ſufficiently marked in this particular part of his conduct. Now Herod's mode of proceeding in the homage he paid to his ſuperiors, was by no means proper to furniſh a precedent for the Jews to copy; ſince it was a mode of acting diametrically oppoſite to their laws and practices; for the turn of their education was ſuch, that they were taught obedience from motives of conſcience,

without any regard to their own intereſt, or any wiſh for the gratifications that the poſſeſſion of power could beſtow. By this reſtraint they were very conſiderable loſers: for could they have ſubmitted to the vulgar arts of flattery, they would not have failed to have inſinuated themſelves into the good graces of the king, by the pompous dedications of ſtatues and temples, by which they might eaſily have gratified the vanity of a man whoſe whole ſoul was abſorbed in views of ambition. What has been urged above, I conceive, will enable us to form a true judgment of Herod's character, and explain the cauſe why he behaved with ſuch extreme liberality and benevolence towards ſtrangers, while his own ſubjects felt the weight of that cruelty which he was perpetually exerciſing towards them.

CHAP. X.

Cæſar is petitioned by the Greeks againſt the Jews. The privileges of the Jews confirmed by Cæſar. Several decrees highly in favour of the Jews.

AT this time the Jews reſiding in Aſia, and likewiſe thoſe who dwelt at Cyrene in Africa, were treated in the moſt cruel manner by the Greeks; nor was there either end to their oppreſſions, or moderation in their proceedings; and the whole was done in the pretence that the Jews carried away their money out of the country, and were exceedingly troubleſome to the Greeks in other reſpects. Now as the Jews had been favoured by former kings with the free privileges and rights of citizens, having been granted the ſame immunities to which the natives themſelves had a claim; the Greeks laid hold of this opportunity to ſend ambaſſadors, with a complaint and petition to Cæſar, appealing to him againſt the Jews. In anſwer hereto Cæſar ſent back a letter to the provinces, importing that, "It was his ſovereign will and pleaſure, that all the privileges the Jews had "heretofore enjoyed, ſhould be ſtill continued to them." However to ſhew the authority that we have for this diſtinction, and to make known to the world, what ſort of opinion the emperors of former times entertained of the Jews, I have procured a copy of this edict in our favour, which is hereunto ſubjoined.

It is thus decreed by Cæſar Auguſtus, *high-prieſt, and tribune of the people.*

"Foraſmuch as the fidelity and affection of the people called Jews to-
"wards the Romans, is not to be doubted; and as they manifeſted particular
"proofs of this towards Cæſar, my royal father, during the time that Hyr-
"canus executed the office of high-prieſt; and as they ſtill continue in the
"ſame ſentiments of good faith and friendſhip as they formerly did: now
"by the advice, and with the conſent of the good people of Rome, we have
"thought it but juſt and equirable to allow unto the ſaid Jews the full ex-
"erciſe of all their own laws, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, in as ample, and
"in the ſame manner, as they poſſeſſed the enjoyment of them heretofore,

"in

" in the time of Hyrcanus, the high-prieſt of the Great God, and we like-
" wiſe farther hereby permit and ordain that their temples ſhall ſtill continue
" and remain as ſanctuaries and places of refuge: and that what money they
" may contribute towards ſacred uſes and purpoſes, ſhall be by them tranſ-
" mitted to the treaſury of Jeruſalem, by ſuch perſons as ſhall be by them
" appointed, without any hindrance or moleſtation whatſoever. We like-
" wiſe ordain and command that they ſhall not be compelled to appear be-
" fore the magiſtrates on the day of their ſabbath, or later than nine o'clock
" on the evening preceding that day; and it is hereby decreed that the
" ſtealing any of their religious books, or the treaſure, from their ſacred
" places, ſhall be deemed ſacrilege, and puniſhed by a confiſcation of goods.
" And it is hereby further ordered and required, from the tender love and
" regard that we bear to all ranks and orders of men, that the petition and
" addreſs in behalf of the Jews, now preſented to us by Caius Marcus
" Cenſorinus, together with this decree in their favour, ſhall be fixed upon
" that diſtinguiſhed place at Ancyra, which the whole body of the people
" of Aſia combined to dedicate to the honour of our name. And we far-
" ther declare that it ſhall be at the peril of any man who ſhall preſume to
" do any thing contrary to the tenor of theſe orders and commands.

On one of the pillars of the temple there was likewiſe put up the following inſcription:

" Cæſar ſends greeting to Norbanus Flaccus. Let not any perſon, in
" any place whatſoever, preſume to prevent or interrupt the Jews from re-
" mitting their money to Jeruſalem, for ſacred purpoſes, according as they
" have been accuſtomed to do in former times."

Having now recorded what was done by Cæſar, it may not be improper to take notice of the following letter, which was written by Agrippa, in like manner in behalf of the Jews.

" Agrippa *wiſhes health to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of* Epheſus.

" Whereas the Jews of Aſia have of old time been accuſtomed to have
" the cuſtody and diſpoſal of the money which they ſend up to Jeruſalem
" for the ſervice of their temple, and the advancement of their worſhip,
" it is our will and pleaſure that the ſame cuſtom be ſtill continued: and in
" caſe any perſon ſhall rob them of any part of their ſacred treaſure, and the
" offender ſhall fly to the altar for ſanctuary, we hereby command that he
" ſhall be taken away therefrom by violence, and ſhall be delivered up to
" the Jews, that he may be baniſhed as a ſacrilegious perſon, and one
" that ought not to meet with protection."

The abovenamed Agrippa wrote likewiſe to the Præter Syllanus, to forbid his permitting the Jews to be taken before the courts of juſtice on the day of their ſabbath. He alſo wrote the following letter.

Marcus

" Marcus Agrippa *greets the magiſtrates, and ſenate of* Cyrene.

" Foraſmuch as the Jews within your diſtrict have forwarded letters to " me, complaining of the conduct of ſome troubleſome people among you, " who have taken upon themſelves to interfere in order to prevent their re- " mitting their money to Jeruſalem, under the pretence that they ſtand in- " debted for their tribute, which we find not to be the caſe: and whereas " they have done this in contradiction to the poſitive letters and orders of " Auguſtus to Flavius the præ or of Lybia, and to the other magiſtrates of " the province, which directed that no interruption ſhould be given to the " remitting of the money as heretofore: now it is my abſolute command " and eſpecial ordinance that no hindrance be laid in their way; but that " they be left to their own will, and permitted the ſame liberty they en- " joyed in former times: and I hereby direct that commiſſioners be ap- " pointed to reſtore to the Jews all ſuch proportion of their treaſure as ſhall " be found to have been miſapplied or concealed."

The following papers are likewiſe equally in favour of the Jews.

Caius Norbanus Flaccus, *proconſul, wiſheth health to the magiſtrates of* Sardis.

" Having received an expreſs from Cæſar, by which I am commanded to " take care that no moleſtation or hindrance be given to the Jews, either in " the collecting, or in the ſending up their money to Jeruſalem, for the ſame " purpoſes as they have been heretofore accuſtomed to do; you are hereby " to take notice that ſuch moleſtation is contrary to the will and pleaſure " of Auguſtus, and that I expect an abſolute obedience to his commands."

Julius Antonius, the proconſul, in a letter to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Epheſus, writes to the following purport: " While I was on the " bench in a court of juſtice at Epheſus, on the ides of February laſt, I " was informed by certain Jews of Aſia, that Auguſtus Cæſar and Agrippa " had permitted unto them the free exerciſe of their own cuſtoms and cere- " monies; with full liberty to uſe their own diſcretion in the diſpoſal of the " firſt fruits among themſelves; and alſo that they ſhould not be interrupted " or controuled in the carrying up of their money to Jeruſalem, there to " dedicate it in the temple of the moſt High God: and they have applied to " me to ratify and confirm the privileges thus granted unto them. Whereupon " I give you this notice, that I concur moſt heartily in the reſolution and " determination of Cæſar and Agrippa: and it is farther my abſolute com- " mand, that the Jews ſhall be neither moleſted in any way whatſoever; " but that they ſhall be allowed the free exerciſe of their liberty, and the " peaceable enjoyment of their juſt rights."

Theſe inſtances and precedents have been the rather cited by us, to con- vince the Greeks, when they ſhall come to peruſe theſe writings, of the ho- nour that hath been conferred upon us in the remote ages of antiquity, and how far our privileges, cuſtoms, diſcipline and worſhip, have been from time to time permitted and allowed of by a number of ſovereign princes;

who have gone ſo far as to tolerate the free exerciſe of our religion, and permit us to ſerve the true God in our own way. I am the more particular in what I ſay on this ſubject, becauſe I would willingly root out the prejudices that ſtrangers may have conceived, and deſtroy, if it were poſſible, that averſion that hath its ſource in the moſt unreaſonable prepoſſeſſions. It is by no means an uncommon circumſtance for whole nations, as well as the inhabitants of particular places, to change their diſpoſition, and undergo an alteration in their manners; but juſtice is in its nature unchangeable, and remains the ſame with all people, and in all times and places. The Greeks and Barbarians have equal reaſon to boaſt of this ſupreme bleſſing: all our laws have this great article for their foundation: ſo that if we do but hold theſe laws ſacred, that virtue alone will endear us to mankind, and make all the world our friends. It is therefore my particular requeſt to my fellow-creatures in general, that difference of opinion ſhould never operate ſo as to create enmity: it is unreaſonable to hate others for living in a different manner from what we do, while the great ends of exiſtence are equally conſulted by us all. Virtue may be the poſſeſſion of all men, and it is impoſſible that human ſociety can long ſubſiſt in any degree of happineſs when we deviate from her laws.

CHAP. XI.

Several ſepulchres rifled by Herod, of plate and veſſels, but he finds no ready money. A flaſh of fire deſtroys two of his guards in the ſacrilegious attempt. Hereupon Herod erects a monument of marble, to bar up the entrance of the ſepulchre. Herod and his family puniſhed for the ſacrilege. The artifice and hypocriſy of Antipater. Herod's daughter offered to Pheroras, who refuſes to accept her. He next offers his other daughter Cypras. An oath and promiſe of Pheroras broken. The ſons of Mariamne deteſted by Salome, who dives into the ſecret confidences of man and wife. A ſtory of Herod's being in love with Glaphyra. Alexander grows jealous thereon, and mentions the circumſtance to Herod, who charges Pheroras on the buſineſs. Pheroras declares that he heard it from Salome, who utterly denies every circumſtance reſpecting it. A ſuſpicion falls on Salome, as the propagater of the report. Syllæus, prime miniſter to Obodas, king of Arabia, falls in love with Salome. An intrigue obſerved betwixt them, on which Herod ſets a ſpy, and is convinced of the amour. A match propoſed by Syllæus, to which Salome gives her conſent, but motives of religion breaks it off. Herod's daughter married to a ſon of Pheroras. The declaration of three eunuchs reſpecting Alexander. The jealouſy of Herod. Juſtice executed upon the falſe witneſſes. The baniſhment of Andromachus and Gemellus. Herod governed by the counſels of Antipater. A man being tortured, informs againſt Alexander. The bravery and conſtancy of Alexander. He defies Herod in a noble manner. Salome charged with incontinence. Ptolemy and Sapinnius named among the conſpirators. Herod unhappy, and weary of his own life.

HEROD's taſte for ſplendor and magnificence in buildings, and other expenſive works had occaſioned his ſquandering away immenſe ſums of money, both at home and abroad, and he was in want of more to ſupply his

his demands, when he was informed that his predeceſſor Hyrcanus had paid a viſit to the ſepulchre of David, and had at one time taken away from thence no leſs a ſum than three thouſand talents of ſilver; but that there was ſtill a ſufficient quantity left to anſwer the purpoſe of any future viſitant.

Herod reflected on this circumſtance for a conſiderable time, and often revolved it ſeriouſly in his mind, before he formed any reſolution of what he purpoſed to do in the affair: but having at length come to a determination, he communicated his intentions to a few perſons, in whoſe care and fidelity he could place the moſt abſolute confidence, and taking theſe truſty friends with him, he proceeded by night to the ſepulchre, which they entered with all poſſible ſecrecy and circumſpection, to keep the knowledge of this adventure from the people. In this depoſitory he found immenſe quantities of rich plate, and variety of veſſels, both of gold and ſilver, all which his companions carried off with them: but as to the ready money that he expected to have met with, his ſearch after it was in vain, for this had been previouſly made booty of by Hyrcanus.

Herod's ſucceſs, however, was conſiderable enough to induce him to make a ſtricter ſearch than he had at firſt intended; on which he proceeded ſtill farther into the vault, till he came to the place in which were depoſited the coffins containing the bodies of David and Solomon. The hiſtory which we have of this affair informs us, that a flaſh of fire ſuddenly broke out of the receſs, and killed two of Herod's guards on the ſpot; which was looked upon as an evident denunciation of the vengeance of Heaven, and ſent as a puniſhment for the wicked temerity, and glaring impiety of the action. Herod was ſo aſtoniſhed and terrified at this apparent token of the divine wrath, that partly through his fear, and partly from motives of conſcience, he immediately abandoned the farther proſecution of his deſign. He likewiſe came to a reſolution to atone, in ſome meaſure, for the ſacrilege of which he had been guilty, and thereupon determined to erect a moſt ſuperb and ſtately monument of white marble, to block up the very entrance into the ſepulchre; and ſoon afterwards he gave orders for the forwarding of this work, which was accordingly carried into execution.

A writer who lived when theſe things happened, named Nicolaus, makes mention of the erecting of the abovementioned monument of marble, but he does not recite a ſingle circumſtance of the king's deſcent into, and robbery of the vault, which it is probable he looked upon to be ſo diſgraceful, profane, and impious an undertaking, that he was unwilling or afraid to make it publicly known; for as he was a contemporary with Herod, who was not unacquainted with what he wrote, he was under a kind of neceſſity of recording only ſuch circumſtances as might gratify the king; ſuch, in fact as redounded to his honour; and of omitting ſuch as would have proved only the teſtimony of his vices. The method, then, in which this writer proceeded, was either to omit all account of the king's moſt glaring, notorious, and extravagant cruelties; or, when that could not be ſo properly done, to diſguiſe and palliate them; ſo that the enormity of the crime ſeems to be loſt by his mode of relating the circumſtances of it. In this manner it is that he ſpeaks of the murder of Mariamne, and the outrageous and unprecedented indignities that were offered to her ſons; for he artfully inſinuates that the queen

had been guilty of a violation of her huſband's bed; and intimates that the princes had concerted the deſtruction of their father's life! And this is his method of proceeding in every part of his writings; either to extenuate the king's crimes, or paſs over in total ſilence what ever he did amiſs, and to extol his more worthy actions beyond all the bounds of credibility. Nicolaus, however, has this to boaſt; that if he did not write a faithful and authentic hiſtory, he compiled an admirable volume of panygeric: to ſum up all in a few words, it may be ſaid that his writings were all rather calculated to gratify the diſpoſition of his patron, than to convey to poſterity a faithful account of the tranſactions of his times.

Having ſaid thus much in cenſure of a former writer, it becomes me to declare reſpecting myſelf, that having the honour to be deſcended in the royal Aſmonæan line, and being likewiſe in the race of the prieſthood, I ſhall ſcorn to report matters otherwiſe than as I find them recorded on the faithful page of hiſtory; with all proper reſpect and reverence, however to the deſcendents of Herod; but yet with a greater and more perfect reſpect to the ſacred and immutable laws of truth: for I would by no means forfeit my character for integrity, nor willingly ſtain the page of this hiſtory by the inſertion of a ſingle falſhood.

From the period abovementioned, when Herod broke into, and ſacrilegiouſly robbed the ſepulchre of the valuable treaſure there depoſited, he became daily more and more unhappy in his domeſtic concerns: every thing went wrong in his family, as if a judicial vengeance had taken place againſt that part of it that had previouſly ſhewn the badneſs of their diſpoſition; and as if heaven was determined to puniſh the flagitious and enormous wickedneſs of which the king had been guilty, by new and unuſual diſtreſſes. A kind of civil war raged throughout the whole houſe, and while ſome were open and outrageous in their violent oppoſition, the reſt carried on and promoted their treacherous deſigns by all the ſecret arts of calumny and detraction. But the moſt extraordinary conduct was that of Antipater, whoſe artifice and hypocriſy was of the moſt finiſhed kind: for while, on the one hand, he ſuborned practices againſt his brothers, which might make them appear obnoxious in the eyes of Herod, he on the other hand, became an advocate with the king in their behalf, endeavouring to palliate what they had done, and, under this double diſguiſe, more effectually to work their ruin. So refined was this diſſimulation of Antipater, and ſo artfully did he work on the paſſions of the king by his wily conduct, that Herod ſoon began to conſider him as the only faithful friend he had in the world; in fact, the only one who wiſhed to ſerve him from motives purely diſintereſted. Impreſſed with this idea of the worthineſs of Antipater's conduct, Herod gave directions to his prime miniſter Ptolemy to conſult with Antipater, and take his opinion in all affairs reſpecting the ſtate of the government: and the latter was no ſooner furniſhed with the neceſſary ſecrets, than he uſed immediately to impart them to his mother; and then they concerted matters together, ſo as to diſpoſe of all affairs as beſt ſuited their own inclinations: by this kind of management the enmity and eſteem of the king were made to anſwer the

ſame

ſame purpoſe; and, whatever his intentions might be, the intereſt of Antipater and his mother were ſure to be promoted.

On the contrary, Alexander and Ariſtobulus, who were men of ambitious ſpirits, and extremely jealous of their honour, loſt all patience when they reflected on theſe proceedings; nor could they for a moment endure the idea of being degraded ſo exceedingly below their birth, and the being inſulted by thoſe who were in all reſpects their inferiors: nor were their wives agitated with paſſions leſs violent than thoſe which rankled in the breaſts of their huſbands: and Glaphyra conceived a mortal enmity againſt Salome, not only on account of the love that ſhe entertained for her huſband Alexander, but through the pique natural to a female mind, on ſeeing the daughter of Salome, who was married to Ariſtobulus, advanced to a level with herſelf, and qualified to rank with her on all occaſions.

Theſe were only a part of the diſtreſſes of Herod's family; for about the ſame time there happened another very unfortunate circumſtance, by which Pheroras, the brother of the king, became engaged in the diſagreeable contention: and this was at length improved to ſuch a degree, that in the end it encreaſed to the utmoſt jealouſy and animoſity. Herod applied himſelf to Pheroras, to whom he voluntarily made an offer to give him his daughter in marriage: but the latter excuſed himſelf from accepting the intended favour, alledging as a reaſon this very extraordinary circumſtance; viz. that he was violently in love with his own ſervant-maid, and he could not bring himſelf to think of forming another attachment.

The king was exceedingly mortified at this refuſal, which affected him in much the greater degree, as it came from a brother to whom he had given very uncommon marks of his kindneſs and benevolence; and had even proceeded ſo far in the proof of his fraternal regard, as, in a great degree, to ſhare his government with him. Herod, however, finding all the inſtances of his generoſity thus requited, the propoſed offer he made his brother abſolutely rejected, and his own good intentions fruſtrated; and conceiving that there was no other way of reducing the brother to reaſon, he thereupon offered his daughter to the ſon of Phaſael, his elder brother, to whom, in a ſhort time afterwards, ſhe was married.

Some conſiderable time after this, Herod applied himſelf again to Pheroras, and having repreſented to him the indignity that had been offered him, by his refuſal of the former match, reſolved to give him yet another proof of his affection, by offering him in marriage his other daughter Cypras. Pheroras, having reflected for a while, as if to conſider how he ought to act, went to conſult Ptolemy on the ſubject: when the latter without heſitation, told him that, if he had the leaſt regard to his own intereſt, he would not act ſo much like a madman, as to refuſe ſuch an offer from his brother and king: which refuſal would not only hazard his future fortune and peace of mind; but would occaſion the loſs of the king's favour, and make him an enemy, who had ſo long been a friend; and all this for the gratification of a lawleſs paſſion his one who was ſo greatly for inferior in point of rank. The counſel given by Ptolemy was too reaſonable for Pheroras not to accede to it: he therefore

therefore readily embraced his advice, and going to the king, beſought his pardon; engaging immediately to diſmiſs the woman with whom he was connected, and by whom he had one child. He likewiſe pledged his word of honour to the king, that within a month from that time, he would marry his daughter; offering to bind himſelf by an oath to the ratification of his promiſe; and likewiſe that he would never have any farther connection with the woman with whom he had heretofore cohabited.

In the courſe of this month, however, Pheroras altered his ſentiments, relapſed into his former fit of fondneſs for the girl whom he had kept, and took her home to live with him as before. He went even farther than all this; for at the expiration of the month, he broke his good faith and pledged promiſes with his brother, in the moſt ſhameful manner, without the leaſt regard to all the oaths he had ſworn, and promiſes that he had made.

The ſcandalous treatment offered to Herod by this mode of proceeding inflamed his paſſions to ſo violent a degree, and left him ſo little the maſter of his own actions, that he could not forbear breaking out into the moſt intemperate language againſt his brother, whom he loaded with invectives ſuitable to the enormity of his crime: nor were there wanting a number of perſons malicious enough to lay hold of this circumſtance, which they improved to ſuch a degree, as to produce farther miſchief from an event already ſufficiently unfortunate. In a word, ſuch were the diſorders and uneaſineſſes perpetually ariſing in this unhappy family, that ſcarce a day or an hour paſſed, that did not produce ſomething to inflame the paſſions, pique the jealouſy, or raiſe the reſentments of the neareſt, and moſt intimate friends, and relations, who had every reaſon to live together in the moſt perfect love and harmony. One ſtriking inſtance of this occurs in the following circumſtance: ſo inveterate and rancorous was the hatred of Salome to the ſons of Mariamne, that ſhe would not even permit her own daughter to enjoy in peace and quietneſs, the conjugal converſation of her huſband Ariſtobulus: but was perpetually endeavouring to extract from her a particular account of the moſt intimate connections that had paſſed between them; in defiance of all the laws of decency and good manners: or if it happened at any time that they had not been on terms of the utmoſt cordiality, (a caſe by no means uncommon in the married ſtate) ſhe never failed of doing all in her power to aggravate the differences between them, and making ſerious quarrels of what might have been otherwiſe deemed trifles. By a conſtant proceedure of this kind ſhe dived into the bottom of all their ſecrets, and, as opportunity offered, never failed to encreaſe the diſcontent which already raged between them in too great a degree. She learnt from her daughter what the brothers had reported of Mariamne in private converſation; what ſevere reflections they made on the conduct of their father; and how they threatened that if ever they came to the throne, the ſons of their father by any other women ſhould be diſpoſed of to mean and vulgar occupations, as moſt compatible with the inferiority of their education. The daughter likewiſe declared farther, that ſhe had heard the

brothers ſay, that if ever they ſhould ſee any of Herod's wives adorned with the jewels that had belonged to their mother Mariamne, they would, without the leaſt degree of ceremony, put them up in ſack-cloth, and depoſit them in ſuch ſecurity that they ſhould never again ſee the light.

Salome having made herſelf acquainted with all theſe particulars, was anxious till ſhe had imparted to the king the reſult of her enquiries: ſhe therefore loſt no time in ſeeking for Herod, to whom ſhe communicated every thing that had paſſed. Herod was exceedingly diſguſted with the information that ſhe gave him, but was yet willing to ſee if matters might not be rather adjuſted by amicable means, than carried to diſagreeable extremities. The different branches of the family inſpired the mind of Herod with ſuch a number of jealouſies and whims of various kinds, that at length he became fond of hearing their idle tales and calumnies of each other; and grew to be of ſo very credulous a diſpoſition, that he paid an almoſt implicit confidence to every thing that was told him: however, he contented himſelf, in the preſent inſtance, with ſeverely reprimanding his ſons for the unwarrantable liberties they had taken; and, on their making a proper ſubmiſſion, he was tolerably reconciled.

But the domeſtic diſtreſſes in which this unhappy family were involved, were ſtill farther aggravated by the following circumſtance. Pheroras ſought an occaſion of addreſſing himſelf privately to Alexander, the huſband of Glaphyra, to whom he related an odd kind of tale, which he ſaid Salome had told him, the ſubſtance of which was that Herod had become moſt violently enamoured of Glaphyra, and that the paſſion preyed upon his mind to ſo great a degree, that he found it altogether impoſſible to live at eaſe. Now Alexander, who was by nature of a jealous diſpoſition, and ſubject to the impulſe of the moſt violent paſſions, was inflamed beyond all deſcription at this unexpected piece of information; ſo that, from that time forward, the ſlighteſt circumſtances furniſhed freſh food for his jealouſy, and every little favour that Herod thereafter conferred on Glaphyra, though for the ſake of his ſon, was by him conſtrued into a full proof of the reality of what Pheroras had told him.

This imagination wrought ſo powerfully on the mind of Alexander, that at length, unable any longer to bear the weight of his own reflections, he repaired immediately to his father, and told him all the circumſtances of which he had been informed by Pheroras, while the tears flowed plentifully down his face as he related the melancholy tale. Previous to this Herod had met with family misfortunes ſufficient to harrow up the peace of his mind, but this piece of information drove him almoſt to diſtraction. To be traduced by the imputation of ſo enormous a crime, and this by one of his own family too, was ſuch an ungrateful return for all the favours he had conferred upon them, that he could not think of the circumſtance with the leaſt degree of patience. In the firſt emotions of his grief, therefore, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Pheroras, commanding his immediate attendance: and he was no ſooner arrived but Herod addreſſed him to the following purport.

" Moſt

" Moſt baſe and ungrateful of all the ſons of men, what worſe than diabolical diſpoſition could inſpire thee with the idea of my being guilty of " ſo enormous a crime; or by what phrenzy couldſt thou be impelled to " report a thing ſo much to my diſhonour? But I perceive the malice of " thy deſign to be ſimply this: under pretence of becoming the confidential " friend of my ſon, thou haſt ſought to impreſs his mind with ſentiments " that may induce him to conſpire againſt the life of his father: for is it " poſſible for me to conceive that any ſon, unleſs his actions were reſtrained " by the particular providence of heaven, could ſubmit to ſuch an indignity " from a father, without ſeeking the proper means of revenge? But there " appears to me to be no difference between thy preſent proceeding, and " that of putting a ſword into the hands of my ſon, to take away the life " of his own father. But let me aſk further, what particular end thou couldſt " have in view? For I know that thou art equally an enemy to us both; " and that while thou art ſeeking by fair words to my face, to obtain my " friendſhip, thou art calumniating me in my abſence in the baſeſt manner, " and endeavouring to repreſent me as one of the moſt abandoned wretches " exiſting. Begone from my ſight, thou moſt ungrateful of men, who haſt " been capable of behaving in ſo perfidious a manner to a brother that has " been ſo kind to thee. I ſhall ſeek no other revenge than that of leaving " thee to the ſtings of thy own conſcience, which will not fail to upbraid " thee more effectually than I can do. I will endeavour to obtain the nobleſt " ſuperiority over my relations by returning good for the evil they do me, " and not follow thy example in returning evil for the good that has been " received."

Pheroras being thus charged with the infamy of his conduct, in ſo open and explicit a manner, conceived that he had no way of exculpating himſelf, but by transferring the blame of the whole affair to Salome, and accuſing her with being, as in truth ſhe was, the original propagator of the ſcandalous ſtory. Now it happened that, at this time, Salome was within hearing of what paſſed: and finding herſelf thus accuſed, ſhe burſt forth into the moſt violent exclamations, attended with correſpondent actions and geſtures, ſaying that the whole tale was an infamous forgery, a malicious conſpiracy and contrivance, calculated to take away her life, in revenge for the affectionate zeal and regard ſhe had always expreſſed for the preſervation of that of the king, whom ſhe aſſerted to be, at that preſent moment, in a greater degree of danger than at any former period. " Pheroras (ſaid ſhe) " is my moſt implacable enemy; for it was through my advice that he " abandoned the worthleſs woman on whom he had fixed his affection, and " was prevailed upon to marry the king's daughter: and this is the cauſe " of his inveterate hatred againſt me." While ſhe was making this ſpeech, ſhe tore her hair, beat her breaſt, and otherwiſe acted as if inſpired by the moſt frantic rage, ſo that it was impoſſible not to conceive her very much in earneſt in what ſhe ſaid.

During this addreſs of Salome, the pain of Pheroras is not to be expreſſed: he was agitated by a variety of contending paſſions, and involved between two difficulties that ſeemed equally great. He could not with any

degree of confidence deny what he himſelf had ſaid to Alexander, nor was it in his power to prove what Salome had really ſaid to him. The diſputes between the contending parties were very violent, and continued for a conſiderable time; till at length Herod was tired with their debates, and as the evening began to advance, he diſmiſſed them both, and retired to his ſupper.

When Herod came to reflect on all the circumſtances attending the above affair, he highly extolled his ſon's mode of proceeding, and conceived that the coming to him ſo frankly with a recital of the whole ſtory diſplayed ſomething of a candour and integrity of conduct that was very praiſeworthy. The effect of the above diſpute was, that Salome was univerſally reputed to have been the author of the calumny; and the king's wives were very ready to propagate the report that this was really the caſe: for her diſpoſition was ſuch that ſhe had few friends: ſhe was of an unequal temper, fickle and changeable; ſometimes in good humour, and ſometimes violently angry, agreeable to the ruling influence of her paſſions: ſo that the women were very much her enemies; and being diſguſted by her conduct, were perpetually influencing Herod by ſtories to her diſadvantage: and an accident happened at this time, extremely favourable to their machinations againſt her.

At this period it happened that Obodas was king of Arabia. This prince was diſtinguiſhed by nothing but the ſloth and idleneſs of his diſpoſition. He paid no regard to any kind of public buſineſs; making the gratification of his own eaſe the whole care and conſideration of his life. Now the prime miniſter, who tranſacted all affairs under Obodas, was named Syllæus, who was a man of very diſtinguiſhed abilities, of admirable ſkill and addreſs, in the prime of life, and remarkable for the grace and elegance of his perſon. Syllæus having been ſent to Herod on affairs of public concern, had the honour to ſup with the king when Salome happened to make one of the company. Struck with her perſon, and the manner of her behaviour, he conceived a particular affection for this princeſs; and having made ſome enquiries reſpecting her, and finding that ſhe was a widow, he ſoon afterwards ventured to addreſs her with a propoſal of marriage.

Salome, finding that her life grew daily more and more diſagreeable in her preſent ſituation, and being well pleaſed with the perſon and behaviour of Syllæus, took ſome time to reflect on the affair, and then ſeemed well-diſpoſed to liſten to the propoſal. From this time forward the parties were frequently in company with each other, and as they became more intimately acquainted, all that paſſed between them ſeemed to be cloſely regarded by others. Their looks, their hints, their actions, and many other little circumſtances were conſtrued as proofs of the growing amour. All that paſſed was immediately made known to the king; and the ladies of the court entertained themſelves highly with the particulars of the affair. Herod, however, was not fully convinced by what the women ſaid to him, conceiving that malice might have ſome ſhare in their inſinuations. He therefore directed Pheroras to keep a watchful eye on the ſuppoſed lovers; and after a very careful regard to their proceedings, he informed the king that, as far

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as he was able to form a judgment from the intelligence of looks and ſigns, he had no doubt but that the parties were inſpired with a mutual paſſion for each other. Herod had now no farther doubt of the exiſtence of the fact; and ſoon after this Syllæus took his leave, and departed into Arabia.

Not above two or three months after this departure, Syllæus returned, to tranſact farther public buſineſs with Herod, and took this opportunity to treat with the king on the ſubject of marriage with his ſiſter: repreſenting how much ſuch a match would promote the intereſt of Herod in point of commerce, and that it would likewiſe validate his own right and pretenſions to a conſiderable diſtrict of the country. Herod took ſome little time to conſider of the affair, and then ſent for his ſiſter, of whom he immediately demanded whether the propoſal met with her approbation, and ſhe was willing to marry; to which ſhe inſtantly anſwered in the affirmative. This circumſtance was reported to Syllæus, who was informed that if he would embrace the Jewiſh religion he might marry the lady; but that otherwiſe ſhe could not wed him, conſiſtent with the laws of her country. To this Syllæus replied, that he was bound by ties equally ſtrong; for that if he ſhould depart from the rules and ordinances of his religion, he ſhould be ſtoned to death by the Arabians: and on this declaration the treaty of marriage was at an end.

From the circumſtances above-mentioned, Pheroras took frequent opportunities of hinting to the king how greatly Salome had expoſed her reputation: but the king's wives were much more free in their reflections: for they made no ſcruple to aſſert that the liberties in which Salome had indulged herſelf with Syllæus, would juſtify a charge of incontinence againſt her.

Salome now became very importunate with Herod, to conſent to marry that daughter of his who had been refuſed by Pheroras, to one of her ſons by her late huſband Coſtabarus; and Herod was much inclined to accede to this propoſal: but Pheroras prevented this match, by repreſenting to Herod, that the young man would never forgive him who had been the occaſion of the death of his own father. Pheroras therefore adviſed Herod to give her in marriage to his own ſon, who was to ſucceed him in the government. This advice was embraced by Herod, who gave his daughter one hundred talents for her marriage portion; and from that time all animoſities between him and Pheroras were obliterated and forgotten, as though they had never exiſted.

The diſorders, however, that reigned in Herod's family were ſo far from being adjuſted after what had paſſed, that they encreaſed day after day, from one degree of diſtreſs to another; and what was only ſcandalous and diſhoneſt in its beginning, turned out to be moſt fatal and tragical in the end. This melancholy truth will be properly evinced in the ſequel. Herod had in his ſervice three handſome young eunuchs, of whoſe fidelity he had the higheſt opinion, and for whom he entertained a ſingular regard. One of theſe acted as his cup-bearer, the ſecond ſerved him in the office of a ſteward, and the third attended as a gentleman of his bed-chamber: but, excluſive of theſe ſervices, he frequently conſulted them reſpecting affairs

of ſtate. Now it happened that ſome perſon had given intelligence to Herod, that Alexander had been endeavouring to prevail on theſe eunuchs to betray him, in conſideration of their receiving a ſum of money from him. Herod having acquired this information, had not long reflected on it before he gave orders that they ſhould be put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of what had paſſed between them and Alexander. At the firſt they acknowledged that they had been in company together; but denied all knowledge of any treacherous deſign that Alexander might have on the life of his father, declaring that he was wholly innocent, for any thing they knew to the contrary. Now the perſons who were employed to torment them being of Antipater's faction treated them with ſuch unuſual rigour and ſeverity, that at length, in the extremity of their pain and anguiſh, they made a declaration to the following purport; viz. "That Alexander, who "entertained the moſt inveterate hatred to his father, had exerted all his "influence to ſeduce them from their allegiance to the king, whom he repre- "ſented as old and worn out, and worthy of no farther notice; and that he "ſought to appear younger than he was, by repairing the decays of time "by paint and other artifices." They ſaid farther, that Alexander had promiſed, "If they would come over to his intereſt, it ſhould be his particular "care to provide for their advancement in a very ſhort time; for he had "not only a right to ſucceed to the government as a matter of courſe, but, "that things were ſo contrived that it was not in his father's power to pre- "vent the ſucceſſion: for that excluſive of the prerogative of his title, all "things were ſo ordered and diſpoſed as to put him into immediate poſſeſſion "of that government to which he had the moſt unqueſtionable pretences: "that the officers of the army, and the king's friends had formed a conſider- "able party in his favour; and that they were determined, at the hazard of "their lives and fortunes, to ſupport him in the plan he had laid down for "his advancement."

Herod was no ſooner made acquainted with the ſubſtance of this confeſſion than he was ſeized with a moſt violent fit of rage and trembling: rage on account of the contempt, and trembling on account of the threats that were expreſſed in it. He remained for a while in a moſt diſtracted ſtate of mind, and in utter uncertainty how to behave in caſe of immediate ſurprize: he doubted whether he ſhould endeavour to avoid the danger that threatened him, or bravely defy it. After a long deliberation he came to a reſolution not to bring the matter to a judicial enquiry, but to employ ſpies and informers to bring him ſuch intelligence as he thought it imported him to be acquainted with.

Herod was now in ſuch a ſtate of mind that whoſoever he ſuſpected he conſequently hated; and his ſuſpicions frequently fell on thoſe who did not deſerve them, as well as on thoſe that did; for he conceived that his own ſecurity depended on the extent of his ſuſpicions. In a word, his jealouſies were without end, and without bound. With regard to thoſe who were nearly related to him, he conceived the greater apprehenſion of them, as of thoſe who had it in their power to do him more important miſchief than ſtrangers

gers could. As to perſons with whom he was wholly unconnected, nothing farther was neceſſary to effect their certain deſtruction than the ſlighteſt hint from the mouth of an informer; for the moſt trifling circumſtance made him apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety.

His domeſtic ſervants were in a ſituation ſtill more pitiable than all his other ſubjects: for ſuch was the king's jealouſy of them, that the only way they had to ſave their own lives was by traducing each other. Indeed it frequently happened that their lives were thus preſerved: but thoſe that had been ſucceſsful in this practice, never failed to draw on themſelves a full meaſure of envy and deteſtation; and it generally happened that in the end they ſuffered by the means they had employed to ruin others, falling ſacrifices to arts ſimilar to thoſe by which their companions had been deſtroyed. With regard to private animoſities between man and man they frequently informed againſt each other, and each fell a ſacrifice to the malice of the other. It ſometimes happened that the king was ſtruck with a remorſe of conſcience, for being the occaſion of the death of ſo many innocent perſons, without even the ceremony of trial, or the form of conviction: but notwithſtanding all his feelings on the occaſion, he was perpetually recurring to the ſame practice, and repeatedly committing the crime, which his conſcience condemned. In the iſſue of this whole buſineſs, however, there was an appearance of equity in Herod's conduct: for after having deſtroyed ſo many perſons in violation of the common rights of humanity, he had the juſtice to direct that the falſe witneſſes themſelves ſhould be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner.

The court of Herod was at this time in ſuch a ſtate of diſtraction and conſternation as it is not in the power of language to deſcribe: a number of the king's friends and moſt intimate confidents were baniſhed from the royal preſence, and even from the palace. Thoſe who were diſmiſſed were the men who were reputed to have merited more from Herod than any other perſons had done; and among theſe were Andromachus and Gemellus, who had long been ranked among the number of his favourites. Nor were the pretentions of theſe miniſters ill founded; for they had ſerved their ſovereign both abroad and at home, having been diſtinguiſhed as ambaſſadors, and as members of his council. They had likewiſe had the honour of ſuperintending the education of his ſons; and the diſcharge of various other important and confidential truſts had been committed to them; in all which they gave indiſputable proofs of their fidelity. Andromachus, was diſcarded by Herod, on account of the affection that Alexander manifeſted towards his ſon Demetruis: and he then diſmiſſed Gemellus, on the pretence of the regard he had to Alexander, to whom he had heretofore been a kind of preceptor and governor, and had attended him when he went to Rome, as the companion of his travels. It is not very reaſonable to conclude but that Herod's ſeverity towards Andromachus and Gemellus would have been carried to a greater length, but that the high reputation they held with the people kept him in a kind of awe, and operated as a reſtraint on his conduct: for theſe reaſons he thought it prudent to content himſelf with diſmiſſing them from their ſtations, and commanding them to leave the court; that, in their abſence, he

might be more at liberty to act without controul, and indulge himself in all the favourite wishes of his heart.

Antipater was the principal author and contriver of all these unaccountable proceedings; for observing that Herod was filled with suspicions, and alarmed by his fears, he endeavoured, by a crafty compliance with his disposition, to insinuate himself into his councils; which being done, he instigated him to acts of cruelty and inhumanity, constantly inculcating to him, as an infallible maxim of state, the absolute necessity of working the destruction of those who were possessed of power to do him any injury: and on the principles of this savage policy it was that Herod proceeded; for he had no sooner dismissed Andromachus, and such of his friends and adherents as had the honour and resolution to speak the true sentiments of their minds, than he gave orders that all the partizans of Alexander should be put to the torture, and examined as to what plots or contrivances they were privy to: but these died under the severity of their sufferings, as it was impossible for them to confess what they were totally unacquainted with.

This constancy and uniformity of behaviour being interpreted into a contumacious obstinacy, their torments were greatly increased, and much wonder was expressed that such variety of aggravated punishment should not be able to extort from them the slightest confession, or even a hint that expressed the least disloyalty towards their sovereign. Hereupon Antipater conceived a new method of solving the difficulty, and intimated that they considered it rather as a point of honour to deny than to confess the truth; as by such confession they should violate that faith and good confidence that had been reposed in them by their friends. He therefore alledged this as a reason why others should be put to the torture, and pretended not to entertain the least doubt but that, in the end, some one would be found that would confess the truth of what they wanted to be informed of.

At length it happened that a poor wretch, oppressed with the weight of torture, and sinking under the extremity of his pain, declared that when the people extolled Alexander as a man of uncommon elegance, an excellent marksman, and one possessed of other superior qualifications, he had frequently heard him declare, that he had every reason to consider these natural endowments rather as a misfortune than an advantage to him; for that his father's disposition was such that he hated him for his very perfections: that when they were walking together he was obliged to stoop least he should appear taller than the king; and that when they were engaged in hunting he was compelled to refrain from shooting at the mark, for that his father bore so great an antipathy to him, that he could neither endure to see him excel in any action, nor hear him praised for such excellence.

This pretended discovery being made, the torments of the poor sufferer were respited for a while; and then he proceeded with his narrative, relating that Alexander and Aristobulus had on a former occasion entered in a conspiracy against the life of their father, when he was out on a party of hunting; and that it had been determined between them, that if they should be successful in their enterprize, Alexander was immediately to repair to Rome, to claim to succeed Herod in the government. A number of letters were likewise

wife produced, written by Alexander to his brother, the general contents of which were a complaint againſt his father for giving to Antipater an eſtate in land, valued at two hundred talents annually.

Theſe circumſtances laid together, operated ſo forcibly on the mind of Herod, that he deemed them to be ſufficient evidence to confirm that ſuſpicion which he had heretofore entertained of his children. He now, therefore, grew outrageouſly angry with his ſon Alexander, whom he immediately ordered to be ſent to priſon: yet it is not ſuppoſed that, in his cooler moments, he himſelf gave credit to the information he had received: for it is inconſiſtent with common ſenſe to ſuppoſe that the ſons could have any intereſt in the deſtruction of their father: or ſuppoſing his ruin to be once compleated, what favourable expectations could they form from making a journey to Rome, after ſo deteſtable a parricide? I confeſs that there might exiſt ſomewhat of a turbulent and ambitious diſpoſition in the young people, reſpecting the favours that had been heaped upon Antipater; but I cannot think that there was any farther ground for complaint.

But as Alexander was at this time under confinement, and the public were unacquainted with the cauſe of it, Herod did not think himſelf in a ſtate of abſolute ſecurity, without taking ſome ſtep that might ſeem to convince the world that there was a plauſible reaſon for his impriſonment: and, thus ſituated, he gave orders that divers perſons of quality, who were the warm friends and adherents of Alexander, ſhould be put to the torture, and afterwards to death; which was done with a view of inſinuating the guilt of Alexander; but it did not anſwer the deſired effect, for the parties died without making any confeſſion.

At this time the whole palace was in the utmoſt diſtreſs and confuſion: nothing was to be ſeen but tumult, nothing heard but the voice of terror and lamentation.

It now happened that a certain young man, whoſe ſtrength and reſolution had been totally exhauſted by the torture, related a ſtory, importing that Alexander had written a letter to ſome of his friends at Rome, requeſting that Cæſar might be informed that a conſpiracy againſt him had been ſet on foot; and that if he were but commiſſioned to attend the emperor at Rome, he would make an ample diſcovery of the circumſtances; for that the intereſt of Rome had been abandoned by his father, who was engaged in treaty with Mithridates, the king of the Parthians; adding likewiſe, that he had given orders for the preparation of a poiſon at Aſkalon, which was actually in readineſs. Herod had ſo much faith in this improbable ſtory, as to take the whole for a matter of fact; and he accordingly gave orders for an enquiry to be made after the ſuppoſed poiſon; but after the moſt diligent ſearch, no ſuch thing could poſſibly be found. All this time Herod was ſurrounded by a number of flatterers, who endeavoured to ſooth his afflictions, and tried to convince him that his conduct was regulated by the ſentiments of juſtice, and the meaſures of prudence.

In the interim, Alexander was ſo far from ſinking under the weight of his oppreſſions, that he utterly diſdained either to deny the charge that was

exhibited againſt him, or ſeek to defend the propriety of his own conduct. This he did, partly to inſpire his father with a deteſtation of the violent outrages that had been committed; and partly to prevent his liſtening to ſuch idle and improbable tales as had lately been told him: and he privately determined that if his father ſhould ſtill perſiſt to give credit to the abſurd reports that were daily propagated, neither himſelf nor his family ſhould want ample food to exerciſe their credulity. Hereupon he diſpatched to Herod four pieces of writing, in which he informed him that there could be no kind of neceſſity for the putting any of his people to farther torture, in order to make them anſwer ſuch queſtions as might be put to them, by way of diſcovering the truth: for he might rely upon it, as an indiſputable fact, that there was a conſpiracy in agitation againſt his life; and that Pheroras, and ſeveral other perſons of whom he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion, were among the principal conſpirators. He farther informed the king that Salome had ſtolen in ſecrecy to his bed one night, and had lain with him; abſolutely inſiſting that ſhe would not be rejected. He likewiſe acquainted Herod that the people in general were clearly of opinion that it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to their reſentments; without which neither happineſs nor freedom were to be expected: and he named Ptolemy and Sapinnius (two perſons in whom Herod placed the moſt implicit confidence,) as principally concerned in the conſpiracy.

By this time the court of Herod was diſtracted with ſuch a variety of turbulent paſſions, that it had more the reſemblance of a mad-houſe, or a den of wild-beaſts, than the habitation of rational creatures. Such was the ſtrange variety of their diſpoſitions, that they were one day in the utmoſt appearance of friendſhip, endeavouring to exhibit all poſſible tokens of mutual regard; and on the following, prepared to deſtroy each other without the leaſt grounds of provocation. Nor, when their paſſions were excited, was time given for enquiry or proof of guilt; for the puniſhment conſtantly preceded the examination. Some of theſe unhappy people were confined in chains; others were ſacrificed to the immediate impulſe of malicious jealouſy; and a third ſort remained in a painful ſuſpence and deſpair, than which death itſelf could not have been more intolerable. Nothing now remained in the palace that might indicate the ſplendor of its former ſtate: but in the place of that gaiety and elegance by which it had been heretofore diſtinguiſhed, there was only to be ſeen the moſt melancholy proofs of dejection of mind, and a weight of ſorrow that admitted of no conſolation. Herod himſelf was at this time ſo totally abandoned to deſpair, that he grew as weary of his own life, as the cruelty of his conduct had rendered others of theirs. He had not a ſingle perſon near him in whom he could confide: his preſent ſituation was miſerable beyond the power of language to deſcribe, and his future proſpects were replete with intolerable horror and confuſion. It was impoſſible for him to take any reſt. His ſleeping and his waking hours were equally attended by the moſt diſagreeable ſentiments, and frightful imaginations. At one time he uſed to conceive that his ſon was planting a dagger at his heart; and at others he would be impreſſed with ſentiments if poſſible

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ſtill more ſhocking. To ſum up the whole of his diſtreſs in a ſingle phraſe, his life was a continued ſcene of torment and diſtraction.

CHAP. XII.

Archelaus pays a viſit to Herod, to reconcile him to Alexander. Archelaus mediates the matter with great ſkill and addreſs. Pheroras aſks pardon of Herod, who is thereupon reconciled to him. Herod highly ſenſible of the good offices of Archelaus. Herod goes to Rome, and effects a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus.

DURING the time that Herod continued in this extreme torment and anxiety of mind, Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, conceived it would be conſiſtent with his duty, and becoming his character, both as a relation and a friend, to pay him a viſit, and to exert his good offices towards the effecting a reconciliation between Herod and his daughter and ſon-in-law, for whom he entertained the moſt unbounded good-will, and the ſincereſt affection. He had heard that affairs went very unhappily in the family; and, on his arrival, he found that report had fallen ſhort of the truth: but he conceived it would have but a ſtrange appearance to quarrel with Herod for the impropriety of his conduct, and for his giving credit to ſo many ridiculous ſtories, on the mere confidence of idle report. He thought if he began to conteſt the matter with him, it would look like reproaching him for his conduct, and be productive of more miſchief than benefit. For theſe reaſons, inſtead of levelling a direct cenſure at the behaviour of Herod, he artfully inſinuated that Alexander was to blame. The king, he ſaid, had acted in all reſpects conſiſtent with the laws of honour and juſtice; and that, for his own part, he would immediately diſſolve the marriage, and never afterwards own Glaphyra for his daughter, if he ſhould diſcover that ſhe was acquainted with the plot, and did not inſtantly make the circumſtances of it known.

This ſeeming warmth on the part of Archelaus, and his apparent zeal for the vindication of Herod, brought the latter to a proper recollection, to a ſenſe of the impropriety of his conduct, and, by degrees, revived in his mind all thoſe tender ſenſations conſiſtent with his character as a father. Before this alteration the king would have deemed any man his enemy that but ſpoke a ſingle word in favour of Alexander: but now, that his nature was ſoftened by hearing what Archelaus ſaid againſt him, he burſt into tears, begged that he would not ſay any more to his diſadvantage, nor entertain the leaſt thought of breaking off the match; or be farther enraged at the inconſiderate conduct of the young man. When Archelaus found that he had ſuch an influence on Herod as to pacify the rage of his mind, he artfully ſhifted the diſcourſe, palliating, in the beſt manner he could, the miſtakes that might have been committed by Alexander, attributing his conduct to bad advice, and the evil example of the company he kept. He ſaid that the young man was of an eaſy, yielding diſpoſition, but he had never found that there was any thing of malice in his nature: he inſinuated that

that he might have been miſled and corrupted; and, during the whole of his addreſs, obliquely hinted that Pheroras was principally to blame.

By this time Pheroras, having reflected on his ſituation, was ſenſible that he had totally loſt the good opinion of Herod; and conſidering that Archelaus was the moſt proper perſon he could apply to for the effecting of a reciliation, he dreſſed himſelf in a ſuit of deep mourning, and went to him with the air of a moſt penitent petitioner, beſeeching him, in all humility of ſubmiſſion, to intercede for him to the king.

Archelaus did not fail to treat him with all the reſpect due to his rank; but informed him that greater difficulty would, probably, attend the removal of Herod's diſpleaſure than he might poſſibly conceive: yet if he might preſume to adviſe him as a friend, he would recommend that he ſhould go and make a proper ſubmiſſion to his brother, and humbly ſolicit his pardon, having firſt confeſſed himſelf the original cauſe of all the misfortunes that at preſent attended the family. A confeſſion and behaviour of this kind, he ſaid, would very probably pave the way to a perfect reconciliation.

Pheroras acted in purſuance of this advice, and the ſucceſs anſwered the moſt ſanguine expectation; for Alexander was exculpated from all ſuſpicion of the crime alledged againſt him; and Archelaus ſpeaking in behalf of Pheroras, the king was likewiſe reconciled to him. The obligations that Herod now conceived himſelf under to Archelaus, made ſo ſenſible an impreſſion on his mind, that he deemed him one of the moſt valuable friends he had in the world. Things being thus happily adjuſted, Archelaus returned into Cappadocia, loaded with valuable preſents, and pleaſed that the purpoſe of his voyage had been crowned with ſucceſs equal to his warmeſt expectations. It was now determined that Herod ſhould repair to Rome, in order to lay before Cæſar, an account of the preſent ſtate of his family; as he had formerly written to the emperor on its diſtracted ſituation: he therefore accompanied Archelaus as far as Antioch, where he reconciled a difference that had ſubſiſted between him, and Titus, the governor of Syria; and then Herod returned into Judæa.

CHAP. XIII.

During the abſence of Herod, the Trachonites revolt, and a few of them eſcape into Arabia, the main body of them being overthrown by the king's troops. Thoſe who fled received and protected by Syllæus. Herod makes an incurſion into Trachon, and applies to Saturninus and Volumnius, to deliver up the rebels. Syllæus denies the having any in Arabia. Saturninus and Volumnius order the fugitives to be delivered up.

AFTER Herod had been at Rome, diſpatched his buſineſs there, and was returned back again, to diſcharge the affairs of his own government, a war broke out with the Arabians, which took its riſe from the following circumſtance. It hath been mentioned in a former part of this

work, that Cæsar took the government of the province of Trachon from Zenodorus, and bestowed it on Herod. Now the Trachonites, finding they were no longer at liberty to carry on their former trade of robbery, turned their thoughts to planting and tilling of the ground; but this course of life did not agree with their dispositions; and being but very indifferent husbandmen, they reaped neither much pleasure nor advantage from this new kind of business.

For a considerable time after they were under the government of Herod, he so managed, very much to his credit, as to maintain tolerable good order among them; and prevented their making those barbarous incursions on their neighbours, which they had been heretofore accustomed to do: but soon after Herod had taken his departure into Italy, to recommend Antipater, and accuse Alexander, a report was spread that he was dead; whereupon the Trachonites revolted from their allegiance, and began to live in the same irregular manner they had heretofore done; but the king's troops being called forth to suppress them, they were soon subdued and dispersed; only about forty of the principal people among them made their escape, and fled into Arabia for protection. Now Syllæus being in Arabia, and not being as yet reconciled to the circumstance of Salome having been refused him for a wife, he received and entertained these Trachonites, allowed them a safe retreat, and gave them a strong and well fortified place in which to reside. From this retirement they frequently issued, infesting the countries of Judæa and Cœle-Syria, and carrying off numbers of cattle, and considerable booty to their lurking places: nor was any step taken to prevent their proceeding in these outrages and depredations. Herod, on his return from Rome, being informed of the transactions of these notorious robbers; and considering that he could not, with any propriety, interfere to punish those who were under the protection of the Arabians, he was extremely enraged at the circumstance; and without allowing himself much time for reflection on the indignity that had been offered him, he made an incursion into the country of the Trachonites, and put whole families of those people to the sword without distinction. Hereupon the rest of the people of Trachon were transported with the most violent rage; and as the laws of their country required that they should not let such an attack on their brethren pass unrevenged, they bid defiance to all opposition, and to every species of danger, making perpetual inroads upon Herod, who could never remain unmolested by their attacks.

Thus circumstanced, Herod made application to Saturninus and Volumnius, the two governors of the Arabian provinces under Cæsar, requesting that they would deliver up the fugitives into his hands, that they might be punished according to their demerits. The Trachonites were so irritated and enraged by this demand, that they assembled in a body, not less than a thousand in number, and then dividing into smaller parties, ranged from place to place, ravaging the towns and country, and killing and destroying wherever they came; so that these encounters, though they might properly be called only skirmishes, had all the fatal effects of a devouring war.

Herod ſtill continued to inſiſt that the thieves ſhould be delivered up; and on this occaſion he likewiſe demanded the payment of ſixty talents, which he had lent to Obodas, by the hands of Syllæus, the payment of which had been now due a conſiderable time.

By this time Syllæus had taken upon himſelf, through uſurpation, the government which had been in the hands of Obodas; and he not only heſitated to pay the ſixty talents abovementioned, but abſolutely inſiſted that not any of the thieves had taken refuge in Arabia. Hereupon Saturninus and Volumnius directed that the fugitives on both ſides ſhould be immediately given up, and that the money which was due to Herod ſhould be paid within the ſpace of thirty days. Theſe orders diſcovered the treachery of the conduct of Syllæus, for a great number of the free-booters had taken refuge with the Arabians, while Herod had not ſo much as a ſingle Arabian under his protection.

CHAP. XIV.

Syllæus refuſes to deliver the men, or pay the money. Herod obtains permiſſion to do himſelf juſtice. He takes the caſtle of Repta by aſſault. The defeat of the Arabians. Their general, Nacebus, ſlain. Herod marches to Trachon, with three thouſand Idumæans.

AT the expiration of thirty days, when the money ought to have been paid, Herod demanded it, and likewiſe inſiſted on the giving up of the fugitives; but Syllæus would not abide by his agreement; refuſed to comply with either of theſe demands, and immediately proceeded on a voyage to Cæſar. Herod finding this want of fidelity on the part of the Arabian, and perceiving that he could not recover his right by an equitable mode of proceeding, applied to Saturninus and Volumnius, for permiſſion to do himſelf juſtice by the law of arms: and thoſe governors having complied with his requeſt, he immediately collected an army together, proceeded into Arabia, and marched ſeven ſtages in the courſe of three days. At length he arrived at a caſtle which bore the name of Repta, to which the robbers had retreated. He loſt no time in aſſaulting this place, which he was fortunate enough to take on the firſt attack. The conqueſt being made, he demoliſhed the ſeveral fortifications, but abſtained from doing any farther miſchief to the inhabitants. While theſe tranſactions were going forward, Nacebus, the general of the Arabians, marched to the relief of his countrymen; and was no ſooner arrived than a battle enſued, in which very few, if any, of the troops of Herod were loſt: but the Arabian general was ſlain on the ſpot, together with five and twenty of his people; and the reſt of them were diſperſed, and compelled to ſeek their ſafety in flight.

Herod having now revenged himſelf on the free-booters for the inſults that had been offered him, he proceeded to Trachon, with an army of three thouſand

thouſand Idumæans, in order to keep the irregulars in thoſe parts within the bounds of ſubjection. To juſtify himſelf with reſpect to the above-mentioned proceeding, Herod diſpatched a faithful narrative of the facts to the Roman governors preſiding in Phœnicia, in which he acquainted them that in his late battle with the rebellious Arabians, he had done nothing but what he was authorized to do by full permiſſion: and the governors having made an enquiry into the affair, found that Herod's allegations were conſiſtent with truth.

CHAP. XV.

A falſe report tranſmitted to Syllæus at Rome. Syllæus tells a melancholy ſtory to Cæſar. The contents thereof. Cæſar writes a menacing letter to Herod. Account of the inſolence of the Arabians. Herod's ambaſſadors are denied audience of Cæſar. The death of Obodas, who is ſucceeded by Aretas. Syllæus endeavours to engroſs the power of Aretas. This latter ſends ambaſſadors, with letters and preſents to Cæſar, who likewiſe refuſes audience to theſe ambaſſadors. Nicolaus of Damaſcus ſent on a third embaſſy, by Herod.

THE above is a fair repreſentation of the truth: but the Arabians ſent a very different account of the particulars to Syllæus at Rome, in which, by diſguiſing ſome circumſtances, and magnifying others, they made the whole appear totally contrary to the matter of fact. Now Syllæus had by this time ſo artfully inſinuated himſelf, that he had obtained a perſonal knowledge of the emperor.

As Syllæus was walking one day before the royal palace, he received a packet of letters by an expreſs, containing the account above-mentioned. When he had read the diſpatches, he immediately changed his cloaths, put on a ſuit of deep mourning, and went away to Cæſar. Having obtained admittance, he told his melancholy ſtory, which was interrupted by frequent tears and lamentations. The ſubſtance of it was, that Herod had entered Arabia with a large army; that he had overturned the form of government, and ſpread devaſtation throughout the country: that he had ſlain on the ſpot no leſs than two thouſand five hundred noble Arabians, and that their general Nacebus, who was his friend and relation, was among the ſlain: and that he had plundered the caſtle of Repta of an immenſe treaſure which had been there depoſited. He likewiſe repreſented that this aroſe from the advantage that Herod had taken of the weakneſs and neglect of Obodas, who was not furniſhed with a proper number of troops to make oppoſition to him, nor, during his (Syllæus's) abſence, had a general fit to take the command of thoſe with which he was provided. Syllæus having mentioned theſe particulars, ſaid farther, that he never ſhould have thought of undertaking his preſent journey to Rome, but in the full confidence that Cæſar would make ample proviſion for all his people: and he boaſted that if himſelf had been upon the ſpot, Herod ſhould have ſeverely repented the raſhneſs of his undertaking.

Cæsar, being exceedingly unhappy in his mind, on account of these unfortunate circumstances, made a number of enquiries among the friends of Herod, as well as among his own friends who had lately come out of Syria, demanding to know if Herod had marched his army any where without the limits of his own jurisdiction. These questions being answered in the affirmative, Cæsar entertained no doubt of the truth of all the rest that Syllæus had told him. He therefore, without farther hesitation, sent an angry and menacing letter to Herod, which was directed in the following singular manner: "To Herod, formerly my friend, hereafter my subject."

At the same time Syllæus wrote letters to the Arabians, informing them of the particulars of what had passed. When the Arabians, on the information of these letters, found that Herod was in disgrace with Cæsar, their insolence exceeded all bounds, and they became much more untractable than they had heretofore been. They absolutely refused to deliver up the malefactors, or even to pay their debts; nay they went farther; they denied the payment of their rents, and refused to discharge all those common obligations which, by the mutual faith of society, one man owes to another.

The Trachonites likewise took advantage of the particular situation of affairs, and joined with the Arabian ravagers against the garrisons in Idumæa which belonged to Herod. They destroyed, pillaged, and plundered wherever they went; and this more from motives of revenge than from those of advantage.

Herod having now lost the friendship of Cæsar, was compelled to submit to those and many other indignities; for by this time his credit began to fail him, and he was abandoned by his natural courage. On two several occasions did he send ambassadors to Cæsar, to endeavour to exculpate himself of the charges against him: but the first time the emperor refused to admit the ambassadors to his presence, and on the second application he would not receive their dispatches. During this time Herod had every thing to apprehend from the arts of Syllæus, who sought all opportunities of turning to his own benefit the anxiety of mind in which he found Cæsar involved. Syllæus, fortunately for his own purposes, was near enough to Cæsar to take every advantage of the change of his disposition; and finding that he was credulous, and easy to be wrought upon, he disposed him to give such directions as were consistent with his own interest: and, exclusive of all this, Syllæus had a prospect of affairs of still farther importance.

In the interim king Obodas departed this life, and was succeeded by Æneas, who took the name of Aretas. Syllæus was no sooner informed of this circumstance than he exerted himself in a singular manner to get Aretas turned out of his office, and to engross the whole power to himself; and the methods he made use of were the propagation of calumnious reports, the giving bribes at court, and the making large promises to Cæsar. What principally encouraged him to an attempt of this kind was a disgust that Cæsar had conceived at Aretas for entering on the administration of government without obtaining his consent, or even making him acquainted with his intentions.

Aretas,

Aretas, the new king, now ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar, to pay his compliments of reſpect to the emperor, and to carry him letters, and preſents of large value, one of which, in particular, was a crown of gold, which had been purchaſed at an enormous price. The letters thus tranſmitted contained a direct charge againſt Syllæus for having uſurped the authority of Obodas in his life-time, and the cauſing him to be poiſoned: he was likewiſe charged with violating the chaſtity of the wives of the Arabians; and with obtaining large ſums of money, in order to pave the way to his pretenſions to the government. But as Cæſar had heretofore denied audience to the ambaſſadors of Herod, ſo now he treated theſe in the ſame manner, rejecting their preſents, and ſending them away without an anſwer to their diſpatches.

While matters were in this ſituation at Rome, the affairs of Judæa and Arabia grew every day more perplexed and diſagreeable: a general confuſion enſued, and there was no one who had ability or authority to allay the ferment. One of the kings was yet inſecure in the poſſeſſion of his new government; and the other was very far from being maſter of his ſubjects: for ſuch was the ſituation of Herod, that he had it not in his power to do himſelf juſtice, without offering an offence to Cæſar; ſo that he lay under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to all that might be offered to him: at length, however, being reduced to the moſt diſagreeable extremity, he came to a final reſolution to exert all his own intereſt, and that of his friends, with Cæſar, and determined to try the event of a third embaſſy to Rome; and Nicolaus was appointed ambaſſador on this occaſion.

CHAP. XVI.

The animoſities in Herod's family encreaſe. Eurycles contracts an acquaintance with Herod, and becomes the confident of Alexander. He commences tale-bearer in the family. Herod makes him a preſent of fifty talents. He obtains money from Archelaus. At length Eurycles is baniſhed from Lacedæmon. The credulity and jealouſy of Herod. Tyrannus and Jucundus diſmiſſed from the court, and compelled to accuſe Alexander by the force of torture. The governor of Alexandrion put to the torture. Letters produced, pretended to be of Alexander's writing. The brothers, and the witneſſes againſt them, conveyed to Jericho. The witneſſes ſtoned by the people. Ariſtobulus betrayed by Salome. The brothers bound and examined on Salome's information. Glaphyra and Alexander examined. They agree in the denial of the charge. Herod ſends Olympus and Volumnius with letters to Archelaus. His anſwer. Cæſar's reconciliation with Herod. A formal accuſation againſt Syllæus. The articles of the charge againſt him. Syllæus charged by Nicolaus, who defends Herod. Syllæus binds himſelf by an oath, but forfeits his word. Syllæus ordered to be put to death. Inſtructions given to Olympus and Volumnius. A letter of condolence written by Cæſar to Herod.

THE family of Herod had been at all times rendered exceedingly unhappy by its inteſtine commotions; a caſe by no means uncommon in courts: but at preſent the animoſities ran higher than at any former period,

riod, and were principally occaſioned by the following circumſtance. There was a certain Lacedæmonian, named Eurycles, a man of noble deſcent, but of the moſt malicious turn of mind; prone to acts of ſenſuality, and vain beyond the power of language to deſcribe; but he was ſo conſummate an hypocrite, that it was not an eaſy matter to diſcern that he poſſeſſed any of theſe faults. Now Eurycles, by that admirable addreſs of which he was maſter, had inſinuated himſelf into an acquaintance with Herod, with whom he interchanged preſents, and to whom he rendered ſeveral good offices in the houſe of Antipater. By theſe means, and by being frequently in company with Alexander, he became familiarly acquainted with that prince alſo. Now Eurycles would be frequently hinting what an extraordinary degree of friendſhip there ſubſiſted between him, and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and how profound a reſpect the latter entertained for Glaphyra. Thus, by rendering himſelf an entertaining companion to every one about him, and by acting the part of an eaſy and general friend, he had an opportunity of hearing all that was ſaid, and ſeeing every thing that was done; ſo that he failed not of picking up a number of idle ſtories, which he applied to his own purpoſes whenever he found it convenient. In a word, he had ſo happy a method of applying himſelf to the paſſions, and ſo grateful a mode of complimenting the perſons of thoſe with whom he had to do, that to whomſoever he addreſſed himſelf, he was artful enough to perſuade the party that his or her intereſt was the chief object of his wiſhes, and that all the correſpondence he held with others was ſimply with a view to the ſervice and gratification of the perſon with whom he was converſing.

By a mode of addreſs thus artfully managed, he ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem and affection of Alexander, that he placed the utmoſt reliance on him, and confided in him as the keeper of all his moſt important ſecrets, and thought him the only man in the world that he could truſt in the full aſſurance that he ſhould not be betrayed. In this perfect confidence of friendſhip he related to him the whole hiſtory of his misfortunes; made him acquainted with the unkindneſs of his father, informed him of the death of his mother, and the credit that Antipater had obtained with the king. He ſaid that the oppreſſion of mind which he laboured under was become altogether too ſevere to be endured; and that the family averſion was at length arrived at that height, that he could no longer eat or converſe with his children.

Alexander entertained no kind of doubt but that theſe ſecrets would be ſafely depoſited in the breaſt of his friend: but Euryclus was no ſooner maſter of any part of the ſubject, than he went to Antipater, to whom he related, from time to time, all that had paſſed in the converſation. When he communicated theſe circumſtances to Antipater, he uſed to ſay, "It is "true theſe matters are no immediate concern of mine; but in an affair "which may be attended with ſuch dangerous conſequences, I cannot but "think it my duty as a friend to adviſe you to conſult your own ſafety, and "have a cautious eye on Alexander: for I have obſerved that he hath of "late aſſumed a very great degree of confidence, ſo that he thinks it no "longer

" longer neceſſary to diſguiſe the ſentiments of his mind; but, without any " kind of ſcruple, declares, in the moſt explicit language, the malice that " rankles at his heart, and openly avows the deſign that he has entertained " to the prejudice of his father."

This diſcourſe of Eurycles gave Antipater ſo high an idea of the ſincerity of his eſteem, and the diſintereſtedneſs of his friendſhip, that he acknowledged the favour by making him ſome preſents of great value; and having reflected on the nature and importance of the information, he came to a reſolution of acquainting the king with what he had heard, and taking his opinion on the ſubject. He therefore introduced Eurycles to Herod, who was already ſo prepoſſeſſed againſt Alexander, that it was no difficult matter to make him believe any thing to his diſadvantage: ſo that partly through his former prejudices, and partly from the hints of ſeveral circumſtances that were thrown out in the courſe of this converſation, his hatred to him became more violent and implacable than ever; a circumſtance with which Alexander was ſoon afterwards made acquainted. Herod conceiving that the good office which had been done him demanded a recompence, made a preſent of fifty talents to Eurycles, in gratification of his trouble: and this the latter had no ſooner received, than, in the true ſpirit of conſummate hypocriſy, he went immediately to Archelaus, to whom he extolled to the ſkies the virtues of his ſon Alexander; nor did he forget to hint that he had done himſelf the honour to endeavour to adjuſt the diſputes betwixt him and his father; and that he thought himſelf extremely happy in the ſucceſs with which his negociations had been attended. The artfulneſs of this addreſs ſo pleaſed Archelaus, that he likewiſe preſented him with a ſum of money: and being thus enriched by the ſucceſs of his villainies, he departed with his booty before there was an opportunity of detecting the impoſture. By this time Eurycles had retired into his own country, where he ſtill followed the ſame artful courſe of life, till at length a diſcovery being made of the iniquity of his conduct, he was brought to juſtice, and baniſhed from Lacedæmon.

By this time the paſſions of Herod were wrought to ſuch a height, that he was not diſpoſed, as he formerly had been, to be ſatisfied with only lending an ear to the calumnious reports againſt his ſons, or to wait with patience till the voice of ſlander reached him in its common courſe; but his ſuſpicions were of ſuch a nature that they precluded the neceſſity of any one executing the office of a tale-bearer; and he made ſo many particular enquiries and ſcrutinies in ſearch of his own unhappineſs, as rendered it unneceſſary for any other perſon to take the trouble of carrying accuſations to him. Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition, however, he was ſtill as eager as ever to liſten to any informations againſt the brothers, from whatever quarter they were brought; nor did any thing afford him ſo high a ſatisfaction as the lending an attentive ear to theſe malicious ſtories.

The affairs of the family were at length in ſuch an unhappy ſituation, that the only ambition and contention ſeemed to be who ſhould be the author of the greateſt degree of miſchief. The more malice that was evinced with regard to the ſons, the more acceptable the intelligence appeared to be to the

the father: and in all theſe informations the chief pretence ſeemed to be a generous concern for the ſafety of the king.

At this period there aroſe a circumſtance more fatal to the repoſe of the young princes, than any which had yet befel them. There were two perſons, the names of whom were Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had heretofore been of Herod's life-guard, who were remarkably diſtinguiſhed by their extraordinary ſtature and uncommon ſtrength; but they had been lately baniſhed from the court, on account of ſome offence that they had given. Now Alexander, being apprized of the ſingular merit of theſe men, took them immediately into his ſervice, as a guard on his perſon, and treated them with the utmoſt degree of liberality. This circumſtance gave ſuch extreme offence to the king, that he gave orders that they ſhould be immediately put to the torture. This being done, they bore up under the ſeverity of the torments as long as human nature could ſuſtain the extremity of the pain: but being at length unable to endure any more, they made a confeſſion to the following purport: "That Alexander had ſolicited them to ſeek ſome favourable opportunity of killing the king, while he was engaged in a party of hunting: that he ſaid this matter might be the more eaſily effected, under pretence that the king had fallen from his horſe upon his own arms; a pretence that would have the greater weight, becauſe that, on a former occaſion, he had very narrowly eſcaped with his life from a ſimilar accident." The ſufferers farther declared that a ſum of money was ſecreted in the ſtable; and they ſaid, that in purſuance of an order given to the principal game-keeper, by Alexander, his ſervants had received a number of the king's darts and lances.

The governor of Alexandrion was the next man that was put to the torture. The charge exhibited againſt him was, that he had given his promiſe to the brothers to receive them into the caſtle, and likewiſe to deliver into their hands all ſuch of the royal treaſure as was therein depoſited. During the time that the governor was under the torture he poſitively denied every particular of this charge; but, on the contrary, his ſon ſaid that it was founded on fact, and produced a writing to the following effect, which he pretended was under the hand of Alexander. "If God permit, you need not entertain the leaſt doubt of hearing from us, as ſoon as we have prepared matters ſo as to be ready for you: therefore remember your promiſe, and do not fail to be ready to receive us into the caſtle." Herod having peruſed this paper, had now no farther doubt of the real exiſtence of the conſpiracy: but Alexander, during all this time, poſitively inſiſted that the whole charge was founded on a mere fiction and contrivance of Antipater, and that the writing was forged by the ſecretary Diophantus, who had heretofore diſtinguiſhed himſelf by exploits of this nature; and who was afterwards apprehended while perpetrating a ſimilar act, and received the puniſhment due to his crime.

At this time, Herod was at Jericho; and after the witneſſes had been tormented, he had them conducted to that place, in order to accuſe his ſons publicly before the people; but before they could have an opportunity of doing this, they were ſtoned to death by the multitude, who, during

the firſt tranſports of their rage, would have treated Alexander and Ariſtobulus in the ſame manner, but that Herod, by the aſſiſtance of Ptolemy and Pheroras, prevented their falling a ſacrifice. However, they were committed to cloſe cuſtody, and ſpies were appointed to guard them; and to keep the cloſeſt watch on all their words and actions. Thus ſituated, they had no doubt but that their lives would fall a ſacrifice; and the people in general were of the ſame opinion.

In this great and utter diſtreſs, Ariſtobulus, after mature reflections on his ſituation, thought it might be prudent to try if he could inſpire his aunt and mother-in-law, Salome, with proper reſentment of his ſufferings, and a juſt indignation againſt the author of them. To this purpoſe he wrote to her, demanding, "If ſhe could think herſelf ſafe under a charge of holding "a private correſpondence with Syllæus, reſpecting the king's affairs, in "the hope of obtaining him for a huſband." This paper Salome immediately carried to her brother; who, being tranſported with rage, gave inſtant orders that his ſons ſhould be confined ſeperately from each other, and that they ſhould themſelves put down in writing, the particulars reſpecting the treaſonable deſign in which they were ſuppoſed to have been concerned. This was done, agreeable to the orders that were given; and both their accounts exactly correſponded: they declared that they had not been concerned in any kind of conſpiracy; and that they had never entertained the leaſt idea of ſuch a circumſtance. They confeſſed that they had entertained thoughts of making their eſcape from their preſent confinement; for that death itſelf was preferable to the life they were obliged to live, ſurrounded as they were by perpetual jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

At this period, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, ſent in the character of an ambaſſador to Herod, a perſon named Mela, a man of great rank and diſtinction in that country. Now Herod was diſpleaſed with ſomething in the conduct of Archelaus; and being willing to let him ſee that he reſented his behaviour, he gave orders that Alexander ſhould be brought out of the priſon, and re-examined in the preſence of Mela. The priſoner being brought, was interrogated reſpecting his intended eſcape; he was aſked whither he propoſed to have gone, and in what way he intended to have diſpoſed of himſelf. To this he replied, that his determination was to have gone to his father-in-law, Archelaus, in conſequence of his promiſe to conduct him in ſafety to Rome. "Nor (ſaid he) was my brother or myſelf ever "guilty of any thing farther than this with regard to our father, notwith-"ſtanding all that the falſe witneſſes, and others of our enemies may have "pretended to the contrary." Alexander then expreſſed his earneſt wiſh that Tyrannus and his aſſociates had been examined in a more careful and particular manner; but he ſaid that the principal thing Antipater had in view was to get them diſpoſed of as ſoon as poſſible, in ſuch a manner as that it ſhould not be in their power to make any diſagreeable diſcoveries; wherefore his agents were employed to ſpirit up the mob againſt them, in conſequence of which they put them to death.

This examination being ended, Herod gave immediate orders that Alexander and Mela ſhould be conducted to Glaphyra, and that ſhe likewiſe

ſhould be ſtrictly interrogated, to diſcover what ſhe knew reſpecting the horrid treaſon ſuppoſed to have been in agitation. No ſooner were they come within ſight of this moſt unfortunate princeſs, than ſeeing her huſband bound in chains, ſhe began to tear her hair, attempted to offer violence on herſelf, and wept and groaned as if her heart would have broke: nor did the prince give leſs ſignal proofs of the extremity of his grief: ſo violent, in fact, were the effects of their affliction, that thoſe who had the care of them ſtood in aſtoniſhment, as perſons who had loſt their ſenſes; and ſeemed ſo far rapt in wonder at the ſcene before them, that they neither knew what they were doing, or what buſineſs had brought them thither.

At length Ptolemy, to whoſe care the prince had been committed, interrogated him, requiring to know whether his wife had been concerned in the plot; to which Alexander, in a kind of ironical manner, replied, "How "can you entertain the leaſt doubt of that? Wherever I am, ſhe muſt un-"doubtedly be preſent." And then, in a more ſerious tone, he ſaid, "She "is a woman dearer to me than my own exiſtence; ſhe is one of the wor-"thieſt of wives, and the moſt excellent of mothers; nor can the whole "world produce her ſuperior in both thoſe characters." He had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, than the princeſs declared that her conſcience acquitted her of all idea of guilt; but that if the acknowledging that ſhe had been culpable would tend, in any degree, to the preſervation of her huſband, ſhe would not heſitate to make ſuch acknowledgment, even though ſhe was ſure to die without an opportunity of retracting her declaration. But Alexander, hearing what ſhe ſaid, eagerly exclaimed, "No, no! We are "not guilty of a ſingle circumſtance that hath been alledged againſt us; "and we have merited a very different kind of treatment from the hands of "thoſe who have been baſe enough to injure us by their ſuſpicions. With "regard to the reſolution we had formed of getting away to our father, and "then of eſcaping to Rome, if that is to be conſtrued into treaſon, we have "nothing to do but to plead guilty." What Alexander had ſaid was confirmed in all its particulars by Glaphyra.

Now in what had paſſed during the above examination there was ſufficient matter to exerciſe the thought of a man already jealous of injuries done him; and Herod hereupon fixed his ſuſpicions ſtill more ſtrongly than ever on Archelaus; whereupon he immediately diſpatched Olympus and Volumnius with letters to the ſuppoſed offender, giving them directions to ſtop at Eleuſa, a city of Phœnicia, and there deliver their diſpatches. They were likewiſe inſtructed to expoſtulate with him on the ſubject of the conſpiracy, on a preſumption that he had been engaged in the confederacy with the ſons of Herod.

After they had delivered their letters, their orders were to ſail forward to Rome; and to enquire of Nicolaus of Damaſcus, if Cæſar was more diſpoſed to favourable ſentiments than he had heretofore been. If this happened to be the caſe, they were to preſent other diſpatches to him, which gave an account of the proceedings againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and likewiſe copies of the evidence on which their conviction had been founded.

When

When the ambaſſadors came to Archelaus, he told them, without heſitation, that he had expreſſed his readineſs to receive the young princes; which he had done, in the zeal of his heart, as the moſt probable method of conferring an eſſential obligation both on the father and the ſons: for he confeſſed his apprehenſion left Herod, yielding to the impetuous force of his paſſions, might have compleated their deſtruction; but on the whole, he declared that he had not entertained any thoughts of ſending them to Cæſar, or of protecting them in any illegal proceedings to the prejudice of their father.

When Olympus and Volumnius arrived at Rome, they found Cæſar ſo much reconciled to Herod, and ſo extremely well-diſpoſed towards him, that they made no ſcruple of delivering their diſpatches, according to the orders they had received. Theſe letters were put into a proper form by the management of Nicolaus, who had conducted the previous buſineſs of his commiſſion in the following manner. On his firſt arrival at Rome, and being introduced to the palace of the emperor, excluſive of the inſtructions with which he was charged, he drew up a formal accuſation againſt Syllæus, accuſing him of practices of the moſt flagitious nature imaginable; ample materials for which accuſation he had obtained from the Arabians themſelves, who were at that time greatly divided in their ſentiments of their own affairs. One of the charges againſt Syllæus was the murder of Obodas, and many perſons of the ſame family, for proof of which many letters of his own writing, which had been intercepted, were produced. Now Nicolaus, a principal part of whoſe commiſſion it was to induce Cæſar to think more favourably of Herod than he had done, made all proper uſe of the providential diſcovery of theſe intercepted letters, to promote the intereſt of his employer. Reaſoning with himſelf, he conſidered that if he ſhould commence his application by endeavouring to palliate or defend the conduct of Herod, the emperor would at once be ſtruck with the whole deſign of his commiſſion; but that if he introduced what he had to ſay, by proper reflections on the conduct of Syllæus, it would be an eaſy matter to juſtify Herod in the courſe of the converſation.

At length a day was appointed for the hearing of this buſineſs, when Nicolaus, being aſſiſted by ſome agents of Aretas, proceeded to alledge the following accuſations againſt Syllæus. He was charged with "Having occaſioned the murder of his king and ſovereign; with murdering many of his ſubjects the Arabians; with taking up enormous ſums of money, for the purpoſe of diſturbing the public peace; with having been a notorious violater of the chaſtity of women, both at Rome, and in Arabia; and, finally, with having impoſed on the emperor himſelf by the propagation of the moſt improbable lies, and calumnious reports, which was evidenced by the account he gave of the conduct of Herod, the whole of which was totally foreign from the truth." He was proceeding to make good his allegations on all theſe charges, but Cæſar interrupted Nicolaus with reſpect to this laſt article, and deſired him to paſs over all the reſt and to ſpeak to that ſingle circumſtance. "Make me acquainted (ſaid the emperor,) with this particular part of the conduct of

"Herod.

" Herod. Did he not go into Arabia with an army? Did not two thouſand
" five hundred men fall there, by his arms? Did he not ravage the country,
" and carry off a number of priſoners?" In anſwer hereto Nicolaus ſaid that he himſelf was as well able to give a proper account of the matter as any man exiſting. Having mentioned this, he averred that there was very little of truth in the whole ſtory, as it had been reported; and he aſſerted that Herod had been much leſs to blame in the whole conduct of the buſineſs than was generally ſuppoſed.

Cæſar was aſtoniſhed at what Nicolaus had ſaid, and declared he would pay the utmoſt attention to what he had farther to advance; he thereupon related things in order as they had happened: he recounted the circumſtance of the five hundred talents which Herod had lent Syllæus upon his bond: ſaid that the time of payment had elapſed, and that Herod had a legal right to recover the debt from the country. He farther urged that the body of men to whom Syllæus had given the name of an army, did not deſerve that name, as it conſiſted only of ſuch a number as was ſufficient for putting in execution the legal claim of Herod: that the latter did not proceed in a raſh or violent manner, though, the time of payment being more than expired, he had an undoubted right to ſue for his bond whenever it might be agreeable to him. On the contrary, he choſe rather, in the firſt place, to make application to Saturninus, and Volumnius, who were then governors of Syria: and this appeal being made to them, Syllæus, in their preſence, at Berytus, bound himſelf by the ſacred obligation of an oath, and ſwore by the fortune of Cæſar, to pay all the money due to Herod within thirty days, and likewiſe to deliver up all the fugitives: but when the time was expired, neither the money was paid, nor were the fugitives reſtored. Hereupon Herod again made application to the governors, who gave it as their opinion, that he had a right to chuſe his own mode of redreſs. This therefore was the occaſion of Herod's going into Arabia, and gave riſe to the war which his enemies had ſo illiberally cenſured, with every circumſtance of aggravation. " But is it poſſible (ſaid Nicolaus) that this can be deemed
" a war, which was undertaken by the permiſſion and approbation of the
" governors; that had its juſtice founded in the proſecution of a lawful
" demand, when the detention of right had been endeavoured to be de-
" fended by the violation of a ſolemn oath, which had been ſworn before
" the gods, and ratified by the name of Cæſar?"

" Let us now (ſaid Nicolaus) ſpeak with regard to the priſoners. At firſt
" they conſiſted of about forty of the principal leaders of the Trachonite
" robbers, and theſe were followed by many others, who having made in-
" curſions into Judea, and ravaged the country, making great ſpoil where-
" ever they came, at length fled from the vengeance of Herod, and took
" ſanctuary in Arabia; where, when they were arrived, Syllæus not only
" gave them entertainment, though they ought to have been conſidered as
" the common enemies of mankind, but protected them, granted them
" lands, and accepted a ſhare of the booty which they ſo unjuſtly acquired.
" Now Syllæus had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to reſtore theſe very
" men, as well as the money that he had borrowed, within the limited

" time before-mentioned; and, Sir, I dare confidently aſſert, (and call on " any perſon living to contradict me,) that Herod took no other priſoners " in Arabia than theſe robbers: and even of theſe ſome made their " eſcape."

" One ſtory more regarding theſe priſoners is well worthy the notice and " attention of Cæſar, becauſe reſpecting that he has been impoſed upon in " a more glaring manner than with regard to any other circumſtance. I " can with truth declare that at the time when a band of the Arabians at- " tacked our troops, and a few of our men fell a ſacrifice, Herod found " himſelf under a neceſſity, in his own defence, of repelling force by force; " during the conflict Nacebus, their general, was killed, and with him fell " twenty-five of his forces, but not a man beyond this number. Now " Syllæus's account has made every man a hundred, and ſwelled theſe " twenty-five to two thouſand five hundred."

This ſpeech of Nicolaus ſeemed to have the wiſhed-for effect upon Cæſar, who turning towards Syllæus with a countenance in which was expreſſed the utmoſt vehemence of rage, demanded how many Arabians were ſlain in the action he had mentioned. Syllæus heſitated for a while, as if to recollect a circumſtance that he had forgot, and then acknowledged that he had been ſomewhat miſtaken with regard to the number.

Matters having proceeded thus far, the next buſineſs was to read the conditions of the bond given by Syllæus to Herod, the arbitrations of the governors, and the remonſtrances that had been made by the ſeveral cities and towns, complaining of the various robberies that had been committed.

Nothing now remained to convince Cæſar of the iniquitous practices of Syllæus, againſt whom he paſſed ſentence of death; and reſtored Herod to that ſhare of favour which he had formerly held, confeſſing that he had been miſtaken with regard to his conduct, or he never ſhould have liſtened to thoſe calumnious reports that had influenced him ſo much to his diſadvantage, and provoked him to ſuch unreaſonable ſeverities againſt him. He farther told Syllæus that nothing leſs than his atrocious impudence, the lies he had been guilty of telling, and the ſlanders he had propagated, could have induced him to fail of the uſual reſpect for his beſt of friends.

The event of the whole matter was, that orders were given for conducting Syllæus back to Arabia, where he was firſt to pay the debts he had contracted, and then to ſuffer an ignominious death. With regard to Aretas, his preſuming to uſurp the royal authority without having obtained the approbation and full conſent of the emperor, Cæſar was extremely diſguſted at the circumſtance, and conceived an idea of transferring to Herod the government of the province of which he was poſſeſſed: but Cæſar changed his intentions, on reading the letters which were delivered him by Olympus and Volumnius, which letters were filled with the moſt bitter invectives againſt his own ſons. Now the inſtructions that had been given to Olympus and Volumnius were, that if they found Cæſar in a mild and placable diſpoſition, they ſhould deliver their letters, which they did in purſuance of that order; but Cæſar, upon the peruſal of them, having

made proper allowance for his age, the violence of his paſſions, and the weight of his misfortunes, altered his reſolution, which he had no ſooner done than he ordered the ambaſſadors from Aretas to be admitted. To theſe he gave audience, and reprehended them for the raſh conduct of their maſter in aſſuming to himſelf the ſovereign power without permiſſion ſo to do. Having talked to them for a while in this ſtrain, he received their preſents, and confirmed Aretas in his authority, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the ambaſſadors.

Being thus reconciled to Herod, Cæſar wrote him a letter of condolance on account of the trouble he met with from his ſons; allowing him free permiſſion, and inveſting him with full power to proceed againſt them as parricides, if he ſhould be convinced that they were engaged in the unnatural and infamous plot of which they were ſuſpected: but if, on farther enquiry, he thought that there was nothing more to be alledged againſt them than ſimply a contrivance to effect their eſcape, he adviſed him to moderate his wrath, and let a more gentle reprehenſion take place of ſeverer puniſhment. Upon the whole, the ſubſtance of his advice was, to aſſemble a council at Berytus, in which place a great number of Romans reſided; and there to demand the aſſiſtance of the governors of the adjacent provinces, and to requeſt the attendance of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, together with that of a number of perſons of high rank; who having heard and concluded on the whole matter, ſhould give their opinions, and finally decide the buſineſs.

CHAP. XVII.

The extraordinary behaviour of Herod in his proſperity. A convention ſummoned by him at Berytus. Herod accuſes his ſons before one hundred and fifty perſons. His ſpeech on the authority of parents over their children. It is determined that Herod may diſpoſe of his children at his pleaſure. Saturninus adviſes puniſhment, but not that of death. Volumnius urges that they ſhould be put to death, and they are condemned accordingly. Herod proceeds to Tyre, meets Nicolaus, and takes him with him to Cæſarea. Tyro's generous vindication of the unfortunate princes, and his remonſtrance to Herod. Tyro and thoſe of his ſentiments committed to priſon. The information of Tryphon againſt Tyro. Some perſons put to the torture. Tyro, his ſon, and three hundred perſons torn to pieces by the populace. The death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus by ſtrangulation. The cruelty of Herod.

THE receipt of the letter from Cæſar afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to Herod, not only as it aſſured him of being reſtored to the favour of the emperor, but as it gave him full permiſſion to diſpoſe of his ſons in ſuch a manner as might be moſt agreeable to himſelf. It is ſomething ſingular, and worthy of notice in the character of Herod, that whereas in former times, when he was in proſperity, though he had been a ſevere and rigid father towards his children, yet he had never ſhewn ſo bloody a diſpoſition as to ſeek their lives; yet now, on this happy change and improvement

ment of his circumſtances, he became, from what cauſe it is hard to ſay, more ſevere and cruel than ever, and indulged this diſpoſition to a moſt extravagant degree.

Agreeable to the advice of Cæſar, he ſummoned a council to meet at Berytus, conſiſting of all the perſons recommended in the emperor's letter, excepting only Archelaus, which might be owing to an antipathy to the man, or to the fear that he might fruſtrate his deſigns. The parties being all met according to the ſummons, Herod did not think proper to bring his ſons to the council, but left them at the village of Plantane in Sidon, which was but at a ſmall diſtance, that they might be brought up if it ſhould appear to be neceſſary.

When the council were aſſembled, which conſiſted of one hundred and fifty perſons, Herod went into the council-chamber without any attendants, and there, without reciting any part of the hiſtory of his own misfortunes, which might properly have introduced what he had to ſay, he began to exhibit an accuſation againſt his ſons. This charge was delivered in a very extraordinary manner, with equal vehemence and acrimony, and in language that very ill became his character as a father: it was accompanied with looks and behaviour of the moſt violent and menacing kind; and had more the appearance of the ravings of a madman, than the ſober declamation of a man in his ſenſes. His arguments were inconſiſtent and confuſed, and his diſcourſe incoherent, unconnected, and almoſt unintelligible. He brought no proofs in ſupport of what he ſaid, by which the judges could form their opinion; but they were obliged to place implicit confidence in every thing the accuſer advanced: thus, inſtead of being judges, they were made a kind of parties in the buſineſs, and rather took part againſt the priſoners than in their behalf. It is true that ſome letters which the young princes had written were read; but no proof aroſe therefrom that they had been guilty of diſloyalty, or harboured any evil intentions towards the king. All that appeared from theſe letters was, that they had conſulted on the means of effecting their eſcape, and there were ſome few intimations that they were diſatisfied with, and had taken offence at ſome part of their father's conduct. When Herod, in the courſe of his charge, came to remark on theſe parts of the letters, he, in the moſt violent and indecent manner, ſought to exaggerate the crime, inſiſting that a clearer proof of a conſpiracy could not exiſt: he likewiſe ſwore, in the moſt vehement manner, that death itſelf was not ſo dreadful in his idea as the language of thoſe letters. "It is "true (ſaid he) that I might claim and aſſert that power over my children "which hath been given me by the laws of nature, and ratified by the fa-"vour of Cæſar, not to mention the authority I derive from the expreſs "laws of my own country, which ſay that 'If a man have a ſtubborn and "rebellious ſon, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of "his mother, all the men of his city ſhall ſtone him with ſtones, that he "die.' (Deut. chap. 21.) But I would rather decline the exerciſe of my "undoubted authority in this caſe, and ſubmit the matter to your opi-"nions; not that I viſh you to determine on an affair that is already de-"termined in its own nature, but I would have your ſentiments coincide "with

" with mine, in order to ratify the ſentence: which will ſerve as a leſſon " of inſtruction to poſterity, intimating what kind of puniſhment ought to " follow ſuch enormous crimes."

It was now indiſputably evident to the council, what were Herod's views: they ſaw by the manner in which the buſineſs was hurried forward, without even permitting the brothers to ſpeak in their own defence, that the king had determined how he would act: wherefore, though very unwillingly, they voted, " that Herod might diſpoſe of his children in the way moſt " agreeable to himſelf." This vote being paſſed, Saturninus aroſe to give his opinion. He was a man of great dignity, and one who had diſcharged various offices of truſt and conſequence. He declared that he thought the priſoners ought to undergo ſome kind of puniſhment, but that of death would be too ſevere; ſaying that he felt the caſe the more ſenſibly, as he was himſelf the father of children. " I ſhould be unhappy (ſaid he) after ſuch " a variety of misfortunes as Herod hath ſuffered, that he ſhould at length " be oppreſſed with one ſo much more calamitous than all the reſt." The three ſons of Saturninus, who acted as deputies to their father, were the next who ſpoke, and they concurred with him in opinion. Volumnius now aroſe to deliver his ſentiments, which were, that nothing leſs than death could atone for a crime of ſuch enormous magnitude; and the majority of the company coinciding with him; the matter was decided to the prejudice of the brothers.

As ſoon as the ſentence was paſſed, Herod took his two ſons with him, and proceeded to Tyre, where meeting Nicolaus, who was on his return from Rome, he informed him of the proceedings that had taken place at Berytus, and enquired, in his turn, what opinion the people of Rome had formed with reſpect to his ſons. To this Nicolaus anſwered, that they were univerſally cenſured for the impropriety of their conduct; that the people ſaid they ought to be confined in chains for what they had been guilty of; nay that death itſelf would not be too great a puniſhment if the fact were clearly proved againſt them: ſince in caſe they were puniſhed in a ſlighter degree, the public voice would declare that the proſecution was not ſo much founded in juſtice and reaſon, as in ſpleen and reſentment: yet that, if Herod ſeemed more diſpoſed to extend his mercy to them, he would do well to grant them their liberty, rather than by perſiſting in an act of ſeverity, to perpetrate a deed which he might hereafter wiſh had never taken place. Having received this information, Herod continued for a conſiderable time in thoughtful meditation, totally ſilent, and as not knowing how to act; at length he invited Nicolaus to proceed to ſea with him, and they took their departure for Cæſarea.

On their arrival at that place, they found that the general converſation turned on the ſtory of Herod and his ſons: the people ſeemed to be extremely anxious to know the event of the proſecution: it was the univerſal apprehenſion that the death of the brothers would be the conſequence of the hatred that had been conceived againſt them. Pity for their ſituation ſeemed to penetrate every heart; but no one dared to ſpeak his own ſentiments, or to liſten to

thoſe of others; ſo that the general reſentment appeared to be ſmothered, and every emotion, whether of grief or compaſſion, to be ſuppreſſed.

There was one objection, however, to the truth of this obſervation. Among the king's troops there was a perſon named Tyro, an old ſoldier of very diſtinguiſhed bravery, who had a ſon about the age of Alexander, that had been honoured with the friendſhip of the young prince. This man made no ſcruple to ſpeak his mind with freedom, nor heſitated to deliver thoſe truths which were induſtriouſly concealed by others. He made frequent and public declaration that all ſenſe of honour and juſtice were baniſhed from the face of the earth; that chicanery and ill-will had uſurped their places, and ſo deluded the minds of the public that all ideas of right and wrong, of good and evil, were equally confounded. This freedom of behaviour could not but be attended with danger: but there was ſomething ſo nobly diſintereſted in this generous proof of courage and virtue, in ſo critical a juncture, that it attracted the regard of every one; and thoſe that would have been fearful to have proceeded ſo far themſelves, could not but eſteem the man who riſked ſo much in the public cauſe: and, in fact, the man muſt have wanted all feeling and ſenſibility, who, in ſuch a ſituation, could have failed to expreſs the common ſentiments of humanity.

Tyro, not content with what he had publicly ſaid, went to the king, with whom he demanded the honour of a converſation; which being granted, he expreſſed himſelf to the following purport: "If, Sir, I do not "give vent to the ſentiments of my heart, I muſt be wretched. I am not "inſenſible of the danger of the office I have undertaken, nor of the lan-"guage I am about to utter. The danger will be my own; but ſervice "and advantage will accrue to Herod, if he pleaſe to pay a proper regard "to what I ſay. Will you give me leave to aſk, Sir, if you retain your "former underſtanding, and the ſenſe of things you heretofore entertained? "Where is that greatneſs of mind, that dignity, that reſolution, which "carried you through great difficulties in time paſt? Recollect you what is be-"come of your friends and relations? Are they all loſt? For it is impoſ-"ſible that I ſhould include in that number, thoſe who can behold the ac-"cumulating miſeries of your court and family, once ſo happy, and ex-"preſs no concern for the melancholy change of affairs! Are you totally "blind, Sir, to your own intereſt? Cannot you perceive what an unhappy "turn your circumſtances are taking? Are you determined on the deſtruc-"tion of the children of a wife who was once ſo dear to you, and who "have themſelves ſo many virtues to recommend them? Is this, Sir, a "time of life for you to think of truſting yourſelf to the direction of an am-"bitious young man, and to ſubmit to the conduct of thoſe among your "relations whom you have heretofore, more than once, doomed to puniſh-"ment for their crimes? Do you not perceive, by the utter ſilence and pro-"found aſtoniſhment of the people, that your own conduct is tacitly con-"demned, and the fate of your ſons lamented, by the public? And let me "inform you, Sir, that with regard to the military in general, officers and "common ſoldiers included, they have the utmoſt commiſeration for the

" fate of the young princes, and are perpetually curſing thoſe to whom they " conceive their diſtreſſes are owing."

While Tyro was ſpeaking with reſpect to his maſter's misfortunes, and repreſenting the treachery of the conduct of thoſe who ought to have ſerved him with fidelity, Herod heard him with a tolerable degree of patience: but when he exceeded the bounds of diſcretion, and violated the laws of politeneſs, by the bold, intrepid, and expoſtulatory manner of his diſcourſe, his freedom began to be very diſagreeable. Herod, reſenting the ſuppoſed inſult, demanded to know the names of thoſe officers and ſoldiers in particular, who had ſpoken with the freedom that Tyro had mentioned. Tyro made no ſcruple of giving up their names; on which the king gave immediate orders that the informer, and all the perſons accuſed ſhould be apprehended and committed to priſon.

This event had no ſooner taken place than Tryphon, the king's barber, repaired to Herod, to whom he ſaid that Tyro had repeatedly made him offers of money, and promiſed him the friendſhip of Alexander, if when he went to ſhave the king, he would take an opportunity of cutting his throat. As ſoon as this information was given, Tyro and his ſon, together with the barber, were all put to the torture. Tyro's ſon obſerving the ſeverity of his father's ſufferings, and the fortitude with which he bore them, together with the little hope that there was of a mitigation of his pains, called out to thoſe who tormented them, to take himſelf and his father from the rack, in conſequence of which he would relate all that he knew which might lead to a diſcovery of the truth. On the promiſe of preſent eaſe, he declared that his father had reſolved to murder Herod with his own hands, as he had private acceſs to him; and that he had determined to do this for the ſervice of Alexander, at whatever hazard of his own ſafety. In conſequence of this declaration the father was delivered from the extremity of his torture; but whether the confeſſion that the ſon had made was founded on fact, or only an artifice to obtain preſent eaſe, has always remained a matter of doubt.

By this time Herod was come to a reſolution (if he had not formed this reſolution before) to carry the purpoſes of his deſign fully into execution, without entertaining any further doubts on the ſubject, or leaving room for repentance. Wherefore he convened an aſſembly of the people, and ordered that three hundred captains, with Tyro and his ſon, and the barber that had been evidence, ſhould be brought forth. This being done, the barber accuſed them to the multitude, who tore them all to pieces, not leaving a ſingle man alive. With regard to Alexander and Ariſtobulus, they were ſent to Sebaſte, where they were ſtrangled, in conſequence of an order given by their father; after which their bodies were depoſited in a ſepulchre at Alexandrion, near their grandfather on the maternal ſide, and ſeveral others of their anceſtors.

It may not appear a matter of any great ſurprize to a reflecting mind, if an averſion ſo deeply rooted, and of ſuch long continuance, ſhould have rendered Herod inſenſible to all thoſe finer feelings that would have done honour to his humanity; but it is yet doubtful on which party the blame ought

ought to fix: whether it ſhould be imputed to the natural ſeverity of the king's diſpoſition; to his unbounded ambition, that could not bear the idea of any apparent rival of his power; or whether there might not be ſomething reprehenſible in the conduct of the young princes, who, by a continued courſe of provocation, might have impelled the father to act in ſo implacable a manner. After all that can be ſaid on this ſubject, is not the whole determinable on the principles of that irreſiſtible power which cannot be controuled by human wiſdom? If I were to deliver my private ſentiments, I ſhould ſay that I think all human actions are determined by a neceſſary chain of conſequences, and over-ruled by that providential power which we diſtinguiſh by the name of Fate, by which all our proceedings are directed; though not in ſo abſolute a manner but that our own endeavours may be allowed to contribute much to the determination of that fate, ſince the freedom of action undoubtedly remains with ourſelves. But this is an affair enveloped in myſtery, of which I ſhall ſay no more, eſpecially as the ſubject is particularly treated of in the books of our laws.

Let us now enquire into the motives by which the ſons might poſſibly be actuated: perhaps by that heat of blood by which the paſſions of youth are impelled, they might act in too bold and imperious a manner; they might be too ready to liſten to evil reports to their father's prejudice, and too partial judges of his life and conduct. They were probably malicious in the ſentiments they entertained of him, and too free in their converſation, which would of courſe expoſe them to the arts of ſpies and informers, who were ſeeking for every opportunity to procure evidence againſt them. But then, on the contrary, can we conceive any thing more atrocious and inexcuſable than the conduct of Herod, who, without being able to adduce any poſitive proof of a traiterous intention, without evidence to convict them, and even in failure of ſtrong preſumptive evidence that they had conſpired againſt him, could indulge the vehemence of his paſſions to ſuch a degree as to take away their lives? One would imagine that their merit would have argued ſtrongly againſt ſuch a procedure; for they were princes admirably accompliſhed in the perfections of body and mind: they were ſkilful in all the various exerciſes of youth, trained in the art of war, and deeply read in human learning: Alexander, in particular, was uncommonly perfect in theſe qualifications. If Herod could not have been ſatisfied without their being condemned; why did he not baniſh them, or cauſe them to be kept in priſon? If they had been diſpoſed of in either way, he need not have been under apprehenſion of farther treachery; nor need he have ſuſpected that the Romans would have eſpouſed their cauſe, and enabled them to have attacked him with an open force.

The taking away their lives, therefore, with ſuch an impetuous haſte, to gratify his own intemperate frenzy, was an outrage of the moſt impious and tyrannical kind. Nor is any thing to be urged in mitigation of the crime; nor could ignorance or want of experience be pleaded; for Herod was well acquainted with the world, and of an age to have exerciſed the calm dictates of his ſober reaſon. Nor does the long delay in the execution of the intended vengeance, in the leaſt excuſe or palliate the crime;

on the contrary, it is rather an aggravation of it: for if the deed had been done during the ſudden impulſe of an impetuous paſſion, ariſing from the preſent ſenſe of ſome atrocious injury, the enormity of the offence would have been in ſome degree extenuated. But when we reflect how long a time he took to conſider on this daring violation of the laws of God and nature, and that at length he determined to perpetrate it, we ſhall be compelled to acknowledge that the action muſt have ariſen from the moſt abandoned profligacy and depravity of heart. Herod, however, during the remaining part of his life, proved its conſiſtency with this melancholy ſpecimen; for he ſhewed no mercy on the reſt of his relations, even thoſe for whom he had formerly entertained the tendereſt affection: but the leſs compaſſion was due to them, becauſe they deſerved the puniſhment they underwent: yet the cruelty of Herod is not the leſs to be cenſured, as will appear in the courſe of the following pages.

End of the Sixteenth Book.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

UPON THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XVII.

Containing the hiſtory of the tranſactions from the year of the World 3961, to 3973.

CHAP. I.

The murder of the father a probable conſequence of the death of the ſons. The hatred of the people to Antipater. The name of king belongs to Herod, but Antipater has the power. The arts of Antipater to advance his intereſt. He is counter-acted by Salome; who is violently in love with Syllæus; but Herod compels her to marry Alexas. Herod ſends Glaphyra, and her marriage-portion, back to her father; but takes care of the education of her children. Antipater hates theſe children, in proportion as they are favoured by the king and people. Certain contracts diſſolved by Herod.

THE arts of Antipater having at length produced the execrable murder of the brothers, he conceived that he had made a conſiderable progreſs towards his intended deſign on the life of the father: but there were many obſtacles yet in his way; for though his ambition prompted him to proceed in the moſt rapid manner, yet the natural order

of things would not yield to the impetuosity of his desires. It is true that after the death of the princes, there was no immediate impediment between him and the crown; at least he was freed from all fear or danger of other competitors; but he had one very great difficulty to surmount, which was the implacable hatred that the people bore to him; to which was superadded the enmity of the army, which he considered as of more consequence than the other circumstance, as princes depend upon their troops for a protection and defence against the insurrections arising from faction and tumult.

He was himself, however, the occasion of these misfortunes, by having, with an equal degree of folly and wickedness, conspired the destruction of the princes: but if the exercise of power would have satisfied his ambition, he ought to have been content; for though Herod sat on the throne, Antipater was the acting governor, all affairs were committed to his management, and he was king in every thing but in name. The very crime for which he ought to have suffered death, was deemed an instance of his loyalty and regard, as if in taking away the lives of the princes, he had consulted the honour, welfare, and preservation of the king: whereas, in fact, in the injury he did the sons, he gratified his ill-will against the father; and his antipathy was of so rancorous a kind, that it was principally on account of the father that he entertained such an inveterate malice towards them. In a word, Antipater conceived it would tend to promote his interest to compleat the destruction of every person who could either give evidence respecting his treason, prevent his carrying it into execution, or that might be able to assist Herod in the frustration of his designs; and as he was now deeply embarked in the plot, he thought it would be dangerous for him to leave any part of his intended design unfinished.

It is a fact that, after the death of Herod, he considered the government as his own of course; but then he was apprehensive of the danger that might arise from delay, because that if, in the interim, his real designs should by any means be made known to his father, his ruin would undoubtedly be compleated. For this reason he was exceedingly assiduous to obtain the good opinion of his father's friends, which he courted by every possible civility he could shew them, by making presents of great value, and by loading them with such favours of every kind, as he thought would obviate any impression they might have received to his disadvantage: and he was particularly attentive to Saturninus, governor of Syria, and his brother, and other friends who resided at Rome. He even conceived a hope of bringing over Salome to his interest. Now Antipater was a person of a most singular good address, and admirably skilled in the art of conferring an obligation; beside that he exceeded almost every man existing, in a plausibility of behaviour which disguised the real sentiments of his mind: yet all the artifice of his conduct was insufficient to impose upon his aunt, Salome, who penetrated the depth of his designs; kept an attentive eye on all his motions, and countermined one artifice by another. He so managed affairs that the daughter of Salome, the widow of Aristobulus, was espoused to his uncle by the mother's side, and the other daughter was married to Callœus; but neither of these connections, however artfully contrived, was sufficient to dis-

disguise the wickedness of his design, or to render him less odious than his complicated crimes deserved.

During all this time Salome was most distractedly in love with Syllæus; but Herod recommended it to her to marry Alexas, in which he was seconded by the advice of the empress Julia, who was, indeed, very peremptory with her not to act in opposition to this advice, unless she was determined to forfeit the good opinion of her brother for ever; as he had most solemnly sworn, that if she refused to accept of this match, he would never afterwards acknowledge her as his sister. Salome having reflected on the affair, acknowledged that the advice they had given ought in reason to be complied with, and consented to give her hand to Alexas.

Soon after this event took place Herod sent Glaphyra, the widow of his son Alexander, and the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, home to her father, and with her he returned the fortune that had been received in marriage; that no complaint might arise with respect to pecuniary matters: and he gave particular instructions that great care should be taken with regard to the education of his grandchildren. Now Glaphyra had borne two sons to Alexander; and Berenice, the daughter of Salome, and wife of Aristobulus, had three sons and two daughters.

Herod would frequently address his friends respecting these children, of whom he would speak with singular kindness, lamenting the ill fate that had attended his own sons, and offering prayers to heaven that the children might be prevented from encountering the like misfortunes; that as they grew in years they might encrease in goodness, and live to confess the obligations that they were under to their parents. He proposed that the eldest son of Alexander should hereafter marry the daughter of his brother Pheroras, and that the eldest son of Aristobulus should wed the daughter of Antipater. He intended to give one of the daughters of Aristobulus to the son of Antipater, and the other daughter to his own son Herod, whom he had by the daughter of the high-priest; for polygamy is allowable among our people.

The chief view that Herod had in these intended alliances was founded in motives of pity to the orphan children; since he thought that these bonds of affinity would induce Antipater to treat them with a greater degree of humanity. But this intention fell short of the proposed effect, as Antipater now entertained no more regard for the children than he had heretofore done for their parents. In fact, the tenderness of Herod in this particular was so far from making a proper impression upon Antipater, that, on the contrary, it encreased his anger and jealousy to the highest pitch. The greater the degree of favour the king shewed to these children on the one hand, the greater was Antipater's hatred to them on the other: in fact, he was afraid of what might hereafter happen, when they came to be of an age to assert their own rights; especially if they should be assisted by Archelaus, and Pheroras, the tetrarch, whose son, according to the present appearance of things, would probably become the husband of one of the daughters.

Antipater, likewise, suffered no small degree of mortification, from the consideration of the compassion the people entertained for the fate of the unfortunate

unfortunate princes; the veneration in which they held their memory; and the rooted antipathy they bore for thoſe whom they conſidered as the authors of their ruin. He knew likewiſe the anxious wiſh of the populace, for an opportunity to expoſe him for his treacherous and murderous practices with regard to his brothers. Nor was he leſs unhappy in mind when he reflected that, according to the preſent ſituation of affairs, his nephews had a very probable chance of acquiring a future ſhare in the government: nor could he deviſe any method to ſecure himſelf, but by prevailing on Herod to ſet aſide the marriage-contracts above-mentioned. He therefore made application for this purpoſe; and, with ſome difficulty, obtained the favour; and likewiſe that the daughter of Ariſtobulus ſhould be given in marriage to himſelf, and the daughter of Pheroras to his ſon: and upon this all the former plans of marriage were totally laid aſide.

At this time king Herod had no leſs than nine wives: by the firſt he had his ſon Antipater; the ſecond was the daughter of Simon the high-prieſt, who bore him a ſon, that was called by the name of Herod; the daughter of his own brother was the third; the fourth was his couſin-german; but by theſe two he had no children; a woman of Samaria was the fifth, by whom he had two ſons, called Antipas and Archelaus, and a daughter named Olympia, who afterwards became the wife of Joſeph, a relation of the king. The ſixth wife was Cleopatra, of Jeruſalem, who was the mother of Herod and Philip, which latter received his education at Rome. Ballas was the name of the ſeventh wife, who made Herod the father of Phaſael; the eighth was named Phædera; and the ninth Elpis, by which laſt he had two daughters, who received the names of Roxana and Salome. With regard to the two other daughters of Herod, the children of Mariamne, and ſiſters of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, (thoſe who had been refuſed in marriage by Pheroras) he wedded one of them to Antipater, the ſon of his ſiſter Salome; and the other to the ſon of his brother Phaſael, as hath been already mentioned.

CHAP. II.

A Jew, named Zamaris, goes and ſettles in Syria. He is invited by Herod to Batanæa. The Jews ſecured in their profeſſions and the enjoyment of their liberties. Certain ſmall taxes levied by Philip. The death of Zamaris, who leaves a virtuous family. The death of Jacimus, whoſe ſon Philip is appointed general of the army by king Agrippa.

AT this time Herod devoted his attention to ſecure the country from the incurſions of the Trachonites; for which purpoſe he came to a reſolution to build a large and extenſive village in the centre of the country; and to fortify it with a ſtrong garriſon, that might equally ſerve for the convenience of ſallying forth on the enemy, or ſecuring that part of the country from their inroads.

At

At the time that Herod was projecting the above ſcheme, a perſon informed him that a certain Jew, named Zamaris, had left the country of Babylon, attended by five hundred horſemen, armed with bows and arrows, near a fifth part of whom were related to him; and that he had marched his troops over the river Euphrates, to ſettle in the country adjacent to Daphne in Syria, where a caſtle named Valatha, not far from Antioch, had been given him by the governor Saturninus, as a place proper for his reſidence.

On receiving this information, Herod ſent to invite Zamaris, and all the people who attended him, to come into his part of the country, promiſing them the poſſeſſion of lands, and all other accommodations, in the diſtrict of Bathanæa, which bordered on the land of the Trachonites; together with an exemption from the payment of all duties, taxes and tributes, as well thoſe for their lands, as perſonal taxes, only on the condition of their protecting that quarter of the country againſt the invaſions and inroads of the robbers and plunderers. Zamaris conſidering theſe terms as advantageous, was very well diſpoſed to accept the offer, which he accordingly did; and on the land that Herod ſet apart for his accommodation, he erected a number of forts, and built a town, to which he gave the name of Bathyra. Being ſettled in this ſituation, he not only protected the inhabitants from the incurſions of the Trachonites, but likewiſe maintained the Jews from Babylon to Jeruſalem in the free exerciſe of their profeſſions, agreeable to the practice and duty prevalent among that people.

Zamaris being thus happily provided for, was joined by immenſe numbers of thoſe among the Jews who made it a point of principle to adhere to the religion and laws of their anceſtors: by this means the country was ſoon peopled to a degree that is ſcarcely to be conceived; and the immunities, rights and advantages above-mentioned, the inhabitants were permitted to enjoy without diſpute or moleſtation, during the whole of the remainder of the reign of Herod: it is true that in the reign of Philip, who was his ſucceſſor, ſome ſmall taxes were laid upon them; but theſe were of very ſhort continuance. In the reign of Agrippa the great, and in that of his ſon, who ſucceeded him, by the ſame name, the taxes laid on them were very burdenſome; nor were thoſe impoſed by the Romans afterwards more favourable: ſtill, however, their perſonal freedom remained unviolated; of all which more will be ſaid in the ſubſequent parts of this work.

The Babylonian, Zamaris, to whom the command above-mentioned had been given by Herod, lived a long life, diſtinguiſhed by the exerciſe of every virtue, and the exertion of every law of honour; and dying, left his children in poſſeſſion of thoſe amiable qualities for which their father had been celebrated. Among theſe children was one named Jacimus, who was a man remarkable for his bravery, and he had the reputation of being one of the moſt accompliſhed perſons of his age. This Jacimus ſerved among the guards of the kings of Babylon; and died at a very advanced age, leaving behind him one ſon, named Philip, for whom king Agrippa conceived a great eſteem, and made him general of his army, in reward of his ſingular valour, and the unexampled integrity of his conduct.

CHAP. III.

The whole care of the government devolves on Antipater. The ladies of the court, who combine in ſentiment, are at once hated and flattered by Pheroras. The caution of the conſpirators. Salome diſcovers the intrigue. The women devoted to the Phariſees, who refuſe to ſwear allegiance to the king and to Cæſar. The Phariſees fined, and payment made by the wife of Pheroras. Several Phariſees taken up and put to death. The wife of Pheroras informed againſt. He is adviſed to part with her, but abſolutely refuſes. Herod forbids all communication between Antipater and his mother.

DURING the time that the affairs of Herod were in the ſituation above-deſcribed, the chief management and conduct of the public buſineſs was in effect in the hands of Antipater, for whom Herod entertained the greateſt regard, and placed the utmoſt confidence in his loyalty and affection. This truſt, however, Antipater abuſed in the moſt ſhocking manner: but he had the art of diſguiſing the hypocriſy of his conduct by ſuch crafty and ſpecious pretences, that Herod paid the moſt implicit confidence to all he ſaid, taking it for granted that he would not deceive him in a ſingle circumſtance: ſo that the ſubtlety of his conduct did not render him leſs dangerous than the exertion of his power.

Now between Pheroras and Antipater there was the utmoſt appearance of a cordial intimacy; the former being deceived, and induced to be on friendly terms with him, by the arts of the women, who were in the faction of Antipater. Now Pheroras did not dare to act in oppoſition to the ſentiments of his wife, his mother in law, or his ſiſter; though in fact he had an utter averſion to them all, on account of the indignities they had heretofore offered to his virgin daughters. But it would have been a point of great imprudence to quarrel with people ſo neceſſary to the principal buſineſs, who were likewiſe acquainted with ſo many ſecrets of importance, and conſequently bound to keep thoſe of each other. Excluſive of all this, Antipater maintained the moſt intimate correſpondence with them, both on his own account and on that of his mother; for between theſe women there was a moſt perfect coincidence both of ſentiments and conduct.

At this time, however, there were frequent quarrels about trifles, between Pheroras and Antipater; but this happened chiefly at the inſtance of Salome, who was perpetually exciting their jealouſies of each other. Salome was exceedingly well informed of the nature of the plot from the beginning to the end; and had nearly reſolved in her own mind to make a diſcovery to Herod of the whole conſpiracy. Now at this time the conſpirators had obſerved that their meetings were watched, that their correſpondence was ſuſpected to be carried on in a myſterious manner, and that the king was jealous of, and diſpleaſed with their proceedings: wherefore they had a conference together, and reſolved that, for the future, their meetings ſhould not be held in ſo public a manner, but that they would pretend to have diſputed and quarrelled, and would frequently mention each other with diſ-

reſpect

reſpect in company; but particularly when Herod himſelf was within their hearing, or any other perſon whom they ſuppoſed would carry the news to the king: and this was to be the conſtant rule of their conduct; but the plot was to be privately carried on as if no ſuch agreement had taken place. It hath been before obſerved, that Salome was privy to the whole contrivance, all the ſteps of which ſhe had traced from its beginning, to its preſent ſtate, through every part of its progreſs. Her method was, that as ſoon as ſhe had gleaned any intelligence by which ſhe could inflame the quarrel, ſhe carried it immediately to her brother, and made ſuch additions to the tale as her preſent invention could ſupply. She uſed to relate to him every circumſtance of the correſpondence they held; reported the ſubſtance of their ſecret conſultations, and adviſed Herod to take proper ſteps for his ſecurity; for that there could be no doubt but his life was in imminent danger. With regard to their quarrels and opprobrious language when they were in the preſence of other company, ſhe ſaid that theſe were only artifices to blind the eyes of others; for that when they were by themſelves they were extreme good friends, though undoubtedly enemies to thoſe to whom ſhe wiſhed that friendſhip might be kept a ſecret. In a word, what diſcoveries ſhe made loſt nothing in the relation: ſhe carried every circumſtance to her brother; who, by this time, began to think that there was ſome foundation for what ſhe advanced: but Herod concealed his ſentiments with great care; nor did he pay implicit confidence to every thing that his ſiſter ſaid, for he was not unacquainted that her diſpoſition was ſufficiently malicious to make an exaggerated report of every thing that ſhe had heard.

The ladies of Herod's court were extremely devoted to a ſect of men among the Jews who took a ſingular pride in what they deemed legal righteouſneſs, and were very oſtentatious of being thought more holy than other people. This ſect bore the name of the Phariſees: they were an aſſuming and artful ſet of men, equally remarkable for their cunning and arrogance; and being inſtigated by no ſmall ſhare of vanity and pride, they made no ſcruple of affronting kings, and of deſpiſing all kinds of regal authority. It may not be improper to give an inſtance of this. When the whole body of the Jewiſh people received orders to take an oath of fidelity to Herod and to Cæſar, theſe people, to the number of above ſeven thouſand, alone refuſed to comply with the injunction. Some time afterwards a fine was levied upon them for this refuſal; upon which the wife of Pheroras paid the money for them. Now it happened that the Phariſees had acquired a reputation for the ſpirit of prophecy; and the people believed that they received the ſpecial aſſiſtance of divine revelation: in return, therefore, for the ſingular favour that had been done them in paying the fine, they propagated a report that the kingdom ſhould be transferred from Herod and his family, to the iſſue of the princeſs and her huſband Pheroras. This circumſtance coming to the knowledge of Salome, ſhe immediately intimated it to the king, and informed him what arts of bribery and corruption had been made uſe of in order to procure ſuch a prediction.

Hereupon a ſtrict ſearch and enquiry was made, in conſequence of which ſeveral Phariſees were apprehended, and put to death, as having been the

chief abettors of the ſeditious prophecy; and among theſe was Bagoas the eunuch, and a youth named Carus, who was a particular favourite of Herod, on account of the ſingular beauty and elegance of his perſon. Excluſive of theſe, ſeveral perſons belonging to Herod's own family were convicted of being concerned in the conſpiracy; and theſe convictions aroſe from the teſtimony of the Phariſees themſelves. Now, previous to this, the Phariſees had flattered Bagoas that he ſhould be conſidered as the parent and benefactor of the prince that was hereafter to fill the throne: they predicted too, that the new king ſhould be proſperous in all his undertakings, and that the government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his family by the perpetuity of a race of legal deſcendants.

Within a little while after the Phariſees had been tried, convicted and executed, Herod cauſed a number of his friends to be ſummoned in council before whom he exhibited a complaint againſt the wife of Pheroras, in which it was alledged that "It was owing to her council and advice that his brother "had rejected the offer of the royal virgins to him in marriage, in ſo con-"temptuous a manner as he had done; that contrary to all law, and in a "moſt unnatural manner, ſhe had, to the utmoſt of her power, promoted a "quarrel betwixt brethren, not only by her words, but by her actions: "that ſhe had taken part with the obſtinate and rebellious Phariſees, by diſ-"charging for them the fine which Herod himſelf had ordered them to "pay: and that ſhe was, in a greater or leſs degree, concerned in the "whole conſpiracy." For theſe reaſons Herod was of opinion that Pheroras would but act agreeable to his duty, if he were to diſmiſs ſo abandoned a woman, one that had fomented ſuch differences between thoſe who were nearly related: and this he thought ought to be done without farther difficulty or entreaty; eſpecially as affairs were now advanced to ſuch a length, that Herod would never hereafter acknowledge Pheroras for his brother, if he did not diſown that woman for his wife.

Pheroras could not but be very ſenſibly affected by what Herod advanced on this occaſion: but nevertheleſs he made a public declaration, that though he was willing to pay all poſſible duty and reſpect to his prince and brother, yet he could not entertain the leaſt thoughts of abandoning his wife; that nothing in the world ſhould induce him to part with her, and that death itſelf was preferable to the idea of living without her. This refuſal gave great uneaſineſs to Herod; but for the preſent he concealed his reſentment, and contented himſelf with enjoining Antipater and his mother not to have any correſpondence with Pheroras, and forbidding the ladies of the court to indulge themſelves in their accuſtomed converſations. They readily promiſed to pay obedience to the orders of the king; but nevertheleſs met privately, and conferred in the uſual manner: and Antipater and Pheroras were more frequent in converſation than ever. A report was propagated at this time, that a love-intrigue ſubſiſted between Antipater and the wife of Pheroras: and that their acquaintance and connection was promoted by the mother of Antipater.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Herod's anger cauſes uneaſineſs to Antipater, who procures himſelf to be ſent for to Rome. Herod diſmiſſes him with magnificent preſents, and with his laſt will and teſtament. Syllæus being charged with treaſonable practices, the informations are ſent to Rome, where the cauſe is to be determined.

THE offence that Herod had taken at the conduct of Antipater, and the reſentment that he had expreſſed againſt it, began now to give him great uneaſineſs; and apprehenſive of what might happen, in caſe the king's anger ſhould encreaſe, he immediately wrote to his friends at Rome to procure him an order to wait upon Cæſar without loſs of time. This favour being granted, Herod diſmiſſed Antipater, loaded with preſents of great value, and likewiſe with his laſt will and teſtament, in which Antipater was declared his ſucceſſor; and in caſe of his death the government was to deſcend to his ſon Herod, whoſe mother was the daughter of the high-prieſt.

At this period went likewiſe to Rome Syllæus, the Arabian, who had left unperformed ſome affairs which Cæſar had commanded him to tranſact. When Syllæus was at Rome, Antipater accuſed him before Cæſar, in the ſame manner that Nicolaus had heretofore done. He was likewiſe accuſed by Aretas, with having, contrary to his will and command, put to death, at Petra, ſeveral perſons of unqueſtionable character, among whom were Sohemus, a man diſtinguiſhed by the eminence of his virtue, and Tabatus, a ſervant of Cæſar. The following were the particulars of the affair. Among the number of Herod's guards was a certain Corinthian, in whom the king repoſed a very great degree of confidence. Syllæus offered this perſon a conſiderable ſum of money to kill the king, and the affair had ſo far proceeded that they were come to an agreement. Now Syllæus having told the particulars of this intended aſſaſſination to Sabatus, he repaired to the king with the intelligence of it. Hereupon the Corinthian was immediately put to the torture; and being ſtrictly queſtioned reſpecting the deſign, he at length acknowledged it, and charged two Arabians with being concerned in the plot, one of whom was a perſon of very diſtinguiſhed rank, and the other a man in whom Syllæus repoſed the utmoſt confidence. Theſe parties being alſo put to the torture, they acknowledged that they had come thither with a view to urge the Corinthian to carry his intended deſign into execution, and alſo to give him their aſſiſtance if it ſhould be found neceſſary. Informations being taken of all that was ſaid, Herod tranſmitted them to Saturninus, and he ſent them to Rome, where the affair was to be further enquired into, and the merits of it finally determined.

CHAP. V.

Pheroras being ſent back to his government, makes an oath that he will not return during the life of Herod. Herod being taken ill, ſends for Pheroras, who apologizes for his non-attendance on account of his oath. The ſickneſs and death of Pheroras.

HEROD finding that Pheroras had ſo much tenderneſs for his wife, that he was obſtinately reſolved not to renounce her, gave orders that he ſhould return immediately to his government; and this he did with great readineſs; but was ſo much chagrined at the manner of his being diſmiſſed, that he ſolemnly ſwore he would never come back while the king lived: and he held his reſolution firmly; for Herod being ſoon afterwards taken ill, ſent for Pheroras to pay him a viſit, and receive ſome neceſſary ſecret inſtructions previous to his death: but the latter declined his attendance, ſaying that he was bound by a ſolemn oath, which he could not think of violating. Herod, however, ſtill retained a very tender affection for his brother, as will appear by the following circumſtance; for Pheroras being in his turn ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, the king went, without the ceremony of an invitation, to pay him a viſit. Pheroras dying of this diſorder, the king iſſued orders that his body ſhould be carried to Jeruſalem, where it was interred in a very diſtinguiſhed manner.

Now Antipater was at this time at Rome: but this misfortune was productive of great miſchiefs to him; for in a courſe of time the divine juſtice ſummoned him to a full account for the death of his brothers. I ſhall now relate, in the proper order, all the particulars reſpecting this affair, as they will tend to prove an example to mankind, and may ſerve as a caution to after ages, for perſons to conduct themſelves, in every event of life, agreeable to the rules of virtue, and the ſtrict laws of juſtice.

CHAP. VI.

Enquiry concerning the death of Pheroras. A confident of Syllæus's miſtreſs conveys a poiſon to him, on the application of the mother and ſiſter of Pheroras. Several women put to the torture, one of whom charges the mother of Antipater. She is ſtripped of her jewels, and expelled the palace. Confeſſion made that Antipater intended to poiſon the king. The widow of Pheroras makes a full diſcovery reſpecting this matter. The dying declaration of Pheroras. Other witneſſes put to the torture. Herod diſmiſſes one of his wives. Bathyllus, being put to the torture, confeſſes the bringing poiſon from Rome for Pheroras and Antipater's mother.

AFTER the death of Pheroras, two of his freemen, of the Trachonite nation, for whom he had conceived a very ſingular regard, made earneſt application to Herod, requeſting that a careful enquiry might be made into the cauſe and manner of their maſter's death, and if it appeared to have been the conſequence of any unfair practices, that ample vengeance might

might be taken on thoſe to whoſe arts he had fallen a ſacrifice. They acquainted Herod (who paid a very particular attention to all they advanced) that on the evening in which Pheroras was ſeized with his illneſs, he had ſupped with his wife, when a mixed liquor was given him, that ſeemed to have a particularly diſagreeable taſte, and was extremely nauſeous to him on the firſt ſwallowing of it. They ſaid that this was carried to him by an Arabian woman, and that it was diſguiſed under the name of a love-potion; but was, in fact, a moſt ſubtle poiſon; and in the preparation of ſuch draughts theſe women excel all others in the univerſe. On enquiry it appeared that the woman on whom this crime was charged was the intimate friend and confident of Syllæus's miſtreſs, and that the mother and ſiſter of Pheroras's wife had been to her to prepare the poiſon; and that they returned from her but the very day preceding that on which the fatal draught was adminiſtered.

Herod was ſo agitated with paſſion at the hearing of this melancholy tale, that he gave immediate orders for a number of women, thoſe who were free, as well as ſlaves, to be put to the torture. They bore their ſufferings for a conſiderable time, and no diſcovery was made; but at length one of them, in the extremity of her pain, made an exclamation to the following purport: "Would to God that the mother of Antipater was now in my "ſituation; for that wicked woman hath been the cauſe of this extreme "diſtreſs that we ſuffer." Herod conceiving that he had now a clue to guide him in his enquiries, immediately came to a reſolution to ſearch the whole affair to the bottom. In purſuance of this deſign, he learnt every particular of the intrigue, dived into the whole myſtery of their management, and acquired a knowledge of the particulars that paſſed at all their ſecret meetings, conſultations and cabals. He now heard the ſubſtance of ſeveral diſcourſes which had paſſed between himſelf and Antipater, which were ſubjects of common converſation among the women, who were even acquainted with the circumſtance of his having given a talent to keep ſecret ſome particular affairs from the knowledge of Pheroras. Theſe female evidences farther mentioned the hatred which Antipater entertained for his father, and that, in converſation with his mother, he would very frequently ſay, "I believe the old fellow will never die." Yet at this period Antipater himſelf was ſo far advanced in years, that if the government had then deſcended to him, he could not have expected any great, or long-continued enjoyment of it: beſides, there were ſo many children and grandchildren, that his proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne was at beſt but very remote and uncertain: and, as affairs were at that time ſituated, in caſe himſelf was to die, the right of ſucceeding to the throne would remain with his brother, and not with his ſon. The evidences farther ſaid that it was a common practice with Antipater to cenſure his father for his cruelty and inhumanity to his own ſons; and ſay that his barbarities went ſuch lengths, that he himſelf was obliged to go to Rome, and Pheroras to retire to his own government, by way of conſulting their perſonal ſafety.

As this account correſponded, in almoſt every particular, with what Herod's ſiſter had heretofore acquainted him, he made no farther doubt or ce-

remony with regard to the giving orders reſpecting Doris, the mother of Antipater, who was now conſidered as convicted of the moſt material part of the treaſon: directions were therefore given that ſhe ſhould be immediately ſtripped of all her jewels, which were of very conſiderable value, and turned out of the palace; and theſe orders were punctually complied with. Reſpecting the women of the family of Pheroras, the king behaved in a more favourable manner to them, in conſequence of the information they had given.

No degree of evidence was now wanting againſt Antipater; but that part of the charge reſpecting his conduct which appeared to criminate him in the higheſt degree, and to be the leaſt worthy of forgiveneſs, aroſe from the confeſſion of a Samaritan likewiſe named Antipater, who held an office of truſt under the other Antipater. This man, excluſive of other charges againſt his maſter, declared that he had left a moſt venemous poiſon in the hands of Pheroras, to be adminiſtered to the king during the abſence of Antipater, when leſs ſuſpicion would attend the perpetration of the deed. The informer declared that this poiſon was brought from Ægypt, by a perſon named Antiphilius, a friend of Antipater, whoſe uncle Theudion, the brother of Doris, his mother, ſent it to Pheroras, who committed it to the care of his wife.

Hereupon Herod ſent for the widow of Pheroras, in order to examine her reſpecting the particulars of the affair: ſhe confeſſed the circumſtance, and pretended as if ſhe would go and fetch the poiſon; but threw herſelf from one of the galleries of the palace into the court; but happening to fall on her feet, the hurt ſhe received did not prove mortal. As ſoon as ſhe was tolerably well recovered, Herod again ſent for her, and promiſed pardon both to herſelf, and every branch of her family, on condition that they would make an ample diſcovery of the whole truth: but he threatened that, if either through obſtinacy, or any other cauſe whatever, they ſhould ſecrete any part of the intended plot, he would puniſh them in the ſevereſt, and moſt exemplary manner. Hereupon the widow of Pheroras made a ſolemn oath that ſhe would relate the whole affair, with all its circumſtances; nor ſeek to conceal a ſingle particular; and it was the prevailing opinion that ſhe did not falſify her word. The particulars of her ſtory, as it was addreſſed to Herod, were as follows:

"The poiſon in queſtion was brought out of Ægypt by Antiphilius, "where it had been prepared by a brother of his, who practiſed as a phy- "ſician. It was purchaſed by Antipater, for the purpoſe of deſtroying "your majeſty. It was delivered by Theudion to Pheroras, who commit- "ted it to my care. Some time afterwards, when my huſband fell ill, he "was ſo deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of your kind and generous beha- "viour, in the friendly viſit you were kind enough to make him on that "occaſion, that he ſent for me to attend him, and addreſſed me as follows: "----Antipater has ſeduced me to be concerned in a moſt horrid and in- "human plot to poiſon both my brother and his father. Now I am im- "preſſed with ſo deep a ſenſe of the king's unalterable regard and tender- "neſs to me, and of my own ſituation as one on the verge of eternity, that

"I am

"I am determined, by the bleſſing of God, not to depart this life loaded "with the guilt and infamy of having been concerned in a conſpiracy big "with ſuch aggravated enormity: therefore, I charge you, let the poiſon "be immediately brought hither and thrown into the fire in my preſence. "On his giving theſe directions, I inſtantly fetched the poiſon, and diſ- "poſed of it as he had commanded me; excepting only a very ſmall quan- "tity of it, which I reſerved for my own uſe, in caſe it ſhould happen, "that after the death of my huſband, I ſhould be reduced to ſuch an un- "happy ſituation, as to think of having recourſe to ſo deſperate an alle- "viator of my pains."

Having ſaid this, ſhe produced the remainder of the poiſon, which was contained in a box, and ſubmitted it to the examination of all preſent. Not long after this, the mother of Antiphilius, and likewiſe one of his brothers, were put to the torture, and confirmed ſome circumſtances that had been advanced by the wife of Pheroras, particularly that reſpecting the box of poiſon. An accuſation was likewiſe exhibited againſt one of the king's wives, who was the daughter of the high-prieſt; but ſhe confeſſed not a ſingle circumſtance. Notwithſtanding this, Herod totally diſclaimed and diſcharged her, and ſtruck her ſon, who was likewiſe named Herod, out of his will, though he had deſigned him for his ſucceſſor, in caſe of the death of Antipater previous to his own. He likewiſe depoſed from the office of high-prieſt his father-in-law, Simon, the ſon of Boethus; and promoted to that dignity, in his ſtead, Matthias of Jeruſalem, the ſon of Theophilus.

In the mean time there arrived from Rome, Bathyllus, one of the freemen of Antipater: and this man being put to the torture, acknowledged that he had brought poiſon to Pheroras, and the mother of Antipater, which was intended to be uſed in caſe what had formerly been provided ſhould fail. About this time Herod received a number of letters from Rome; but theſe were all ſent by the contrivance and direction of Antipater, and the management of his friends, whom he gratified by preſents, and in other ways, for the ſhare they had in this buſineſs. Theſe letters were filled with remarks on the freedom taken on all occaſions by Archelaus and Philip, in their converſation reſpecting Herod, with whom, it was inſinuated they took great liberties reſpecting the murder of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, for whoſe unhappy fate they pretended to have the moſt generous compaſſion: and ſuggeſting that themſelves were now only ſummoned back, in order to be treated with the ſame ſeverity as thoſe who had hitherto fallen ſacrifices to the reſentment of the king. Now theſe things (as hath been hinted above) all aroſe from the contrivance of Antipater, who managed the whole buſineſs, and in order to put a plauſible face on the affair, wrote complimentary letters on this occaſion to Herod. In theſe letters he inſinuated that the young men were of warm diſpoſitions, and therefore, perhaps, the more excuſable, though they had not behaved or converſed with ſo much caution and reſpect, as might have been wiſhed and expected: and the letters contained much other matter to a ſimilar purpoſe.

Antipater had ſought to obtain a number of friends at court, by writing obliging letters, and diſtributing to the amount of three hundred talents in preſents. Now it was a circumſtance deemed very extraordinary, that, in the ſpace of ſeven months, (for the enquiry had been going on during all that time) Antipater ſhould never receive the leaſt intimation of the buſineſs in hand: but ſo great was the care taken to watch and guard all the avenues of the palace; and ſo univerſal the ill-will that the people bore to Antipater, that not a man was to be found who choſe to riſk his own ſafety, by giving him the neceſſary information to prevent his deſtruction.

CHAP. VII.

Letters paſs between Herod and Antipater. The latter receives intelligence of the death of Pheroras. Antipater proceeds to Sebaſte, where the people receive him only with curſes and imprecations. Herod in council at Jeruſalem is attended by Quintilius Varus. Antipater goes in his robes to the gates of the palace. He is admitted, but his followers are excluded. Herod charges Antipater with treaſon and fratricide. Varus appointed his judge, and the following day fixed for his trial. Salome, with other witneſſes, and the diſcoverers of the conſpiracy appear. Herod aggravates the ingratitude of Antipater. The defence of the latter. He offers to ſubmit to the torture. Nicolaus of Damaſcus takes up the cauſe, adjures Varus to do juſtice. Antipater is charged with dealing with wizards. Inſtance of his hypocriſy. An experiment made of the poiſon. Antipater is ordered into cuſtody. A letter from Antiphilius to Antipater is intercepted. Subſtance of a letter from Acme. Account of forged letters. Acme a ſervant of Julia, and penſioner to Antipater. Antiphilius mentioned as a conſpirator. An account of the whole affair ſent to Rome by Herod.

LETTERS having been ſent to the king from Antipater, intimating that he was on the point of adjuſting his buſineſs at Rome, and making proper preparations for his return, Herod ſent him, by way of anſwer, a complaiſant and artful letter, in which he adviſed him, by all means, to make what expedition he could towards home, leſt, during his abſence, any thing ſhould happen that might prove diſagreeable to him. This letter contained not a ſingle word that might tend to make him uneaſy, other than a few reflections on the conduct of his mother; but he ſaid that all diſputes would be eaſily adjuſted on his arrival. Herod's letter was likewiſe replete with profeſſions of kindneſs and friendſhip, apprehending that if Antipater had ſuppoſed any artifice had been uſed, he might have delayed his journey; and then it was doubtful if he might not have made intereſt at Rome, to have got Herod removed from the government, and himſelf eſtabliſhed in his place.

The letter from Herod came to the hands of Antipater, while he was at Cilicia, on his journey; and when he arrived at Tarentum he received other letters, giving him advice of the death of Pheroras, a circumſtance that gave him great uneaſineſs, not on account of any affection that he bore to the deceaſed,

deceaſed, but becauſe the poiſoning of the king, which the other had engaged for, had failed. When he came as far as Celenderis, a city of Cilicia, the guilt of his conſcience, or rather the fear of puniſhment, made him heſitate if he ſhould proceed forwards, or return. The odium that had been caſt on his mother's character filled his mind; and debating with his friends on the ſituation of affairs, they were divided in opinion how he ought to act. Some thought it would be prudent to wait awhile, and ſee what would be the event; while others conceived it might be right to advance with all poſſible expedition, as they made not the leaſt doubt but that, on his appearance, he would be able fully to juſtify his conduct. They urged that it was nothing but his abſence that gave his enemies ſo great an advantage over him, by affording them an opportunity of propagating a number of idle reports. Being determined by thoſe arguments, he continued his journey to Sebaſte, the port which Herod had built, at a moſt enormous expence, in honour of Cæſar.

The fate of Antipater began now to be predicted by the people in general. He, who when he went from home, was attended by the bleſſings of the public, the moſt fervent vows being offered for his proſperity, had not now a ſingle perſon to bid him welcome, or to pay him the reſpect that was due to his rank: on the contrary, the multitude combined to heap curſes on his head; the people univerſally imploring Heaven to avenge the death of his brothers by the puniſhment of the murderer.

Now it happened at this juncture that Quintilius Varus, who ſucceeded Saturninus in the government of Syria, was at Jeruſalem, and Herod and he were at this time in council. While they were in the actual diſcharge of public buſineſs, Antipater advanced to the gates of the palace, dreſſed in purple robes. The gates were at once thrown open to him, but immediately cloſed, to prevent the admiſſion of his attendants. As Antipater knew not preciſely what was intended, this circumſtance affected him in ſo great a degree that he was almoſt inſenſible to every thing that paſſed around him. When he was admitted to his father, and was going forwards to embrace him, he was rejected with the utmoſt indignation, and reproached with having been guilty of treaſon, and the murder of his brothers: and he was farther acquainted by the parties preſent, that on the following day he was to take his trial for theſe aggravated crimes; and that Varus, who was then in the company, was appointed to preſide as his judge. The ſhock of this information was greater than what he had before felt: and on his retiring from the apartment, his mother and his wife met him in the paſſage (the latter being the daughter of Antigonus, the predeceſſor of Herod;) he held a converſation with them on the ſituation of his affairs, and then departed to prepare for the approaching ſolemnity.

On the following day a numerous council aſſembled, Varus preſiding, aſſiſted by Herod and a great number of their friends. Salome, the ſiſter of the king, was alſo conducted to the court, as were many other branches of the royal family. Thoſe who had diſcovered the conſpiracy were likewiſe preſent, with the witneſſes that had been put to the torture, and, finally, ſeveral of the domeſtics of Antipater's mother, who had been apprehended

but

but a ſhort time before his return from Rome. On theſe perſons were found copies of cautionary letters which had been intended for Antipater, and were to the following purport: adviſing him "not to think of returning by any "means; for that the king was acquainted with the whole buſineſs, and it "would be a circumſtance of the utmoſt danger if he came within his "power:" concluding that "the moſt probable ſtep he could take to en- "ſure his ſafety would be to caſt himſelf on the clemency of Cæſar, and "to ſolicit his protection."

Antipater now humbly ſolicited that Herod would permit him to make his defence, and not proceed to his condemnation till he had been heard. Hereupon the king directed him to riſe, and ſtand forth to take his trial: and then ſpoke in the following manner.

"I conſider myſelf as a ſingularly unfortunate man, after having been "the father of ſuch amiable children, that I ſhould at length, in the de- "cline of life, be ſubject to the artifices of ſuch a wretch as Antipater. I "always took the moſt tender and anxious care of his education, and his "appointments were ſuch as became his rank and my dignity. Well doth "he know that he never aſked, or even wiſhed any thing within the limits "of my fortune but what was readily granted him. And how am I now "requited for all the favours I have beſtowed on him, but by an artful "conſpiracy againſt my life, and an impious endeavour to ſeize by vio- "lence that crown which would ſoon have deſcended to him of courſe, as it "was his by the double ſecurity of title and free-gift! For my part, I am "utterly at a loſs to conceive what happineſs he could propoſe to himſelf "by the gratification of ſo lawleſs an ambition; ſince I had already, by my "will, appointed him my ſucceſſor, and had, in effect, made him a part- "ner in my dignity, and a ſharer in my power during my life-time. Ex- "cluſive of all this, I had ſettled upon him an annual revenue of fifty talents, "and had made him a grant of three hundred talents more, by way of de- "fraying the charges of his late journey to Rome. With regard to the "accuſation againſt his brothers, if they were guilty, he was not leſs ſo; "ſince in that caſe he imitated them in their crime, and then became their "accuſer: on the contrary, if they were innocent, then he can be conſidered "in no other light than as the informer, and the murderer. But the truth "is that he had no evidence againſt them but what came immediately from "himſelf; ſo that he occaſioned the ſentence, after having given the infor- "mation. Upon the whole, I cannot but conceive that his conduct has "acquitted his brothers, and drawn down the whole iniquity on his own "head."

The ſubject on which he was ſpeaking, truly affecting as it was, now ſo agitated the mind of Herod, that he was ſeized with ſuch a violent fit of weeping as prevented his proceeding any farther: wherefore he requeſted Nicolaus of Damaſcus, his old and aſſured friend, who was a perfect maſter of the whole ſubject, to proceed in the buſineſs that lay before them, by examining the witneſſes whoſe evidence would tend to convict his ſon.

Antipater, to prevent their proceeding farther, began to make a defence of his conduct, in which he intimated that his father's kindneſs to him was

a tacit acknowledgement of his own merit; and aſſumed to himſelf the credit of having diſcharged his duty in every inſtance: "What probability "(ſaid he) can there be, that after having prevented the effects of the trea "chery of ſo many other people againſt my father, I ſhould myſelf act the "part of thoſe very traitors whoſe conduct I had cenſured, and bring ſo "much juſt diſgrace on a reputation obtained by ſo many acts of firm and "unſhaken loyalty? What wiſh, what ambition could I have to become "greater or more diſtinguiſhed than I was already? Is it to be ſuppoſed I "could be ſo weak as, the dignity of my ſituation conſidered, to act the "part of a villain, only to be a loſer by ſuch conduct? For the ſucceſſion "was already ſettled upon me, and ratified by all the forms that law could "give it; and, through the goodneſs of the king, I was admitted to ſuch "a proportion of the exerciſe of the royal power, that I was in actual "poſſeſſion of the government, rather than in the view and expectation of "it: nor did any perſon dare to controul my actions, or preſume to con- "trovert my right. Why, then, ſhould I cauſeleſſly ſtruggle through im- "minent danger, for the obtaining of that which had already devolved to "me, and of which I had the peaceable poſſeſſion, in conſequence of my ſu- "perior virtue? Why ſhould I expoſe myſelf, in the hope of an uncertain "gain, to the utmoſt degree of certain infamy? It is ſtill leſs likely that I "ſhould have acted thus, when I ſaw the conſequence of falſe ambition, in "the trial, conviction, and execution of my brothers. I acknowledge my- "ſelf to have been acceſſary to their fate; and I pride myſelf in my con- "duct in that affair, of which I ſhall never repent, as I conceive it was "the ſtrongeſt proof that I could have given of my filial regard, and the "inviolable love and duty that I bore to my father. With regard to my "conduct while I was at Rome, I dare make my appeal to Cæſar himſelf, "whoſe wiſdom is ſuch that he cannot be impoſed on; and I could like- "wiſe appeal to a number of letters under his own hand, in my favour, "which I am able to produce. Now I would wiſh to aſk if it would not "be a bad precedent to credit the calumnious reports of abandoned men, "who are my profeſſed enemies, againſt the authority of ſuch reſpectable "evidence? Men who are a diſgrace to their nature, and are never ſo happy "as when they are involving the royal family in difficulties? Theſe people "have now taken the advantage of my abſence to propagate falſe and ſcan- "dalous reports to my prejudice, which would never have been liſtened to, "or had the leaſt regard paid to them, if I had been on the ſpot to have "defended my own conduct."

When he had almoſt finiſhed his ſpeech, he made an obſervation on the abſurdity of the cuſtom of examining people by means of the torture, which he ſaid was full as probable a method of extorting a falſehood as a truth: ſince the extreme pain that was inflicted on the ſufferer would induce him to aſſert any thing the tormentor pleaſed; eſpecially as the torments were continued till ſuch confeſſion was made. Notwithſtanding this, Antipater himſelf offered to ſubmit to the torture, and reſt the credit of his cauſe on the event. He delivered his ſpeech in ſo emphatical a manner, attended by

ſuch force of action and expreſſion, and accompanied it with ſuch a profuſion of tears, that the council were greatly concerned, and thoſe who were his moſt profeſſed enemies ſeemed to lament his ſituation: even Herod appeared to be affected, and to pity his caſe, though he endeavoured all he could to conceal the emotion of his mind.

Antipater having made his defence, and the witneſſes having given their evidence, Nicolaus of Damaſcus reſumed the cauſe, enquired into every particular article, recited the names of the witneſſes, ſummed up the proofs, and remarked on the confeſſions of thoſe who had been put to the torture. He then proceeded to make remarks on the king's bountiful temper, the care and tenderneſs he had exhibited in the education of his children, and how ill that care had been requited. With regard to Alexander and Ariſtobulus, he ſaid that though they were not influenced by motives of intereſt, they were actuated by ambition, and impelled by the ardour of youth, and the heat of blood; it was therefore the leſs to be wondered at, if the evil advice and example of bad company had ſeduced them to a departure from the ſtrict line of their duty: but with reſpect to the conduct of Antipater, he ſaid that it was worſe than brutal; for that beaſts, even of the moſt ferocious kinds, entertained a ſort of natural gratitude to thoſe who fed and protected them: whereas the young man in queſtion was ſo far from being influenced by the kindneſs and indulgence of a tender parent, that even the unfortunate examples that had been made of his brothers, could not deter him from copying their vices; but, on the contrary, he ſeemed to pride himſelf on the cruelty, and exemplary wickedneſs of his conduct.

Nicolaus now addreſſed himſelf to Antipater in the following manner. "Was it not you that firſt diſcovered the deſign of your brothers? Who "but yourſelf was the proſecutor? Did not you direct the ſentence, and "of courſe occaſion the puniſhment? I do not mean, in the preſent in- "ſtance, to reflect on that zeal and indignation by which you might be ſup- "poſed to be inſpired in ſo juſt a cauſe; but I am aſtoniſhed to find that "you ſhould have been ſo inveterate againſt your brothers, for a crime of "which you yourſelf are now guilty. This is to me an undoubted proof "that you did not ſo much conſult the preſervation of the father, as the "deſtruction of the ſons; that you fought, by acting the part of a ſevere bro- "ther, to obtain the credit of an affectionate and dutiful ſon, by which means "you flattered yourſelf, that, with the greater ſecurity, you might make "an intereſt with the king. And this, in fact, is the plot that you have "been concerting: elſe, how ſhould it happen that the brothers were "doomed to death, while their accomplices were ſpared? What could be "the intention, what the view in this proceeding, if you and the accom- "plices had not a perfect underſtanding of each other? That, after they "had aſſiſted you in one ſcheme of villainy, they might be at your com- "mand to lend their aid towards the perpetration of another? By this mode "of proceeding you had a double pleaſure in contemplating the intended "wickedneſs; for, in the firſt place, you thought to make a moſt impious "tranſaction paſs on the world, as an honourable deed of virtue and filial "piety; and, in the ſecond inſtance, you intended to have cauſed the exe-

"cution

" cution of a horrid ſcene of barbarity, and ſubjected ſuſpected perſons to that
" puniſhment which would have been due to the actual perpetrators of the
" crime. If you had been a ſevere deteſtor of the propoſed malicious proceed-
" ing, you would not have been ſo ready to have given it the ſanction of your
" imitation. However, you have had the addreſs and contrivance to de-
" ſtroy thoſe firſt whoſe enormities were leſs than your own, by which means
" you have diſclaimed all competitors in the action, and determined to have
" neither rivals nor witneſſes of your conduct: and this being done, it was
" your reſolution to have added the murder of the father to that of the
" brothers; by which kind of management you thought not only to eſcape
" the puniſhment you merited, but to transfer the weighty conſequence of
" your crimes to your parent, by the perpetration of ſuch a parricide as is
" almoſt unexampled in the annals of hiſtory: for it was not your inten-
" tion to have acted this horrid treaſon againſt a parent of only common
" feelings and humanity, but againſt one whoſe tenderneſs and indulgence
" had been manifeſted in a very ſuperior degree: for you, the conſpirator,
" had been already choſen to ſucceed to the government; you already poſ-
" ſeſſed a kind of half property in the crown; you had a previous ſhare in
" the enjoyment of your father's dignities, and his will had ſecured to you
" the reverſion of the whole. But (continued Nicolaus) ſo immoderate and
" unreaſonable were your deſires, that it was impoſſible for his goodneſs to
" preſcribe any bounds to them, ſince you meant to regulate them only by
" the meaſures of your own perverſe will, and ungrateful ſentiments. You
" could not be contented with your own half of the legal rights, without the
" poſſeſſion of that which more immediately belonged to your father. You
" made an artful pretence of being his protector from the inſults of others,
" when, in fact, your plot tended to work his immediate deſtruction. Nor
" was this horrid contrivance to be carried into execution ſimply by your-
" ſelf; but your mother was to be made acceſſary to the ſcheme, your bro-
" thers were to be ſet at variance, and the whole family were to be involved
" in the bloody buſineſs."

" Let me farther aſk of you, what idea you can form of yourſelf after
" having called your father a beaſt, ſince by ſuch language you gave no
" ſmall proof of your own brutality? But the ſcandal and malice of your
" conduct ſeem to have been deſtined to reach your relations and bene-
" factors. Nay ſuch has been the artifice of your management, that as if
" your own ill-will was inſufficient to incite to a proper degree of revenge,
" you have demanded the aſſiſtance of your guards and counſellors; you
" have ſuborned witneſſes of both ſexes, and all of you have united to ſeek
" the deſtruction of one ancient man. And now, after having cauſed ſo
" many of both ſexes, free as well as ſlaves, to be put to the torture on
" your account, and after a variety of inconteſtible evidence to your con-
" viction, you are yet hardy enough to contradict the truth, and to add to
" the crime of attempting to take away the life of your father, that of deny-
" ing the authority of thoſe very laws by which criminals are puniſhed:
" and this conduct of yours is not only an inſult on the equity of Varus,
" your judge, but a contradiction to the principles of natural juſtice. For

" what

" what reaſon ſhould you diſcredit theſe teſtimonies that have been ob-
" tained by the force of torture, but that you would deſtroy the credit that
" is due to the proofs of your accumulated crimes, and which, at the ſame
" rime, have tended to ſave your father's life?"

Nicolaus then, addreſſing himſelf to Varus, the judge, ſaid, " Sir, I ad-
" jure you by the dignity of the Roman empire, and by that regard you
" would have to your own honour, that you vindicate our ſovereign from
" the inſults offered him by thoſe of his own kindred, by adjudging to death
" this moſt atrocious hypocrite, who under the pretence of reſpect to his fa-
" ther, ſought after the blood of his brothers, and if he had not now been
" detected before his ſcheme was compleat, would have devoted his father
" to deſtruction, to pave his own way to the poſſeſſion of the regal dignity.
" I am ſure I need not inform you, Sir, that parricide is a crime of the
" deepeſt dye; that it is not only a private offence againſt the party imme-
" diately injured, but a public inſult to the laws of life and exiſtence.
" There ſeems to be ſo much of infamy even in the thought, as well as in
" the perpetration of this deed, that the very idea of permitting it to paſs
" unpuniſhed is an inſult to human nature, and to thoſe laws to which we
" are all equally indebted for the preſervation of our exiſtence."

Having ſaid thus much, Nicolaus adverted to ſome idle words, which, in a diſpoſition to talk at random, had fallen from the mother of Antipater, with regard to prognoſticators and wizards that had been conſulted, and ſacrifices that had been offered, reſpecting the life of the king, and the knowledge who was to ſucceed to the crown. He then mentioned ſeveral circumſtances relative to the debauched life which Antipater had lived in the family of Pheroras; his drunkenneſs, and his immoderate attachment to women. Many particulars were urged againſt the priſoner, every article of which was proved, ſome by voluntary evidence, ſome by extorted confeſſion, and a third ſort on the recollection of the accuſing parties, who thought it their duty to ſtand forth on this occaſion; and this ſort of evidence was deemed of the moſt credible kind. Every circumſtance now tended to the conviction of Antipater; and thoſe ſpoke with freedom on this occaſion, who while he was in power, did not dare to utter their ſentiments. In a word, being univerſally deteſted by the people, they were free to reveal every ill action of his life.

The ſituation of Antipater was now wretched beyond deſcription; but the horrors of his mind aggravated every other calamity; ſince, (in the ſight of God, to whom his intention was known,) he had not only the murder of the brothers to anſwer for, but the malice and rancour that had prevailed through the family, and the propoſed treaſon they were to have combined in committing. His intereſt ſeemed to direct all his actions, whether of friendſhip, or enmity, ſo that through the whole courſe of his life he was never known to gain or to loſe a friend, but from motives that were ſelfiſh in the higheſt degree: and this contractedneſs of ſentiment by which he was actuated was ſo well known, that he ſeemed to be oppoſed by every honeſt man, as if it had been a matter of the moſt abſolute impoſſibility for virtue and Antipater to exiſt together. This reſentment was carried to ſuch a

heighth, that as ſoon as it was known that his friends at court had abandoned his intereſt, and that he was left to the common courſe of juſtice, public informations were brought againſt him in great numbers, every one exclaiming that vengeance ought to take place: nor was it neceſſary, in this caſe, to ſuborn witneſſes, ſince, on the one hand, they could receive no advantage by flattering the court, nor, on the other, did they run the hazard of danger by a ſuppreſſion of the truth. From all parts was intelligence brought of the vileneſs of the conduct of Antipater, who was repreſented as a villain whoſe death was not ſo neceſſary through the ſingle view of preſerving the life of his father, as for the ſake of mankind in general, ſince ſo infamous a wretch ought not to exiſt in the world. His accuſation was not founded merely on interrogatories, whither the witneſſes anſwered in conſequence of being put to the torture, or as matter of their own free choice; for, in fact, great numbers came voluntarily to give evidence againſt him, and brought ſuch clear and convincing proofs of his guilt, that, notwithſtanding his unuſual ſhare of effrontery, he found it impoſſible to make any reaſonable defence.

No ſooner had Nicolaus ended his ſpeech, than Antipater was informed by Varus, that if he had any thing to urge in his own favour the court was ready to hear him, and that Herod and himſelf would be happy beyond deſcription to find him innocent. Immediately on this Antipater threw himſelf on the ground, and uttered this ſhort exclamation; "Thou, O Lord, "art the ſearcher of hearts; and I moſt humbly implore thee to teſtify my "innocence with regard to any intention of evil to my father, by exhibiting "ſome diſtinguiſhed ſignal from heaven, that may be deemed a proof of "the purity of my conduct."

Thus it is with men who are abandoned to wickedneſs, and hardened in guilt: they firſt prove by their behaviour that they have loſt all fear of God, and then renounce or affront him by their language: yet, when by a courſe of impiety, they are brought into danger, they ſtill preſume to call upon the name of God, appeal to his righteous determinations, and make pretenſions of the moſt perfect obedience and ſubmiſſion to his divine will. Antipater had unhappily acquired a habit of proceeding in this manner; and having, for a long time, lived the life of an atheiſt, diſregardful of that power and providence which directed all around him, it was his fate at laſt to be oppreſſed by the weight of juſt vengeance: then indeed, when the laws had condemned, when friends failed him, and when no human aid was left, he could pretend to caſt himſelf on the power and goodneſs of that God, who, according to his inſinuations, had ſpared him to preſerve and protect the life of his father.

Varus, finding that he could obtain no direct anſwer to his queſtions, but that Antipater made perpetual invocations and appeals to heaven, conceived that by this mode of proceeding there would be no end to the buſineſs in hand: wherefore he gave orders that the poiſon intended for Herod ſhould be brought out, and ſome proof made of its efficacy. It was produced without loſs of time, and given to a man who lay under ſentence of death,

who immediately fell a ſacrifice to its power. This experiment being made, there ſeemed to remain no farther doubt; on which the court aroſe; and, on the following day, Varus departed to Antioch, the place where he generally lived, becauſe that was the common reſidence of the kings of Syria.

A conſultation reſpecting the paſt proceedings having been held between Herod and Varus, Antipater was committed to priſon: who had determined his fate was unknown; but it was generally imagined that the advice of Varus influenced the conduct of the king. Not long after Antipater's confinement Herod diſpatched a meſſenger to Cæſar with a verbal hiſtory of the trial, and another with a written account of the caſe and crimes of the delinquent.

It happened at this juncture that letters from Antiphilius, then in Ægypt, directed to Antipater, were intercepted, the ſubſtance of which was as follows. "Herewith I tranſmit to you a letter written by Acme, and you are "not unacquainted with the danger I encounter in ſo doing, as I may be "left to the mercy of two powerful families, both of which are my in-"veterate foes. Pray be cautious leaſt any accident ſhould happen." Nothing farther than this appeared in the letters; but Herod was extremely at a loſs for the letter mentioned to have been written by Acme; and gave orders for the ſtricteſt ſearch and enquiry to be made after it; but after much trouble had been taken, no ſuch letter was to be found; and the ſervant who brought the diſpatches from Antiphilius being examined, denied the having any knowledge of ſuch letter being ſent.

After doubting and reflecting a great while on the buſineſs, a friend of the king happened to ſee a ſeam in the under coat of the meſſenger; (for he wore two garments,) on which he imagined that poſſibly the letter of which they were in ſearch might be encloſed within that ſeam; and this conjecture happened to be well founded, for in this place the letter was diſcovered; of which the following is the ſubſtance: "Acme to Antipater. Agreeable to "your direction I have written to your father, and have encloſed a forged "copy of a letter, appearing to be a letter of Salome to my miſtreſs the "empreſs; and I have no doubt but that when Herod comes to ſee it he "will, without farther ceremony, conſider and treat her as a traitreſs."

Now the letter which appeared as if written by Salome, was of the contrivance and management of Antipater, who had affixed her name to it; but it was afterwards copied by Acme, who wrote to the king to the effect following. "Acme to king Herod. From a ſincere and ardent deſire I have "to do you ſervice, by making you acquainted with every thing that may "concern your perſonal ſafety, I have copied, and herewith ſend you, a "letter to your prejudice, which I found as written by Salome to the em-"preſs my miſtreſs, requeſting her permiſſion that ſhe may be married to "Syllæus. I beg that this letter may be effectually deſtroyed, ſince the diſ-"covery that I had written it would endanger my life."

Now the above-mentioned letter from Acme to Antipater, ſeemed to reveal the whole contrivance, by ſhewing that ſhe acted under his immediate direction, in the letter ſhe wrote to Herod, and in ſending a copy of the

ſuppoſed forged letter from Salome to her miſtreſs, intimating that there was a plot to his prejudice. The above-named Acme was by birth a Jew; ſhe lived in the ſervice of Julia, the wife of Cæſar, and was bribed by a very large ſum of money to adhere to the intereſt of Antipater, and to aſſiſt him in his contrivances to the prejudice both of his aunt and his father.

In conſequence of this diſcovery there remainded no doubt of the turbulence of Antipater's diſpoſition: for excluſive of his attempt to corrupt the honour, and overturn the diſcipline of Cæſar's houſhold, he had proved ſo infamous and dangerous a wretch to himſelf, and his ſiſter, that Herod could ſcarcely ſo far refrain his indignation as to prevent giving orders for his being immediately put to death: nor was Salome backward to provoke him to this exigency; for to induce him to this determination, ſhe beat her breaſts, and acted otherwiſe in the moſt violent and frantic manner, declaring that ſhe was ready to ſuffer death on the ſpot, if a ſingle act on of diſloyalty, or the ſlighteſt ground of ſuſpicion could but be proved againſt her.

On this occaſion Antipater was ſent for by Herod, who bade him freely declare if he had any thing to offer in his own juſtification. Having reflected for a conſiderable time, without ſpeaking a word, and appearing to be in great confuſion, Herod again deſired him to offer any thing that might look like an excuſe, or at leaſt to name who were his accomplices. Hereupon he heſitated a while, and then named Antiphilius, but ſaid no more. Herod conceived that there was ſo much inſult in this trifling kind of behaviour that he was debating whether he ſhould not ſend him to Rome to take his trial before Cæſar: but on farther reflection, he was apprehenſive either that the priſoner might be reſcued in the courſe of his journey, or be acquitted on his arrival at Rome: on which account he remanded him to priſon: but he drew up a ſtate of the caſe, and tranſmitted it, by his ambaſſadors; together with the articles and copies of letters that had been given in evidence; and, in particular, he ſent an account how far Acme had been concerned in the buſineſs.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod being ſeized by ſevere illneſs, makes his will. Account of a comet, and its occaſion. Judas and Matthias, two diſtinguiſhed Jews. Herod's life deſpaired of. Judas and Matthias inveigh againſt the golden eagle. A rumour of the death of the king. The people throw down the eagle. Judas and Matthias, with forty others, taken priſoners. They juſtify their conduct. They are ſent in bonds to Jericho. Matthias depoſed, and Jozar advanced in his ſtead. The ring leaders of the ſedition burnt alive. Herod's ſickneſs deemed judicial. He ſends for Salome and Alexas. A horrid order given by Herod.

AT the time that the ambaſſadors above-mentioned were on their journey to Rome, Herod being taken extremely ill, made his will, and having through the aſperſions of Antipater, loſt all good opinion of Archelaus and Philip, he appointed, his youngeſt ſon to ſucceed him. He bequeathed a thouſand talents to Cæſar, and five hundred more to Julia the empreſs, his children

children, friends and freemen. To his ſiſter Salome he bequeathed a large fortune, in conſideration of her unceaſing affection for him; and the reſt of his poſſeſſions, in money, lands and revenues, he left to his ſons and grandchildren. Herod was now on the verge of ſeventy years of age, and as his illneſs encreaſed greatly, his recovery was deſpaired of: he was exceedingly paſſionate and furious, and his diſpoſition was ſo much ſoured by his illneſs, that it was impoſſible to do any thing which would afford him ſatisfaction. In fact, what gave him the moſt uneaſineſs was his own pride, in conſequence of an idea which he entertained that the people had taken an antipathy to him, and hated him to ſuch a degree as to take ſatisfaction in whatever made him unhappy: and he was the rather confirmed in this opinion than otherwiſe, by a diſturbance which happened during his illneſs, occaſioned by the inſtigations and artful management of certain men of eminent diſtinction, who took the lead in the affairs; of which the following are the particulars:

Among the Jews there were two men who had acquired a ſingular degree of reputation, for their diſtinguiſhed knowledge in general, and their ſingular ſkill in the practice of the law in particular. Theſe perſons were likewiſe very great favourites with the people, in conſequence of the care they took in educating their children to the knowledge and practice of their ſeveral duties, and the profeſſions for which they were intended, to which the preceptors devoted almoſt the whole of their time. The names of theſe men were Judas, the ſon of Sariphæus, and Matthias, the ſon of Margolothus. Theſe two eminent perſons had no ſooner received information that the king's friends deſpaired of his life, than they immediately impreſſed the young men with an idea of ſetting about the buſineſs of reformation: adviſed them to deſtroy all thoſe new erections and ſtructures which Herod had cauſed to be built, contrary to the ancient laws of the country; and they aſſured them that they ſhould infallibly meet with an ample reward, if they approved themſelves valiant champions in defence of the truth: they adviſed them likewiſe to reflect, that all the diſturbances and contentions which had happened in the royal family, as well as the deſperate diſeaſe under which the king laboured, were ſimply denunciations of the divine vengeance againſt him, for having violated the antient cuſtoms: and this point was particularly inſiſted on by Judas and Matthias.

Among others, a ſingular inſtance of ſuperſtitious magnificence was the dedication of a golden eagle, of extraordinary weight, and immenſe value, which was placed over the portal of the temple. Now this being clearly contrary to the directions contained in our laws; which poſitively prohibit the uſe of ſuch ornamental figures in ſuch ſituations, Judas and Matthias adviſed their followers to pull down the eagle, in an addreſs to the following purport:

"We confeſs that it will be an enterprize attended with ſome danger; "but an honourable death is to be preferred to a life of ignominious eaſe. "You cannot forfeit your lives in any way that will redound more to your "credit, than in the aſſertion of the laws and rites of your country, which "will immortalize your names. If this diſtinction be not ſought for, the brave

" brave and the ignoble will be equally undiſtinguiſhed in the ſame com-
" mon grave: wherefore perſons of unſullied honour, and ſuperior virtue
" would act well even to court death, which is but a common fate, by
" ſeeking a proper, and glorious opportunity to embrace it; and thus de-
" part from a troubleſome world with ſatisfaction. The dread of mortality,
" and even the pain of dying are taken away, when a man departs this life
" in the conſciouſneſs that he has acted a proper part in it, and he at once
" tranſmits both the fame and the reward of his actions to thoſe that may
" ſucceed him."

This addreſs was no ſooner ended than a report was ſpread of the death of the king; which added to what they had juſt heard, had ſuch an effect upon the people, that they were animated in the higheſt degree, and though it was now noon-day, they got upon the portal, pulled down the eagle, and cut it to pieces with their axes, in the preſence of an immenſe number of ſpectators who were aſſembled in the temple. The news of this outrage had no ſooner reached Herod's commander in chief, than he aſſembled a large body of troops, and haſtened away to the ſpot, to prevent the perpetration of farther miſchief; though, in fact, he found what had happened to be much leſs conſiderable than he had imagined. When he came to the ſpot there was no appearance of an enemy to be ſeen, except a rabble of people might be deemed ſuch, who had neither arms, nor were under diſcipline, and were eaſily diſperſed, on the firſt attack made upon them: the leaders, however, Judas and Matthias, with about forty of their adherents, maintained their ground, as they made it a point of honour not to fly on this occaſion.

Theſe being immediately taken into cuſtody, were conducted to Herod, who demanded of them how they dared to commit ſuch an outrage upon the ſacred figure of the eagle; on which they made a reply in ſubſtance as follows: " We have for a conſiderable time paſt entertained thoughts of this
" affair, and having at length come to a reſolution of carrying it into exe-
" cution, we conceive that we have acted as men of honour and ſpirit
" ought to have done. As to the deed we have done, it was in aſſertion
" of the honour of Almighty God, in purſuance of that great teacher whoſe
" diſciples we are proud to be thought. We beſeech you, Sir, not to deem
" it an act worthy your aſtoniſhment, if we have given a preference to the
" laws which were tranſmitted to us by Moſes, and which he received from
" God himſelf, to any other laws or commands whatſoever. We cannot
" conceive of ourſelves as ſufferers for any criminal action; but for having
" done our duty, and obeyed the dictates of our conſciences: and, in a
" cauſe of this kind, we are ready to ſubmit to death, or to any other
" puniſhment that may be inflicted." It was evident that in all they ſaid and did reſpecting this matter, there was a perfect correſpondence between their ſentiments and actions, and that they were as ready to abide the conſequence as they had been to tranſact the deed.

Soon after this Herod ſent them in bonds to Jericho, where he convened a large aſſembly of the Jews, and being himſelf at this time very much in-

diſpoſed by illneſs, he was carried into the council-room in a chair, where he made the following ſpeech on the occaſion: "You are not inſenſible of the "unabating ardor, and unwearied pains with which I have conſulted the "intereſt of the public; you know that at an immenſe charge, I have re-"conſtructed the temple, for the accommodation of the people: a work "which in the ſpace of an hundred and twenty-five years, the whole race of "the Aſmonæan family were unable to accompliſh. You are apprized that "I did not only rebuild this fabric, but endowed it, and enriched it with "ornaments, and preſented it with ample donations, correſpondent with the "magnificence of the work: yet at length, when I conceived that, after "my deceaſe, my memory would have been preſerved by the diſtinguiſhed "ſplendor of my works, and that the good offices I had done would have "perpetuated my glory, I am inſulted while living; for benefits conferred, "indignities are offered: the people are witneſſes of the affronts given to me, "at noon day: the gifts and ornaments I have beſtowed on the temple are torn "from thence: and ſacrilege is the conſequence of a pre-determined malici-"ous proceeding: but it is not to me ſo much as to God, that the affront is "offered."

The principal people of the council, unable to judge how far Herod might be tranſported by the impulſe of his cruelty, thought it the moſt prudent method to ſecure themſelves by an early declaration of their opinion. This they did by averring, that they were wholly innocent of the fact complained of, and that, according to their ſentiments, the roiters merited the ſevereſt puniſhment. This declaration was very pleaſing to the king: but he deprived Matthias of the office of high-prieſt, preſuming that he was concerned in the contrivance, and beſtowed it on his brother-in-law Jozar. While the above-named Matthias exerciſed the pontifical office, it happened on a particular night, preceding a day appointed for faſting, that he dreamt he ſlept with his wife; by which circumſtance he became unqualified for the diſcharge of his duty the next day, on which occaſion his near relation Joſeph, the ſon of Elemus, was commiſſioned to ſupply his place for that day. Herod having deprived Matthias of the office of high-prieſt, iſſued orders that the other Matthias, the principal in the late tumultuous proceedings, ſhould be burnt alive, together with all his aſſociates. There happened to be an eclipſe of the moon on the night theſe orders were carried into execution.

Herod's illneſs now encreaſed to a ſhocking heighth, and was univerſally deemed to be a judgment on him for the exceſs of his crimes. He had an inward fever which parched him to ſuch an exceſſive degree that it ſeemed as if his inſide was burnt. His appetite was voracious as that of a dog: he was tormented with a cholic, and ulcers in the bowels; his feet and groin were ſwelled with tumors; his ſecret parts were filled with worms, and putrifying; he had a peſtilential and painful tentigo, with cramps, contractions of the nerves, and an aſthma: in a word, ſo extraordinary were his ſufferings, that men of ſkill, philoſophy and religion, combined in the opinion that he was viſited by the immediate hand of God. Yet though his pains were as ſevere as his diſorder was hopeleſs of cure, he himſelf

was

was the only perſon who did not deſpair, but ſtill continued to ſend far and near for freſh phyſicians, and to enquire for new remedies.

At length he paſſed over the river Jordan to the hot baths at Callirhoe, which make their way into the lake of Aſphaltitis. Theſe waters are very agreeable in taſte, excluſive of the mineral virtue they poſſeſs. When he was at this place his phyſicians gave orders that he ſhould be placed up to the ſhoulders in a veſſel of oil; which being done, he was ſeized with ſuch a fainting fit, that his attendants, ſuppoſing him to be dead, burſt out into ſuch cries and lamentations that he was, for the preſent, recovered by the noiſe they made.

Herod by this time began to ſee that he had but flattered himſelf with that continuation of life which was not to be expected; whereupon he ordered a donation of fifty drachmas to be given to each of his ſoldiers, and having directed larger ſums to be diſtributed among his officers and friends, he returned to Jericho: but he had not been long at that place before the wickedneſs of his diſpoſition tempted him to think of taking leave of the world, by an act more dreadful and diabolical than perhaps ever entered into the mind of any other man to conceive. He iſſued a ſummons to all the Jews of the greateſt diſtinction in the country, to attend him at Jericho without loſs of time, and denouncing the penalty of death on the omiſſion. Having made their appearance agreeable to the order, he directed that they ſhould all be ſhut up together within the circus, or tilt-yard, without the leaſt enquiry as to their guilt or innocence.

This being done, he ſent for his ſiſter Salome, and her huſband Alexas, and on their attendance addreſſed them in the following manner. "I am "now drawing towards my end. My pains are very great; and I muſt "yield to the inevitable ſtroke of death, the fate which is allotted to man-"kind in general. I muſt acknowledge that it would give me ſome kind of "concern, to think that I ſhould be deprived of thoſe funeral honours "which it is cuſtomary to pay to ſovereign princes. I am not inſenſible "what kind of treatment I am to expect at the hands of the Jews. They "have deteſted me during my life, and will rejoice to learn the news of my "death: but it is yet in the power of you two to afford me ſome ſatisfac-"tion even in my laſt moments; and I think that you owe me this obli-"gation, in return for all the favours I have conferred on you. I there-"fore beſeech you to attend to the orders I give, and I yet promiſe myſelf "one of the moſt honourable funeral ſolemnities by which any prince was "ever diſtinguiſhed: the thought even now glads my heart, that at the "concluſion of my life there ſhould be a general mourning, in which "every tear that is ſhed ſhall proceed from the unfeigned dictates of the "heart. That this purpoſe may be effected, I direct that as ſoon as "ever my body ſhall be breathleſs, the circus be encompaſſed by ſoldiers, "and the word of command being given, let every man within it be put "to death. But let no mention be made of my decree till this work be ac-"compliſhed. By the careful performance of this order you will doubly "oblige me: in the firſt place by the execution of my will, and in the ſe-"cond by occaſioning a general mourning to celebrate my death." Herod

accompanied

accompanied this ſpeech with inceſſant tears, and beſought Salome and Alexas, by all the ſacred ties of friendſhip, mutual confidence, and conſanguinity, to be punctual and faithful in the diſcharge of what he had committed to their care; and they ſolemnly promiſed him an unreſerved obedience to all his commands.

I am aware that ſome perſons, on recollection of the horrid barbarities of Herod to his neareſt relations in former inſtances, will be of opinion that the ſteps taken may be in ſome meaſure juſtified by the neceſſity of his being cruel in his own defence, to prevent the ill effects of their mutual jealouſies and competitions: but his character, in this laſt act, marks him for one of the moſt unnatural ſavages that ever was diſtinguiſhed by the human form. When he found his life advancing haſtily to a period, he left orders to doom others to deſtruction, taking effectual care that the whole nation ſhould mourn for him, ſince, in obedience to his commands, it muſt happen that at leaſt one in each family would fall a ſacrifice to the rigid order. What adds to the infamy of this proceeding is, that there was no provocation, or injury intended, nor any plauſible reaſon or pretext for the perpetration of it. Among perſons actuated by any ſenſe of religion or the common feelings of humanity, the greateſt enemies are reconciled by the approach of death, and all animoſities are buried in the grave.

CHAP. IX.

Cæſar writes to Herod that Acme is put to death, and Antipater left to his own diſpoſal. Herod prevented from killing himſelf by Ahiab. Antipater, ſuppoſing the king dead, offers to bribe the keeper to let him eſcape. The keeper gives the king intelligence of this circumſtance, who orders one of his guards to kill Antipater.

AT the period that Herod was giving his final orders to his relations, his ambaſſadors arrived from Rome, with an anſwer to the letters they carried to Cæſar, the purport of which was in ſubſtance as follows: "That "Acme had been put to death by the order of Cæſar, for having held a "correſpondence with Antipater, but that the emperor left the death or "baniſhment, or other puniſhment, of Antipater to the diſcretion of the "king his father." Herod ſeemed to be greatly pleaſed at the conſideration that Acme had received condign puniſhment, and much gratified by the permiſſion to act as he thought proper with his ſon. But the pains of his illneſs ſoon encreaſed to a great degree; and in a kind of greedy fit of hunger, he aſked for a knife and an apple, as it was his common cuſtom to pare his own apples, and eat them by degrees, as his inclination demanded them. He was no ſooner ſupplied with the knife than he was obſerved to look about him as if he entertained an idea of ſtabbing himſelf; but being attentively watched by his nephew Ahiab, he was prevented from perpetrating the deed juſt as he had lifted his right hand to make the ſtroke; Ahiab ſeizing it, and making a loud exclamation. The noiſe occaſioned by this

circumſtance alarmed the court a ſecond time; and the people in general entertained no doubt but that the king was at the point of death.

Antipater being informed of this circumſtance, was conſident in his own mind that his father was dead; and as he had no doubt but that he ſhould now procure his liberty, he likewiſe entertained ſanguine hopes of obtaining poſſeſſion of the throne. Impreſſed with this idea, he ſpoke to his keeper to admit of his diſcharge, making him ample offers of gratification, at preſent, and promiſing that he ſhould be preferred when he came to the crown, if he would comply with his requeſt: but the keeper, ſo far from acceding to the terms, went immediately and informed the king of all that had happened. Now Herod entertained no ſmall degree of enmity to Antipater before this circumſtance, which, however, inflamed his paſſions to ſuch a degree that, though he was in the agonies of death, he ſtarted up in a violent rage, and with the utmoſt bitterneſs of language, and vehemence of action, gave orders to one of his guards to go that inſtant, and diſpatch Antipater, and commanded that his body ſhould be buried in the caſtle of Hyrcania, in a private manner.

CHAP. X.

An alteration in the will of Herod, who appoints Archelaus to ſucceed him. The character of Herod. His death ſecreted till the perſons in the circus are diſcharged, and then made public. Archelaus acknowledged king. The funeral of Herod. Archelaus declines aſſuming the name of king, till the will of Herod is ratified by Cæſar.

ON a change of his mind Herod gave orders for an alteration in his will, by which he gave the kingdom to Archelaus; and having in his former will declared that Antipas ſhould ſucceed to the government, he now appointed him tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. He gave to his ſon Philip, the brother in law of Archelaus, the provinces of Trachon and Gaulon, with thoſe of Batanæa and Panias, under the denomination of a tetrarchy. To his ſiſter Salome he gave Jamnia, Azotus, and Phaſaelis, with fifty thouſand pieces of coined money; and to his other relations he bequeathed caſh or land as legacies. He left ten millions of pieces of ready coin, with gold and ſilver plate, and variety of all kinds of rich furniture to Cæſar; and to the empreſs Julia and her friends five millions in coin. This will being executed, Herod died, in the thirty-ſeventh year after he had been declared king of the Jews by the Romans, thirty-four years after Antigonus had been expelled, and five days after the death of Antipater.

Herod was diſtinguiſhed by the cruelty of his diſpoſition; he was greatly influenced by the violence of his paſſions; arbitrary in his conduct, yet generally ſucceſsful in his undertakings. He aroſe from the condition of a private man to that of a king; he encountered many difficulties, but got through them in an extraordinary manner, and lived to a full age. With regard to his diſturbances with his children and family, though I ſhould

deem him unhappy, yet he was far from being ſo in his own opinion, as he generally prevailed againſt all oppoſition.

Salome and Alexas made a point of keeping the death of Herod a profound ſecret, and going immediately to thoſe eminent perſons who were confined in the circus, told them, in the name of the king, that they were at liberty, and might immediately depart and follow their lawful occupations, for there was no farther reaſon to reſtrain their conduct: and this generous device was extremely acceptable to the Jews in general.

As it was now deemed proper to make the king's death public, the troops were ordered to aſſemble at the amphitheatre at Jericho, where Herod's letters to the army were read. Theſe contained the moſt liberal acknowledgments of the zeal and fidelity of their paſt ſervices, and they were requeſted to continue the ſame affectionate obedience to Archelaus, who was now appointed to ſucceed to the throne. This being done, Ptolemy, the keeper of the king's ſeal, now read the will of Herod, in which was this particular clauſe, "That the will itſelf was not to be allowed valid, or of force, till it "had received the ſanction of Cæſar's approbation." As ſoon as the will was read the people ſhouted, with loud acclamations of "God ſave king "Archelaus!" the officers and ſoldiers uniting in wiſhing him a happy reign, and promiſing that the ſame degree of duty and fidelity which had been paid to his predeceſſor, ſhould be continued to the new king.

It now remained to take proper care of the funeral ſolemnity, and this was the particular buſineſs of Archelaus, who directed that it ſhould be conducted with the utmoſt pomp and grandeur, and determined to appear himſelf in the character of principal mourner. The body was placed on a litter adorned with gold and embelliſhed with precious ſtones of great value: it was covered with purple, and on the head was a diadem, over which was a crown of gold, and in the right hand was a ſceptre. By the ſide of the corpſe marched the ſons and relations of Herod: theſe were followed by numbers of ſoldiers in different diviſions: the royal guards going firſt; next to them the troops of Thrace; then the Germans, and after them the Galatians: all of them dreſſed and armed as if going to battle. Theſe were followed by the reſt of the army, each diviſion commanded by its proper officers; and five hundred domeſtics of the court, carrying ſpices and perfumes, brought up the rear. In this funeral pomp they proceeded to Herodium, eight furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem, where the body was interred, according to former orders given for that purpoſe.

Archelaus having, agreeable to the cuſtom of the country, devoted ſeven days to the celebration of the funeral rites of his father, and the cuſtomary term of mourning being now ended; he entertained the people aſſembled on the occaſion, and then departed to the temple; where being ſeated upon a throne of gold, he received the congratulations and good wiſhes of the public. Theſe he anſwered in the moſt affable and reſpectful manner, ſaying that he deemed it a proof, (after the ill treament they had received from his father,) of their great good-will, that they received him ſo favourably; and aſſuring them that he would never forget this inſtance of their friendſhip. "For the

"preſent

"preſent (ſaid he) I do not pretend to aſſume the name of king, as I think "that I have no right ſo to do till Cæſar has ratified my claim by an approbation of the contents of my father's will. The want of Cæſar's authority "prevented me from aſſuming the dignity, when the army at Jericho preſſed "my acceptance of it, as I was not lawfully inveſted with the poſſeſſion: "but when the time ſhall arrive when my title to govern ſhall admit of no "farther diſpute, it ſhall be the buſineſs of my life to conſult your pleaſure "and advantage in all things, and to give you occaſion to acknowledge that "my reign over you is more agreeable than ever you found that of my "father."

The modeſty and affability of diſcourſe and behaviour by which the new prince appeared to be diſtinguiſhed, was extremely acceptable to the people, who ſeemed to rely (as is common in ſuch caſes) with the moſt implicit confidence, on the ſincerity and veracity of every thing that he ſaid. Indeed ſuch was their apparent confidence in him, that they determined to make an immediate trial of his liberality by a requeſt of various favours. Some of them entreated a remiſſion of taxes, others requeſted the liberty of their friends, many of whom had been apprehended, and confined a long while in priſon, by the command of Herod; and a third ſort exclaimed vehemently againſt ſeveral duties and impoſitions which had been laid on ſuch of the neceſſaries of life as were brought to the public markets. Archelaus having conſidered the nature of their demands, and the critical juncture in which they were made, thought it a point of prudence to comply with them all: and after the ſacrifice was ended, he invited his friends home with him, where a ſplendid entertainment was provided.

CHAP. XI.

A faction ſeek to embroil the government. The people demand ſatisfaction of Archelaus for Herod's miſconduct. A tumult approaching to rebellion. The temple crouded by factious Jews. A party ſent to quiet them, and almoſt all of them are deſtroyed. Archelaus cuts off three thouſand. Archelaus going to Rome, Philip governs in his abſence. Salome an enemy to Archelaus. Sabinus met at Ptolemais, on the way to Judæa. Varus being met, declines his journey, and leaves every thing to the conduct of Archelaus, till Cæſar declares his opinion. Archelaus departs for Rome, and Varus for Antioch. Herod's books and keys demanded by Sabinus; but they are detained for Cæſar, by the officers. Antipas repairs to Rome, and claims the ſucceſſion, being ſupported by his friends. Archelaus informed againſt by Sabinus. He gives in his defence, which Cæſar compares with the charge. A council ſummoned by Cæſar. Caius, the ſon of Agrippa, preſides. Antipater ſpeaks againſt Archelaus, who is charged with ingratitude, and arbitrary proceedings. Antipater appeals on the matter of fact. The ſpeech of Nicolaus. Cæſar's behaviour to Archelaus.

AT this period there was a faction of Jews, who being diſcontented with the meaſures of government, uſed to hold frequent and private meetings, in which they concerted ſchemes of oppoſition to the public proceedings. After

After ſome conſideration they could not fix on any more proper ſubject of complaint, than the affair of Matthias and his companions, whom Herod had executed for deſtroying the golden eagle. While the king lived, they were afraid to make any open attempt to vindicate the honour of the reformers, or to juſtify their conduct: but now he was dead, they were outrageous in their invectives, and clamourous in their abuſe, loading his memory with every opprobrious epithet. They would frequently aſſemble in the moſt tumultuous manner, demanding that Archelaus ſhould give them ſatisfaction by a rigorous execution of juſtice on thoſe friends of Herod who were moſt inſtrumental in procuring the death of the reformers; as if the dead could be benefited by puniſhing the living: and they particularly required that the high-prieſt whom Herod had promoted ſhould be removed, and ſome man of character be advanced in his ſtead.

Archelaus was far from being pleaſed with this peremptory behaviour; but as he was on the point of departing to Cæſar, for the ratification of his power, and inſtructions for his conduct, he thought it prudent to accommodate matters on the beſt terms poſſible; wherefore he ſent a principal officer to try what effect a moderate conduct and reaſonable arguments might have on the people; who addreſſed them as follows:

"This is certainly an improper time to think of revengeful meaſures. "The perſons who were puniſhed were lawfully convicted; and your inter- "poſition in the preſent manner is an aſſumption of power to which you "have no right. You will do well to reflect that Archelaus is now on the "point of his departure for Rome; and on his return with a ratification of "his commiſſion, there is no doubt but that every grievance will be re- "dreſſed: in the interim it is requiſite that you ſhould live in peace and "friendſhip with each other, and not incur the penalties of ſeditious "practices."

So violent an oppoſition was made to this ſpeech, and it was followed by ſuch outrageous exclamations, that the man who ſhould have attempted to quell the tumult, would have done it at the hazard of his life. The multitude ſaid that they had the law in their own hands, and as Herod was dead, they would be revenged for the deſtruction of thoſe friends whom he had aſſaſſinated while living; and they were aſtoniſhed that any heſitation ſhould be made on this ſubject. So violent were their paſſions, that they confounded all ideas of right and wrong, conceived that their preſent humour ought neceſſarily to prevail, and ſeemed to forget the means of conſulting their own ſafety, while they ſought the deſtruction of others. In the interim, the king himſelf, and ſeveral other perſons, made proper application to them, to ſooth their paſſions; but an effect was conſtantly produced contrary to what was wiſhed; they became more violent than ever; and if their numbers had been equal to their ſpirit, a rebellion would have concluded what commenced only in a tumult.

At this time the feaſt of the paſſover, or unleavened bread (which is the memorial of the deliverance of the Iſraelites from the land of Egypt) being near at hand, an immenſe number of people more than was uſual, from contiguous as well as more diſtant parts, came up to Jeruſalem, to worſhip God,

and

and offer ſacrifices on the occaſion. A number of factious Jews now crouded into the temple, and there remained, declaring that they would not abandon their ſituation, though they had no other reſource to prevent their ſtarving than begging their bread. It was found that their intentions in taking up this ſituation was to conſole the multitude for the loſs of their two favourite teachers Judas and Matthias, and to inſtigate the people to revenge their death. This tumult ſeemed to wear a threatning aſpect, when, in fear of ill conſequences, Archelaus ſent an officer, with a party of the guards, to ſuppreſs it in time, before the rebellious diſpoſition had ſpread among the people in general: orders being given, that if any obſtinate reſiſtance was made, the ringleaders of the mutiny ſhould be ſeized, and carried before Archelaus, that they might be puniſhed by way of example to the reſt.

Immediately on the appearance of the ſoldiers, the factious crew abuſed them in ſo clamourous and outrageous a manner, that the whole multitude ſeeming to be inſpired with a general ſpirit of revenge, aſſailed them with ſtones, and other weapons, and killed them all except the commanding officer, and a few wounded men, who made their eſcape with him. This being done, the people proceeded with their ſacrifices as before. At length the conteſt grew to ſuch a height, that Archelaus was under a neceſſity to ſuppreſs the inſurrection, or he muſt have fallen a victim to its rage: wherefore he ſent all his troops to encounter the rabble, iſſuing particular orders to his cavalry to prevent any ſuccours being ſent in, and to put to the ſword every perſon who ſhould attempt to make his eſcape. Three thouſand of their men were cut off by this body of horſe during the action, and the reſt of them fled to take ſhelter in the adjacent mountains. This conteſt was no ſooner ended than proclamation was made that every man ſhould peaceably return to his own habitation; and notwithſtanding the boaſts of the mutineers, they now appeared to be all happy to ſave themſelves by a compliance with theſe terms; and in the fear of worſe conſequences, they were contented to abandon the celebration of the feſtival.

Archelaus now departed on his journey to Rome, taking with him his mother and Nicolaus, and Ptolomy, with many others of his friends: the care of the kingdom, and the management of the houſhold being left to his brother Philip during his abſence. Salome and her family were likewiſe of the train, and a number of his other relations, who went under the pretence of uniting their intereſts with his, in order to inſure him the ſucceſſion to the government; but, in fact, their deſign was rather to hinder than to promote his intereſt; for they had come to a previous reſolution to exhibit a complaint againſt him, reſpecting the buſineſs of the temple. However, all the company ſet out together, and when they arrived at Cæſarea they met Sabinus, who was procurator for Cæſar in Syria; and who was travelling with all expedition towards Judæa, to take charge of the money that had belonged to Herod; but Varus happening to meet him on the way, prevented his journey, as he himſelf was going on the ſame buſineſs, Ptolemy having given him an invitation, by the command of Archelaus. Sabinus therefore, in reſpect to Varus, gave himſelf no concern with regard to the

forts of Judæa, nor ſealed up their treaſure; but left every thing as he found it, in the poſſeſſion and under the controul of Archelaus, till Cæſar ſhould finally determine on the buſineſs: but ſoon after this, when Archelaus had embarked for Rome, and Varus ſet out on his journey towards Antioch, Sabinus proceeded immediately to Jeruſalem, where he took up his reſidence in the palace, and having ſent orders for the king's officers, civil and military, to attend him, he demanded their keys and their books; but they told him that, by the command of Archelaus, all was made ſecure, for the uſe and emolument of Cæſar, and every article was to remain in the ſtate they received it till Archelaus ſhould return.

About this period, Antipas, another of the ſons of Herod, ſet out on a voyage to Rome, in the hope of obtaining poſſeſſion of the kingdom for himſelf. Salome exerted her influence to perſuade him to this meaſure, pretending that he had a prior right to the government, ariſing from the tenor of Herod's former will, and inſinuating that the firſt will ought to remain in force. Antipas took with him in this expedition, his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; a man who had been, for a long time, the intimate friend of Herod, and was always particularly attached to his party. But the perſon who, above all others, encouraged Antipas to this ambitious purſuit, and who had the greateſt degree of intereſt with him, was Iræneus, a man famous for the arts of perſuaſion, and who had been greatly concerned in the king's buſineſs, and for a long period of time. Other perſons were not wanting in their advice to the prince, deſiring him to recollect that Archelaus, as his elder brother, had the right of ſeniority, excluſive of that which had been conferred on him by the will of his deceaſed father: but the arguments of Iræneus, added to the impulſe of his own ambition, bore down all other conſiderations, and determined him to proceed to Rome. When he arrived at that city, his relations univerſally joined his intereſt; not out of any particular regard they had for him, but for an averſion they entertained for Archelaus: though in fact, what they principally wiſhed was the poſſeſſion of their liberties under a Roman governor: at any rate, however, they conceived that they ſhould be more agreeably governed by Antipas than Archelaus, and for this reaſon they employed their intereſt for the former.

By this time an information againſt Archelaus had been preſented to Cæſar by Sabinus; and hereupon Archelaus commiſſioned Ptolemy to preſent the emperor with a memorial of what he had to urge in his own favour. This memorial contained the foundation of his claim; the heads of his father's will; an account of what caſh he left behind him, and with it was ſent the ring with which the money was ſealed up: Archelaus referring himſelf, on the whole, to the good pleaſure of the emperor. When Cæſar had read theſe writings, peruſed the letters of Varus and Sabinus, conſidered what value Cæſar had left in money, what the annual revenue of the government amounted to, and what arguments Antipas had urged in behalf of his own claim; he ſummoned an aſſembly of his friends to meet in council, and deliberate on the whole matter; and then gave audience to the claimants.

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The preſident on this occaſion was Caius, the ſon of Agrippa, by the emperor's daughter Julia, whom Cæſar had adopted. The firſt perſon who ſtood up to ſpeak was Antipater the ſon of Salome, an admirable orator, and an irreconcileable enemy to Archelaus. He delivered his ſentiments in terms to the following purport:

"I confeſs I am not a little aſtoniſhed that Archelaus ſhould be at this "time ſeeking to ratify his title to a kingdom, over which he hath al- "ready exerciſed ſo abſolute and ſovereign a power, without having pre- "viouſly applied for, or given himſelf any concern about the obtaining the "ratification or conſent of Cæſar. What I refer to is his late maſſacre of "ſuch a number of the Jews on one of their ſolemn feſtivals. If we ſhould, "for the ſake of argument, allow that the puniſhment itſelf was merited, "yet that muſt be conſidered as murder in an uſurper, which, in a lawful "prince, would have been but an act of juſtice. If he took upon him to "exerciſe regal authority without permiſſion obtained from Cæſar, it was "an inſult to the emperor; and his conduct was yet more atrocious if he "preſumed to behave in this manner in his character of a private man: ſo "that he has now no right to expect a delegation of power from Cæſar, "after he has done what ought to deprive him of the original right of diſ- "penſing that power. He has taken on himſelf, at his own will and plea- "ſure, to change the officers of the army; he has placed himſelf on the "throne, and, as a ſovereign prince, has heard and determined cauſes: he "has received public addreſſes and petitions, and given anſwers to them: "and in all theſe matters he has acted without that proper warrant of au- "thority which could have been granted to him by no one but Cæſar. Ex- "cluſive of all theſe matters, he likewiſe diſcharged from the circus thoſe "that were committed thither, and on his own ſingle authority."

Antipater, on this occaſion, made many other objections to the conduct of Archelaus, ſome of which were undoubtedly true, and others not altogether improbable, if we reflect on his youth, and allow for that ambitious heat by which he might be impelled by a ſudden riſe to the ſummit of power and fortune. Among other things to his diſadvantage was mentioned the extravagant impropriety of making a ſumptuous entertainment on the very night ſucceeding that of the death of his father; which the people themſelves deemed ſo ungrateful an inſult on the memory of ſo kind a parent, that they were ſtruck with horror on the occaſion, and were on the point of breaking into an outrage, from a conſideration that he could ſo far impoſe on the public, as to perſonate ſo perfect a grief in the day-time, and immediately ſpend the night in all the licence of unbounded riot and luxury.

Antipater having urged theſe particulars, continued his ſpeech as follows: "Is it poſſible that Cæſar can imagine that a man of this wicked "turn of mind will evince any greater ſhare of gratitude to the emperor "for the poſſeſſion of a crown, than he has ſhewn to a father, who has "acted ſo tenderly towards him? What proof could be given of an unfeel- "ing heart, greater than that of ſinging, feaſting, revelling and rejoicing "on the death of a parent, as he might have done on the deſtruction of an "enemy?

" enemy? What pretence can this man have to ſolicit Cæſar to make him " a king, after he has already preſumed to inveſt himſelf with the regal " authority, without the emperor's permiſſion? The horrid murders per- " petrated in the temple are greatly aggravated by the ſacredneſs of the " place in which they were committed; nor leſs ſo that they were done on " a ſolemn feſtival, when ſtrangers and citizens were equally offered up as " ſo many ſacrifices to brutal rage: the holy place was filled with human " bodies; nor was this atrocious crime committed by a ſtranger, but by " one who had uſurped the dominion, and acted as inveſted with royal " power, to give the better countenance to his ſavage and inhuman pro- " ceedings. His father was ſo well acquainted with his diſpoſition, that he " never entertained a thought of him for a ſucceſſor, while he continued in " the poſſeſſion of his rational faculties: on the contrary, he had deviſed " the government to Antipas, by his former will, made when he was in " his full ſenſes, and in perfect health both of mind and body. Or let us " but ſuppoſe that the opinion which Herod entertained of Archelaus, was " the ſame when he made his former will, as when he made the latter; has " he not ſince been guilty of crimes ſufficient to ſhew that he will make an " execrable king, ſince he has preſumed to act by a ſelf-delegated power, " and has not ſcrupled to murder people, even in the temple, when he was " only a private man?" Antipater having ſaid thus much, concluded his diſcourſe by appealing to ſeveral of his relations, who attended on this oc- caſion, for the truth of what he had advanced.

This ſpeech being ended, Nicolaus ſtood up on the behalf of Archelaus, and argued in the following manner. He ſaid that the tumult in the temple was carried to ſuch a height, that there was no other way of ſuppreſſing it but by the deſtruction of the rioters; and therefore that the blood of thoſe who were ſlain on that occaſion reſted on their own heads: that the beha- viour of the rioters might ſeem an act of inſolence to Archelaus; but, in fact, the affront was offered to the authority of Cæſar, when, contrary to the law of nature and nations, and in violation of the ſacredneſs of the place and oc- caſion, thoſe men were murdered, who were only ſent thither in a regular ma- nner to put an end to the mutiny. " Now (ſaid he) theſe are the men that " Antipater (equally void of honour, and deſtitute of ſhame) would ſeek to " defend, provided that, in ſo doing, he may but gratify the rancour of his " malice againſt Archelaus. It is evident that thoſe who firſt began to of- " fend are to anſwer for the crime, and not thoſe whom neceſſity compelled " to take arms in their own defence. With regard to the remainder of the " articles that have been charged on Archelaus, the accuſers themſelves are " equally blameable with reſpect to them, ſince they themſelves conſented " to the very deed againſt which they now complain; excluſive of all " which, they have repreſented the affair as much worſe than it really was; " through envy to the principal perſon concerned, though he was a near " relation, one that had merited every bounty his father could beſtow, and " had conferred many favours on the family in general. With regard to " the authority of the king's laſt will, I cannot help remarking, not only " that he was in his full and perfect ſenſes when he cauſed it to be written,

" but that second wills, equally with second thoughts, are generally the
" best. One full proof that Herod was deliberate in the making this will,
" arises from his having submitted the validity of it to the determination of
" Cæsar; and Cæsar possesses too liberal a mind to think of encountering an
" ungrateful behaviour in a set of people, who having, during the lifetime
" of Herod, been under innumerable obligations to his bounty, now seek,
" on his death, to destroy the effects of his will. It is to be presumed that
" Cæsar will give full scope to his benevolence in favour of a faithful friend
" and ally, who submits to his imperial determination with the utmost re-
" liance; and not permit that dignity and justice by which he has been dis-
" tinguished through the whole world, to be insulted by envious and calum-
" nious reports. Is Antipater equally ready with us to pay a proper de-
" ference to the will and authority of Cæsar? I confess it would be no easy
" matter to form a judgment how Herod could be so mistaken as to the
" person on whom he intended to bestow the government, and yet so per-
" fectly right in the disposition of it."

As soon as Nicolaus had ended his speech, Archelaus cast himself at the feet of Cæsar, who immediately raising him from the ground, said, with an air of singular humanity and kindness, that he had approved himself worthy of a crown; which was deemed a kind of tacit acknowledgement of his right to the sovereignty. Cæsar, finding that the young prince was happy in his present reception, dismissed the assembly, declining for the present to give his final resolution on the business, and allowing himself time to consider whether he should establish Archelaus alone in the government, or divide it among the whole family, since they all equally depended upon the imperial bounty.

CHAP. XII.

The death of Malthace, the mother of Archelaus. The Jews grow seditious. Sabinus opposes them in the absence of Varus. The Jews determined to punish Sabinus, divide into three bodies. Sabinus applies to Varus for assistance. The Jews attack the Romans from the galleries of the temple. The galleries fired by the Romans, and the Jews destroyed. The plundering of the temple. The palace beset by the Jews. Rufus and Gratus depart to the Romans. Various insurrections. A combination of about two thousand of Herod's disbanded forces. The country harrassed by Judas, a robber. Simon, late a servant of Herod, pretends to the crown. A battle between Simon and Gratus. Simon conquered, taken, and beheaded. Athronges aspires to the government. Himself and his four brothers taken. Varus marches to Judæa, to relieve the besieged. The army meet at Ptolemais. Sepphoris reduced to ashes by Varus. Arus and Sampho burnt by the Arabians. Varus gives orders for burning of Emmaus. The Jews fly at the approach of Varus, who puts two thousand to death. A body of ten thousand Jews assemble. They surrender at discretion to Ahiab. A garrison left at Jerusalem by Varus, who returns to Antioch. An embassy of Jews sent to Cæsar, who

gives them audience in the temple of Apollo. Complaints of Archelaus, who, as well as Herod, is defended by Nicolaus.

WHILE the above-mentioned affair remained unſettled, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, was ſeized with a fit of illneſs, which deprived her of life. About this time intelligence arrived from Varus, the governor of Syria, that the Jews, who from the time of the departure of Archelaus, had been exceedingly diſpoſed to acts of mutiny, had lately revolted; but that Varus, by ſuddenly attacking them with his troops, before they had time to aſſemble in very great numbers, had the happineſs to ſuppreſs the ſedition; and having puniſhed the principal mutineers in an exemplary manner, he returned to Antioch, leaving at Jeruſalem only one legion, to prevent farther commotions.

It appears, however, that this proviſion was inſufficient for the purpoſe: for no ſooner had Varus departed, than Sabinus, the deputy-governor in Syria for Cæſar, thinking the above-mentioned reinforcement would enable him to be at leaſt on equal terms with the multitude, determined to turn his arms againſt the Jews. Thus reſolved, he worried and provoked them in every poſſible inſtance, rendering them impatient of ſuch cruel treatment: he made attacks on many of their caſtles and forts; and under pretence of rendering ſervice to the public, made a general ſearch to diſcover the depoſits of concealed treaſure; but his real intentions were to obtain money ſufficient to enrich himſelf.

At this time the feaſt of the paſſover (which is the moſt diſtinguiſhed feſtival kept by our nation) drew nigh; and on this occaſion many thouſands of Jews, from all parts of the country, repaired to Jeruſalem: ſome of them came with an intention of paying their religious adoration, but great numbers were inſpired only by motives of revenge. They aſſembled together, not only from the adjacent country of Judæa, where their ſufferings had been the moſt ſevere, but from Galilee, Jericho and Idumæa, and likewiſe from the towns beyond Jordan, with a reſolution to puniſh the conduct of Sabinus in the moſt exemplary manner. Being aſſembled, they parted their troops into three diviſions, one of which took poſſeſſion of the circus; the ſecond placed themſelves on the north-eaſt ſide of the temple; and the third took their ſtation in the weſt, adjacent to the royal palace. Being thus ſituated, they had encloſed the Romans between them, and began to make preparations for the attack.

This intrepid behaviour of the people furniſhed no ſmall degree of ſurprize to Sabinus, who perceiving that there was no doubt but that they were reſolutely determined either on death or conqueſt, he inſtantly diſpatched meſſengers to Varus for reinforcements, urging that if the expected relief was not immediately ſent, the legion that he had left in the city would be infallibly deſtroyed.

In the interim Sabinus aſcended to the top of a high turret, a part of the caſtle of Phaſael, which was built in honour of the brother of Herod, who was killed in battle by the Parthians. From this place he made ſignals with his hand, that the Romans ſhould ſally forth, and make an attack upon

upon the Jews; inſolently expecting that others ſhould venture their lives in ſupport of meaſures brought about by his avarice, while he was afraid to make one of the number, and take his ſhare of the common danger. Notwithſtanding the unreaſonableneſs of this expectation, the Romans obeyed the orders, and a ſmart engagement enſued. The ſoldiers behaved in a manner that did great honour to their perſonal courage; but the Jews were by no means diſmayed, though their people fell in conſiderable numbers. At length the Jews took poſſeſſion of ſome of the outward galleries of the temple, which having aſcended, their archers and ſlingers annoyed the enemy with ſtones and arrows, appearing in ſafety, rather as ſpectators of the battle than actors in it; for ſuch was their ſituation that the Romans could not do any execution on them in return. For a conſiderable time the battle was continued under theſe diſadvantages; till at length the Romans made a large fire under the galleries, which being built of wood, the flames ſpread with great rapidity, and ſoon aſcended to the roof; the pitch, wax and oil, that had been uſed in thoſe parts that were gilt, contributing greatly to the encreaſe of the fire, the whole was ſoon in ſuch an univerſal blaze that there was no proſpect of eſcaping: death ſurrounded them on every ſide: great numbers met their fate by the fall of the building, others were put to the ſword on the ground; ſo that, upon the whole, of all thoſe who had taken poſſeſſion of the galleries, not a ſingle perſon eſcaped. Several, aſtoniſhed even to diſtraction, devoted themſelves to the flames in mere deſpair: others threw themſelves on the points of their ſwords: a number thought to ſave themſelves by retiring to holes and corners; but theſe were all put to death by the ſoldiers; for being totally unprovided with arms, it was impoſſible they ſhould make any defence. When the fire began to abate, the Romans made their way through the ruins till they came to the place where the ſacred treaſure was depoſited; a great part of which the ſoldiers ſtole and carried off; but Sabinus pretended that not above four hundred talents of the whole booty came to his hands.

The diſtreſſes of the Jews were now aggravated in a very high degree; numbers of them having loſt many of their deareſt friends and relations; and all of them having occaſion to lament the ſacrilegious robbery of the temple. Yet notwithſtanding the reaſon they had to abandon themſelves to deſpair, a conſiderable number of the moſt reſolute among them aſſembled together, and ſurrounding the palace, they threatened that they would ſet fire to it without loſs of time, and if any one ſhould attempt to eſcape from the flames, he ſhould be inſtantly put to the ſword; but this vengeance was not to take place, if they would immediately abandon their ſtation, and depart: and they likewiſe promiſed indemnity to Sabinus and all his adherents, if they would inſtantly retire: and the majority of the court was on the ſide of Sabinus.

At this period Rufus and Gratus departed to the Roman intereſt, having with them three thouſand of Herod's ſelect troops, excluſive of a party of horſe that was under the immediate command of Rufus; which afforded a conſiderable and well-timed relief. Still, however, the Jews continued their operations with unceaſing ardor: they mined the walls, threatened the enemy,

enemy, yet adviſed them to depart while there was any degree of ſafety in ſo doing; nor run the riſk of driving to deſperation a people who were reſolved, whatever might be the conſequence, to maintain their liberties inviolate, and to preſerve thoſe laws and rights ſacred which their anceſtors had tranſmitted as their inheritance. Sabinus ſeemed not ill-diſpoſed to have complied with theſe injunctions, but he was afraid to truſt to the promiſes of the Jews, from a conſciouſneſs how ill he had deſerved at their hands: beſides, he thought that the terms which were offered him were too advantageous to be ratified: and for theſe reaſons he reſolved to attempt the maintainance of his preſent poſt, in the hope that Varus might ſend him aſſiſtance before he ſhould be compelled to abandon it.

While affairs at Jeruſalem were thus ſituated, many other inſurrections took place in different parts of Judæa, and in the adjacent countries, partly ariſing from motives of revenge, and partly from a view to advantage. On this occaſion a number of the forces which Herod had diſbanded, amounting to about two thouſand, aſſembled in a body, under the command of Ahiab, a nephew of Herod, with a reſolution to attack a party of the troops of Archelaus: but Ahiab, not inſenſible that thoſe he had to cope with were veteran ſoldiers, and men of approved valour, did all in his power to avoid coming to action, by retreating to ſecure places, where it was not an eaſy matter to encounter him.

Nor were theſe the only diſturbances that happened: for Judas, the ſon of Ezekias, the famous robber that formerly gave ſo much trouble to Herod, (though in the end he ſubdued him) occaſioned freſh ſcenes of confuſion. This Judas, having put himſelf at the head of a number of deſperate men, whom he had raiſed at Sepphoris, a city of Galilee, cauſed all his adherents to take arms, and made an incurſion into the king's country, where he made ſeizure of the magazines and military ſtores, took poſſeſſion of the money belonging to the king; rendered himſelf an object of terror to the inhabitants; ravaged and deſtroyed the country wherever he came, and at length aſpired even to the regal government: this, however, he did not by the uſual arts of ingratiating himſelf with the people, or by giving any proof of his attachment to the laws of honour, (for of theſe he had no idea,) but by the wanton perpetration of every miſchief that lay within his power.

During the confuſion occaſioned by this ſtate of public affairs, there came into notice one Simon, heretofore a ſervant of king Herod, who was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon ſtrength, the height of his ſtature, and the ſingular grace and comelineſs of his perſon. The vanity and impudence of this man impelled him to aſpire to the crown. He procured a number of guards to attend him, and was every where received as a prince, by the undiſcerning multitude, who ſaluted him with exclamations of "God "ſave the king!" In fact, he conſidered himſelf as the moſt fit perſon in the world to be advanced to the regal government. That he might give a proper ſpecimen of his dignity, he began by burning and rifling the palace at Jericho, ravaged ſeveral others of the king's houſes in the ſame manner, and permitted his adherents to make booty of whatever they found therein. Nor would his depredations have ended here, if his career had not

been prevented in time; but Gratus, one of the king's captains, who was at that time aſſociated with the Romans, advancing with his troops againſt Simon, a moſt violent and obſtinate engagement happened between them. The forces under the command of Simon, which came from the other ſide of the river Jordan, exhibiting much greater proofs of courage than ſkill in the action, were ſoon routed and cut in pieces: Simon, who attempted to make his eſcape over ſome difficult paſſes, was taken priſoner, on which Gratus gave orders for his being beheaded.

This rage for a new mode of government was every where prevalent among the common people. A licentious multitude, not unlike thoſe who followed the fortunes of Simon, burnt to the ground the royal palace of Amatha adjoining to the river Jordan. The people appeared to be univerſally inſpired with a violence of ſentiment that approached even to madneſs; occaſioned principally by the abſence of their king, who by the arguments of reaſon, and the enforcements of law, might have kept them within the bounds of their duty. It is true that foreigners were brought in, to reclaim them: but ſo inſatiable was their avarice, and ſo unbounded their pride, that the people at large were only ſufferers by what was intended for their advantage.

At this time there appeared a man named Athronges, who was undiſtinguiſhed either by birth, virtue or fortune, being a ſhepherd of the loweſt rank; but he was remarkable for the enormous ſize of his perſon, and the uncommon ſtrength of his limbs. Thus qualified, he ſought to obtain a ſhare in the government, and reſolved to riſk his life that he might acquire to himſelf the prerogative of doing as much miſchief as might be agreeable to his own inclination. Now Athronges had four brothers, neither of which were leſs remarkable than himſelf for bulk and ſtature; and under the command of each of them was a number of ſoldiers, which they deemed an eſſential circumſtance towards obtaining the principal point which they had in view. Great numbers of people flocked to the ſtandards of theſe five brothers: Athronges ſent out his four brethren on different parties, to act as deputies to him, while himſelf acted the part of a ſovereign, ſitting in council with a crown on his head, making reſolutions and iſſuing orders reſpecting affairs of ſtate.

This mock-monarchy continued for a conſiderable time, during which the royal ſtyle and title were kept up, and he ſeemed to have more obedience paid to him than was requiſite; for Athronges exerciſed unlimited authority, and his decrees were not to be controverted. When the Romans or the king's ſoldiers became ſubject to his will he acted with the utmoſt cruelty, for he was equally an enemy to them both; to the one party for the freedom they had taken during the time of Herod, and to the other on account of injuries of a later date. Animoſities now grew daily to a greater height; one enormity made way for another; the reſentment became implacable; cruelties were committed for the ſake of cruelty, and the deſtruction made with the view to the obtaining of booty was ſo great, that no perſon could poſſeſs his own life in ſafety.

The partizans of Athronges, iſſuing from an ambuſh near Emmaus, attacked a Roman convoy that was bringing corn and arms to the camp, and killed on the ſpot Arius the captain, with about forty of his troops, all men of diſtinguiſhed bravery; and it is probable that the reſt of the forces would have ſhared the ſame fate, if Gratus had not joined them with a party of ſoldiers, and relieved them juſt in the very moment of danger: but, as it was, they were obliged to leave their dead behind them, ſo narrow was their eſcape. The brothers of Athronges and himſelf ſtill kept fighting for a conſiderable time, doing material injury to the Romans, but ſuſtaining much greater themſelves; and in the end they were all taken priſoners in the following manner: one of them was made captive in a battle with Gratus; a ſecond by Ptolemy; Archelaus took the eldeſt into cuſtody; and the other two finding their caſe deſperate; that their men were worn out with toil and ſickneſs, and that they had no hope of redreſs, or proſpect of receiving freſh recruits, at length likewiſe ſurrendered themſelves to Archelaus, who pledged his honour, and took an oath for the performance of certain ſtipulated conditions: but this happened a conſiderable time after the ſurrender of the other brothers.

While things remained in this ſtate of licentious confuſion, every party of malecontents wiſhed to impoſe kings of their own choice on the public; by which the government was greatly diſturbed, and the Jews, in particular, were perpetually dividing into freſh factions; but things were not altogether ſo unhappily ſituated among the Romans.

The intelligence that Sabinus had conveyed to Varus reſpecting the danger of his ſituation, made the latter extremely apprehenſive for the ſafety of the third legion, which was all the force that they had in Syria; wherefore he aſſembled the other two legions, with four troops of horſe, and the auxiliary forces of the king and the tetrarch, and proceeded immediately towards Judæa, to give ſuccour to the beſieged, appointing a rendezvous at Ptolemaïs, in his way to which he took fifteen hundred men with him from Berytus. Excluſive of this reinforcement Aretas the Patrœan (the ſame who through a miſunderſtanding with Herod had gone over to the Romans) furniſhed him with a large body both of cavalry and infantry. When all theſe united forces were met together at Ptolemais, Varus deputed a command of part of the army to his ſon, in conjunction with one of his particular friends, directing them to march into Galilee, which is in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. On this incurſion into the country, the ſon of Varus met with ſome oppoſition; but he was every where ſucceſsful: he took Sepphoris; ſold the inhabitants thereof as ſlaves by public auction, and reduced the city to aſhes. In the mean time Varus proceeded with his army towards Samaria, but he did no injury to that city, as he knew the inhabitants were diſpoſed to acts of loyalty, and of a very peaceable diſpoſition. He now encamped in the village of Arus, which was the property of Pompey: but this village was burnt by the Arabians, who ſought to do every injury to the friends of Herod, in deteſtation of the memory of that prince. The army proceeded to Sampho, but that place, though exceedingly well fortified, was rifled by the Arabians, who afterwards ſet fire to it: in fact, great ravages were

were made, both by fire and ſword, during the whole of this expedition. Varus gave orders for the burning of the city of Emmaus, in reſentment on account of a number of his ſoldiers having been there ſlain; but he firſt permitted the inhabitants to quit the city. Proceeding from this place towards Jeruſalem, his army no ſooner came in ſight of that place, than the Jews, who had beſieged the legion ſtationed therein, abandoned their ſituation, and every one began to conſult his own ſafety. Varus cenſured the Jews of Jeruſalem with the utmoſt ſeverity on account of the paſt tranſactions; but they urged in their defence that the circumſtance happening at a time when ſuch immenſe multitudes of people had crouded to Jeruſalem, the inhabitants had not occaſioned the war, but the ſtrangers; and that the former, ſo far from having acted in oppoſition to the Romans, had ran an equal riſk with them in the conſequence of the encounter. With regard to Sabinus, he had left the city privately, and retired towards the ſea coaſt, ſo that Varus could not by any means get him into his poſſeſſion.

Things being thus ſituated, Varus ſent meſſengers through the country, to enquire who were the principals in the late revolt; and having convicted a great number on the cleareſt evidence, he cauſed about two thouſand to be executed on this occaſion; but others he pardoned and diſmiſſed. The troops under Varus having, contrary to his intentions, and in the violence of military rage, committed many very unjuſtifiable actions, he now diſmiſſed the greater part of his army, for which he had little farther occaſion. After this, however, being informed that ten thouſand Jews had collected themſelves together, he gave orders that a large detachment ſhould attack them in their quarters; but this attack was unneceſſary; for they delivered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion to Ahiab, without offering to make the leaſt reſiſtance. Varus now gave the common people their liberty, and pardoned all the rioters in general, except the principal people concerned in the commotion, among whom were ſome perſons related to Herod, who had engaged in the conteſt, in defiance of regard to their affinity, and the laws of honour and conſcience. The public diſturbances being thus in great meaſure compoſed, Varus returned to Antioch, leaving the ſame legion in garriſon at Jeruſalem that was there before.

The inſurrection in Judæa was no ſooner ended, than Varus found a freſh ſcene of difficulty by a circumſtance that happened at Rome, of which the following are the particulars. Varus had given permiſſion to the Jews to apply to Cæſar, for leave to live amongſt themſelves, and act according to their own laws. In conſequence hereof fifty of them were joined in a commiſſion to make the neceſſary requeſt, and above eight thouſand more were to ſecond their application. On this occaſion Cæſar gave orders that ſeveral of his particular friends, and other perſons of the greateſt eminence in the city, ſhould attend him in the temple of Apollo, a ſumptuous edifice which himſelf had built. To this place the deputies repaired, followed by a great number of Jews; and Archelaus and his friends likewiſe attended: but the relations of the king knew not how to act in this emergency; for as, on the one hand, they had an utter antipathy to Archelaus, and therefore could not eſpouſe his intereſt, ſo, on the other, it was impoſſible that they ſhould take

take part with the deputies, without making it apparent to the emperor that they were enemies to a prince to whom themſelves were related. Philip, the brother, likewiſe attended on this occaſion, having, in conſequence of the advice of Varus, come out of Syria, with a view to aſſiſt Archelaus, for whom he entertained the moſt ſingular eſteem and regard. Philip, however, was not at this time deſtitute of hope, that if the deputies ſhould ſucceed in their application, and the children of Herod ſhould be adjudged to ſhare in the dignity, he might himſelf obtain a portion of the kingdom.

The deputies began their addreſs by making an humble and earneſt application that, for the future, kings might no longer reign over them, whoſe power was intolerable. They recounted the hiſtory of the iniquity and miſmanagement of Herod, who, they ſaid, though a king in name, was a tyrant in the exerciſe of his power. They urged that he was not only an adept in the vulgar modes of oppreſſion, but artful in new contrivances to improve on the wickedneſs of thoſe who had gone before him. "It would "be needleſs (ſaid they) to attempt the making a calculation of the number "of lives that have fallen ſacrifices to his inhumanity, ſince thoſe who "ſurvived were yet more wretched than thoſe who were deſtroyed; for terror "and danger perpetually ſurrounded them, under a maſter devoid of every "principle of humanity, who equally diſpoſed of their perſons and for- "tunes as his humour directed. Wherefore did his vanity inſpire him to "laviſh ſuch an uncommon expence on ſtrangers? Why did he repair, re- "build, beautify and enrich ſuch a number of their cities, but that he had "deviſed a mode, peculiar to himſelf, of diſtreſſing his own ſubjects in the "higheſt degree, in order to gratify his vanity by the applauſe of foreigners; "and prided himſelf by making a deſert of what had been a flouriſhing "and plentiful country? What numbers of the nobility has he doomed to "death, on the ſlighteſt pretences, and in violation of all law and equity, "ſimply to reap the advantage of their forfeited eſtates? And has he not "received the fortunes of many others as a compenſation for their lives, "which he pretended were forfeited? With regard to the collection of the "cuſtomary taxes, he could not be ſatisfied with the payment which each "perſon made, according to the ſum for which he was taxed, but bribes "and farther gratifications muſt be given to collectors and other dependants "of the court, as well as to thoſe who were their agents, to prevent their "being otherwiſe ill treated. We ſay nothing of the horrid inſults offered "equally to virgins and to married women; but chuſe to let them reſt in "oblivion, in tenderneſs to the reputation of thoſe that ſuſtained the in- "jury: but, in fact, the moſt ſavage beaſt of the foreſt could not have "ruled over us in a more tyrannical manner than Herod did. The miſ- "fortunes conſequent on his reign were indiſputably the greateſt that ever "were endured by the people of our nation: wherefore they might very "reaſonably be permitted to pay their compliments to Archelaus on the "death of his father, ſince they were certain that it was impoſſible a worſe "prince ſhould ſucceed him. The people too, to ſhew the reſpect they "entertained for the ſon, were not leſs forward to promote the funeral ho- "nours of the father; and were anxious, by every inſtance of obedience

" and affection, to teſtify the deſire they had of obtaining the favour of the " reigning prince: but it was not long before they had melancholy occaſion " to know that Archelaus was the true ſon of ſuch a father: for he was not " even eſtabliſhed in his government before he gave them a ſpecimen of " what they were hereafter to expect, when they ſhould be wholly at the " diſpoſal of his mercy. For the preſent his whole fortune was dependant " on the bounty of Cæſar; yet willing to give his new ſubjects an inſtance " of his regard to juſtice, his modeſty, and his virtue, he cauſed three " thouſand citizens of his own tribe to be ſacrificed, and this even in the " temple, with as little remorſe as if they had fallen victims to the rigid " laws of their country. It now remains that the public ſhould form an " opinion of the inſolence of this wicked man, who with the moſt ſhame- " leſs effrontery, after having been guilty of committing ſo violent an out- " rage, can think of charging the crime upon others, and at the ſame time " of making pretenſions to the government."

In a word, the deputies concluded what they had to ſay by making a ſhort requeſt to Cæſar, the purport of which was that he would alter the form of their government, and no longer permit them to live under the oppreſſion of a monarchy: they entreated that they might be annexed to Syria, and ruled by ſuch perſons as Cæſar ſhould think proper; ſaying that it would then be evident whether they were a people who ſought to make innovations, and to live in the perpetration of acts of turbulence; or were diſpoſed to obey the laws of order, and to pay a proper deference to the authority of legal government.

As ſoon as the deputies had concluded their addreſs to Cæſar, Nicolaus began to ſpeak in defence of Herod and Archelaus; and what he ſaid was to the following purpoſe: " I would wiſh to aſk, that if Herod was guilty " of all the crimes that have been charged upon him, how it happened " that his accuſers never thought fit to call him to an account for it during " his life-time, when the juſtice of Cæſar would ſo readily have afforded " them ſatisfaction. With regard to what is charged on Archelaus, the act " was not ſo properly his own, as impelled upon him by the violence of a " turbulent faction, which had firſt inſulted the laws by the moſt ſeditious kind " of behaviour, and then deſtroyed thoſe who were delegated to quell the " uproar. And to what does the crime of Archelaus amount, more than " that, by being at the head of a ſtronger power, he has ſuppreſſed a dan- " gerous inſurrection?"—Nicolaus now turning to thoſe who had made the complaint, ſaid, " No peace is to be expected during the prevalence of the " preſent ſpirit of confuſion; and while theſe people are permitted to judge " for themſelves, and direct as they pleaſe, they will never acknowledge " that they are ſatisfied with any grants in their favour."

CHAP. XIII.

The generosity of Cæsar to the sons of Herod. The allotments granted to them severally.

CÆSAR having heard what arguments were advanced by each party, dismissed the assembly, and having taken a few days for consideration on the business, declared that Archelaus should succeed to the half of Herod's dominion, under the title of an ethnarch, though not of king; but yet that he should come into possession of the kingdom when his merit should entitle him to so honourable a distinction. The other half of the kingdom was divided between the two sons of Herod, Philip and Antipas, the latter being the same who opposed Archelaus with regard to the government of the whole. The share allotted to Antipas was the country beyond Jordan, and the district of Galilee, with an annual revenue of two hundred talents. To Philip was given a yearly revenue of one hundred talents, with the lands of Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and part of the palace which bore the name of Zenodorus. To Archelaus were given the countries of Judæa, Idumæa and Samaria, to which last Cæsar remitted a fourth part of the duty customarily paid, on the account of the inhabitants having remained loyal, when those of the other districts rebelled. The tower of Straton, with Sebaste, Joppa and Jerusalem, likewise came to his share; but the inhabitants of Gaza, Gadara and Hippon, having conformed to the Grecian mode of living, Cæsar had annexed them to Syria, and they were no longer considered as dependencies on the kingdom. On the whole, six hundred talents was deemed to be the revenue of Archelaus.

This was the adjustment of the patrimony of the sons of Herod. With regard to Salome, Cæsar granted her a palace in Ascalon, within the dominions of Archelaus, exclusive of the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, which her brother had bequeathed to her by will, together with five hundred pieces of minted money; so that her whole revenue was estimated at six hundred talents annually. The rest of the legacies which had been left to the relations of Herod, were likewise confirmed to them by Cæsar, agreeable to the tenor of his will. Exclusive of what Herod had bequeathed to his two unmarried daughters, Cæsar made them a present of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of silver each, and caused marriages to take place between them, and the two sons of Pheroras. But what distinguished the conduct of Cæsar for a generous magnificence beyond every other circumstance, was the division which he made of his own legacy among the sons of Herod, of all which valuable bequest he retained only a few pieces of plate, and these rather as a remembrance of the giver, than of any particular regard he had to the articles bequeathed.

CHAP. XIV.

A Jew perſonates Alexander the ſon of Herod. The method in which the impoſture was managed. Many of the Jews give credit to the impoſition. The impoſtor obtains ſeveral ſums of money. He goes to Rome in great ſtate and ſplendor. The Jews flock to him from various parts. Celadus, the freed-man of Cæſar, diſpatched to bring him. The impoſition is diſcovered by Cæſar, and the man confeſſes the cheat. He is condemned to the gallies, and the perſon by whoſe advice he acted put to death.

ALL matters reſpecting the will and legacies of Herod being now adjuſted, the public attention was engaged by a ſingular circumſtance. There was a young man, of the nation of the Jews, who had been educated at Sidon with a freeman of Rome. Now this young Jew happened to bear ſo perfect a likeneſs to Alexander, the ſon of Herod (whom his father had ordered to be put to death) that thoſe who recollected the former could not diſcern any difference in their perſons. The Jew, thinking to make advantage of this circumſtance, would frequently throw out hints that he was related to the royal family; and intimate, in an artful manner, that he had ſome proſpect of obtaining the poſſeſſion of the crown.

While he was ruminating on this buſineſs, he happened to fall into converſation with an artful man of his own nation and tribe; one who underſtood the nature of court intrigues and contrivances, and was admirably calculated for the carrying on any ſcene of extraordinary wickedneſs. Having deliberated together on the ſubject, the ſubſtance of the ſharper's advice was, that the young fellow ſhould aſſume the name and character of that very Alexander who was ſaid to be dead; and they agreed to propagate the ſtory in this manner: that the perſon to whom the care of the execution of the two brothers (Alexander and Ariſtobulus) had been entruſted, had ſubſtituted two other perſons in their ſtead, and by this means preſerved both their lives. This device not only pleaſed the imagination of the impoſtor, who was happy in the thought of the part he had to act; but the people in general ſeemed to give a ready aſſent to the impoſition; inſomuch that in going to the iſle of Crete, and from thence to that of Melos, the Jews placed the moſt implicit confidence in his ſtory, and on the ſuppoſed credit of his affinity to the royal family, advanced him ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money. By this time the young adventurer was ſo impreſſed with the idea of his imaginary conſequence, that he formed a hundred romantic ſchemes, and began to conſider whom he would take into his favour, and what places and preferments he would beſtow.

Filled with theſe great, but airy imaginations, he proceeded towards Rome, being accompanied by a number of his new courtiers and adherents. Having reached Puteoli, he had no ſooner landed at that place than immenſe numbers of Jews crouded about him, and all thoſe who had any acquaintance with, or knowledge of Herod, acknowledged and received him as their king. The credulity of the populace had now ample matter to work on,

and

and ſtrong preſumption in its favour; for the likeneſs between this perſon and the prince was ſo very extraordinary, that many of the intimate friends of the latter, on the very firſt ſight of the impoſtor, did not only ſay, but ſwear that he was Alexander, and could not poſſibly be any other perſon.

Intelligence of this extraordinary affair being conveyed to Rome, all the Jews in that city came out to meet the ſuppoſed prince, offering praiſes and thankſgivings to heaven, for that providence which they thought had decreed a deliverance ſo truly ſurprizing. No expence was ſpared to celebrate his arrival: he was carried in a litter, with the ſtate and magnificence of a prince, and followed by immenſe crouds of people, who ſhouted for joy, and offered up their prayers and vows for his ſafety and proſperity, as is common in caſes of ſuch a nature: but theſe honours took their riſe chiefly from the reſpect they bore to Mariamne, his ſuppoſed mother.

Cæſar, having reflected on the matter, could not be induced to believe the ſtory, for he thought Herod was not a likely perſon to have been impoſed on in an affair of ſuch importance. However, not to determine too haſtily, he diſpatched a freeman of his, named Celadus, who had been a cotemporary and companion of the two princes, to bring to him the ſuppoſed Alexander, that he might ſee and converſe with him. But when Celadus came to him, he was as much deceived as to his identity as the reſt of the world had been. Notwithſtanding this, however, Cæſar could not be impoſed upon in the affair; for though the two perſons bore as ſtrong a reſemblance to each other as imagination can conceive, yet, upon a clear inſpection, ſome circumſtances were diſcernable in which their perſons diſagreed; particularly with regard to the hands of the ſuppoſitious Alexander, which had become hard and callous through labour; and his ſkin was obſerved to be coarſer than that of perſons generally is who are brought up in all the refinements of courtly delicacy. Cæſar likewiſe remarked that the ſuppoſed prince and his tutor agreed exactly in their tale; yet he was ſtill convinced that the whole was an impoſition. He enquired of the youth what was become of his brother Ariſtobulus; and ſince they both obtained their liberty at the ſame time, how it happened that they did not make their appearance together, and put in a joint claim to the crown. To this the impoſtor anſwered, that Ariſtobulus remained at Cyprus, being apprehenſive of danger on the voyage, ſince, if it had happened that they had both been loſt, there would have remained no one of the race of Mariamne; for which reaſon care was taken for the ſafety of Ariſtobulus, to prevent ſuch a contingency.

The impoſtor continuing poſitively to affirm this, and his coadjutor agreeing with him in every part of the ſtory, Cæſar took the young man into another apartment, and addreſſed him in the following manner. "Remember that it will be at your peril if you impoſe upon me by falſhood; but "if you ſpeak the truth your life ſhall be ſpared. Therefore I deſire that "you will immediately inform me who and what you are, and who it was "that inſtigated you to this procedure; for you are yet too young to have "engaged in ſo diabolical a plan, if you had not been encouraged by the "artifice of others."

When the youth found that he was thus hard preſſed, and that evaſions would no longer anſwer any good purpoſe, he recounted to Cæſar the whole hiſtory of the affair, and gave up his adviſer; and told all the manner of their proceeding. Hereupon Cæſar condemned the adviſer to death; but kept his promiſe with the impoſtor, whom he condemned to the gallies, as he was of a ſtout habit of body, and well able to endure ſuch labour. With regard to the Jews of Melos, they were deemed to have been ſufficiently puniſhed in the expence they had ſuſtained by way of ſupporting the impoſition.

CHAP. XV.

Account of Archelaus when poſſeſſed of his ethnarchy. He is baniſhed, and all his goods confiſcated. Recital of a dream of Archelaus, which is expounded by Simon an Eſſene. The dream of Galphyra, reſpecting her former huſband.

THE ethnarchy having been beſtowed on Archelaus, he took poſſeſſion of it on his return to Judæa; and not long afterwards removed Joazar, the ſon of Boethus, from the office of high-prieſt, having been charged with being concerned with a ſeditious faction; and Archelaus now conferred the office on his brother Eleazar.

The ethnarch now, at a very great expence, rebuilt the palace of Jericho; and a fine ſtream watering the village of Neara, he conveyed the half of it to a grove of Palm-trees, which he had lately planted in a meadow adjacent thereto. He likewiſe cauſed a new village to be erected, which he denominated Archelais, in imitation of his own name. Soon after this, in oppoſition to the laws of his country, he married Glaphyra, the daughter of king Archelaus, and the widow of his brother Alexander, though intermarriages with the wives of brothers are expreſsly forbidden by the laws of the Jews; and by this wife he had ſeveral children. Eleazar, the high-prieſt, was but a ſhort time in poſſeſſion of that elevated ſtation; for he was depoſed from the office, and Jeſus, the ſon of Sias, appointed in his ſtead.

When Archelaus had held the reins of government about ten years, the principal people among the Jews and Samaritans were ſo greatly diſpleaſed with his mode of adminiſtering public affairs, that they united in an addreſs to Cæſar, complaining of his conduct. They were the more emboldened to make this complaint, becauſe they knew that the rigorous execution of juſtice was contrary to the will and inclination of Cæſar, who had given him the moſt poſitive commands to rule over his people by the laws of equity, impartiality, and benevolence. When Cæſar became acquainted with this complaint, he ſent for Archelaus, who was his agent at Rome, commanding his attendance without loſs of time, and directing him to go immediately, and bring to him the other Archelaus; without even honouring him with a letter to notify his buſineſs. Archelaus had no ſooner received his commiſſion

miſſion, than he haſtened into Judæa, where he met with the other Archelaus at an entertainment with his friends, told him the command of Cæſar, and deſired he would inſtantly come with him. On their arrival at Rome, Cæſar heard the charge and defence, and then ſentenced Archelaus to be baniſhed to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and ordered that all his goods ſhould be confiſcated.

Not long before the above-named Archelaus was ſent for to Rome, he had a ſingular dream, the particulars of which he recited to ſeveral of his friends, and which are as follows. He imagined that he beheld ten ears of wheat, all ripe and full, and ſome oxen devouring them. When he awaked, this dream ſo ſtrongly impreſſed his mind, that he could not refrain aſking the meaning of it from ſome perſons who were eminent for their ſkill in the explanation of ſuch kind of myſteries. However, the interpreters differing in ſentiment, Simon, an Eſſene, obtained permiſſion of the reſt, to give his explanation of the above-mentioned dream: and his determination was that it foretold ſome misfortune that was to happen to Archelaus; for he ſaid that the dreaming of oxen, which are animals deſtined to ſlaviſh labour, implied miſery; and likewiſe a change of affairs, becauſe when the ground was turned up the ſituation and appearance of things were changed. He ſaid that the ten ears of corn ſeemed to intimate an equal number of years, which revolve in a regular courſe; and that it was apparent that the reign of Archelaus was nearly concluded. Thus did Simon explain the above-mentioned dream; and on the fifth day after it happened, Archelaus the agent of Cæſar, arrived in Judæa, with orders for the other Archelaus to wait upon the emperor.

Glaphyra his wife, the daughter of Archelaus the king, had likewiſe a dream of a ſingular kind. This Glaphyra (as hath been before obſerved) was firſt married to Alexander, the ſon of Herod, and the brother of Archelaus. After her firſt huſband was put to death by the order of his father, ſhe was married to Juba, king of Mauritania; and after his deceaſe ſhe remained a widow with her father in Cappadocia, till Archelaus fell violently in love with, and married her, having firſt diſcharged his former wife, Mariamne. It was while ſhe was the wife of Archelaus that ſhe had the following dream. Her imagination painted the figure of her firſt huſband, Alexander, advancing towards her; and then, when ſhe intended to have claſped him in her arms, with every demonſtration of love and joy, he began to expoſtulate with her in the following manner. "Alas! Glaphyra thou haſt verified the "old obſervation, that there is no confidence to be placed in women. Was "I not the huſband of thy virginity; and had we not children, the pledges "of our mutual love? How then, couldſt thou ſo far forget the mutual ob- "ligations we were under to each other, as to engage in a ſecond marriage; "and after that to be wedded a third time, and even then to my brother "Archelaus; thus violating the honour of my family in a moſt ſhameful "manner? However, our former love ſhall not be forgotten, and it ſhall "be my care to deliver thee from the ignominy of this laſt connection." Glaphyra repeated the particulars of this dream to ſeveral of her female acquaintance, and died within a few days after it happened.

As the courſe of my hiſtory led me to ſpeak of theſe princes in this place, I thought it might not be amiſs to mention this circumſtance; eſpecially as the recital may not be without its proper uſe. It may be conſidered as a kind of proof of the divinity of the ſoul, and an aſſertion of the wiſdom of divine providence. Thoſe who heſitate to give credit to theſe things, are at liberty to judge for themſelves; but let them all allow equal liberty to others to attend to diſcourſes which have in view the advancement of morality. With regard to the lands belonging to Archelaus, Cæſar annexed them to Syria, and ſent Cyrenius, a man veſted with the dignity of a conſul, to tax the province, and to ſell the palace of which Archelaus had been poſſeſſed.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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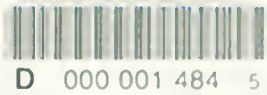
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